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UNITED NATIONS.

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General Assembly



OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIRST ^{2nd} EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

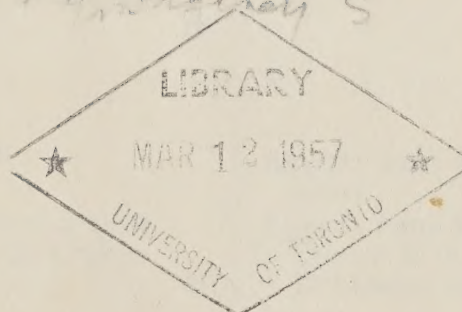
1-10 NOVEMBER 1956

PLENARY MEETINGS

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ANNEXES

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The *Official Records of the General Assembly* consist of records of meetings, annexes to those records and supplements. The verbatim records in this volume include corrections requested by delegations and such editorial modifications as were considered necessary.

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Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Telegram of convocation.....	iv	565th plenary meeting	
List of delegations.....	vi	<i>Sunday, 4 November 1956, at 9.45 p.m.</i>	
President and Vice-Presidents.....	viii	AGENDA ITEM 5:	
Agenda	viii	Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956 (<i>continued</i>)	79
561st plenary meeting (opening meeting)		566th plenary meeting	
<i>Thursday, 1 November 1956, at 5 p.m.</i>		<i>Wednesday, 7 November 1956, at 10.30 a.m.</i>	
STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL.....	1	AGENDA ITEM 5:	
AGENDA ITEM 1:		Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956 (<i>continued</i>)	91
Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Chile.....	1	567th plenary meeting	
AGENDA ITEM 2:		<i>Wednesday, 7 November 1956, at 3 p.m.</i>	
Minute of silent prayer or meditation.....	1	AGENDA ITEM 5:	
STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT.....	1	Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956 (<i>continued</i>)	105
AGENDA ITEM 3:		572nd plenary meeting (closing meeting)	
Appointment of a Credentials Committee.....	2	<i>Saturday, 10 November 1956, at 10.30 a.m.</i>	
AGENDA ITEM 4:		AGENDA ITEM 5:	
Adoption of the agenda:.....	2	Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956	
AGENDA ITEM 5:		Transfer of the item to the provisional agenda of the eleventh regular session of the General Assembly	131
Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956	2	* * *	
562nd plenary meeting		ANNEXES	
<i>Thursday, 1 November 1956, at 9.50 p.m.</i>		Agenda item 3: Appointment of a Credentials Com- mittee.	
AGENDA ITEM 5:		Agenda item 5: Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956.	
Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956 (<i>continued</i>)	13		
563rd plenary meeting			
<i>Saturday, 3 November 1956, at 8 p.m.</i>			
AGENDA ITEM 5:			
Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956 (<i>continued</i>)	45		

TELEGRAM OF CONVOCATION

30 October 1956

I HAVE THE HONOUR TO INFORM YOU THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL TODAY REQUESTED THE CONVENING OF AN EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN PURSUANCE OF ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 377 A (V) TO CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING MATTER: "QUESTION CONSIDERED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT ITS 749TH AND 750TH MEETINGS HELD ON 30 OCTOBER 1956" STOP I HAVE THE HONOUR TO NOTIFY YOU IN ACCORDANCE WITH RULE 8 (b) OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THAT THE EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION WILL OPEN ON THURSDAY 1 NOVEMBER 1956 AT 5 P.M. IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HALL AT HEADQUARTERS NEW YORK STOP CREDENTIALS FOR THOSE DELEGATES WHO ARE NOT ALREADY AUTHORIZED TO REPRESENT THEIR GOVERNMENTS IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY SHOULD BE ISSUED IN ACCORDANCE WITH RULE 27 OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE AND MAY BE PRESENTED BY CABLE.

DAG HAMMARSKJOLD
SECRETARY-GENERAL

LIST OF DELEGATIONS

Member States

AFGHANISTAN

Mr. Abdul Hamid Aziz

ALBANIA

Mr. Reis Malile

ARGENTINA

Mr. Aníbal Osvaldo Olivieri
Mr. Alfredo Atilio Lavalle
Mr. Roberto E. Guyer

AUSTRALIA

Mr. E. Ronald Walker
Mr. William Douglas Forsyth
Mr. J. D. L. Hood
Mr. Brian C. Hill
Mr. T. Wakeham Cutts
Mr. R. N. Hamilton
Mr. Michael J. Wilson

AUSTRIA

Mr. Franz Matsch

BELGIUM

Mr. Fernand van Langenhove
Mr. Joseph Nisot

BOLIVIA

Mr. Germán Quiroga Galdo

BRAZIL

Mr. Cyro de Freitas Valle
Mr. Jayme de Barros
Mr. Carlos Alfredo Bernardes
Mr. Donatello Grieco
Mr. Fernando Abbott Galvão

BULGARIA

Mr. Peter G. Vutov
Mr. Bogomil Todorov
Mr. Baruk Grinberg
Mr. Grigor Pavlov

BURMA

U Win
U Pe Kin
U Paw Htin
U Kyaw Min

BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Mr. A. E. Gurinovich

CAMBODIA

Mr. Nong Kimny
Mr. Ly Chinly

CANADA

Mr. Lester B. Pearson
Mr. R. A. MacKay
Mr. John Holmes

CEYLON

Mr. R. S. S. Gunewardene
Mr. A. Basnayake
Mr. Y. Duraiswamy

CHILE

Mr. Rudecindo Ortega
Mr. Alfonso Grez
Mr. Miguel Bravo
Mr. O. Pinochet
Mr. Octavio Allende

CHINA

Mr. Tingfu F. Tsiang
Mr. Liu Chieh
Mr. Chiping H. C. Kiang
Mr. Cheng Paonan
Mr. Chun-ming Chang

COLOMBIA

Mr. Francisco Urrutia Holguín
Mr. Eduardo Carrizosa
Mr. Jaime Canal Rivas

COSTA RICA

Mr. Alberto F. Cañas
Mr. Raúl Trejos Flores
Mrs. María Lilia Montejo Ortuño

CUBA

Mr. Emilio Núñez Portuondo
Mr. Carlos Blanco y Sánchez
Mr. Francisco García Amador
Miss Uldarica Mañas
Mr. Rafael García Navarro
Miss Silvia Shelton
Mr. Juan O'Naghten
Miss Josefina García Sierra
Miss Ana María Perera

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Mr. Josef Ullrich

DENMARK

Mr. Karl I. Eskelund

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Mr. Enrique de Marchena
Mr. Ambrosio Alvarez Aybar
Miss Minerva Bernardino
Mr. Kémil L. Dipp Gómez

ECUADOR

Mr. José Vicente Trujillo
Mr. Alberto Barriga

EGYPT

Mr. Omar Loutfi

EL SALVADOR

Mr. Miguel Rafael Urquía
Mr. Roberto E. Quirós
Mr. Miguel Angel Magaña

ETHIOPIA

Mr. Yilma Deressa
Miss Judith Imru

FINLAND

Mr. George de Gripenberg
Mr. Björn Alholm

FRANCE

Mr. Bernard Cornut-Gentille
Mr. Louis de Guiringaud

GREECE

Mr. Christian X. Palamas
Mr. Dennis N. Carayannis

GUATEMALA

Mr. Emilio Arenales Catalán
Mr. Isidro Lemus Dimas
Mr. José Rölz Bennett
Mr. Maximiliano Kestler
Mr. Manuel Rubio Sánchez

HAITI

Mr. Jacques N. Léger
Mr. Max H. Dorsinville
Mr. Ernest G. Chauvet
Mr. Georges Salomon

HONDURAS

Mr. Tiburcio Carías, Jr.
Mr. Humberto López Villamil

HUNGARY

Mr. Jozef Marjai
Mr. János Szabó

ICELAND

Mr. Thor Thors
Mr. Thórarinn Thórarinsson

INDIA

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon
Mr. Arthur S. Lall
Mr. B. Rajan
Mr. M. E. Chacko
Mr. V. R. Bhatt
Mr. M. B. Nair

INDONESIA

Mr. Sudjarwo Tjondronegoro

IRAN

Mr. Nasrollah Entezam
Mr. Djalal Abdoh

IRAQ

Mr. Hashim Jawad
Mr. Kadhim M. Khalaf
Mr. Usamah T. Kadry

IRELAND

Mr. Frederick H. Boland

ISRAEL

Mr. Abba Eban
Mr. Moshe A. Tov
Mr. Jacob Robinson
Mr. Mordecai R. Kidron
Mr. Yoseph Tekoah
Mr. Arthur C. Liveran

ITALY

Mr. Leonardo Vitetti
Mr. Remigio D. Grillo
Mr. Eugenio Plaja
Mr. Vincenzo Tornetta

JORDAN

Mr. Abdul Monem Rifa'i
Mr. Thabet Khalidi

LAOS

Mr. Ourot R. Souvannavong

LEBANON

Mr. Victor Khouri
Mr. Edward Rizk

LIBERIA

Miss Angie Brooks
Mr. John D. Cox
Mr. John Grigsby

LIBYA

Mr. Fathi Abidia

LUXEMBOURG

Mr. Hugues Le Gallais
Mr. Jean-Pierre Kremer

MEXICO

Mr. Rafael de la Colina
Mr. Luciano Joubanc Rivas

NEPAL

Mr. Rishikesh Shaha

NETHERLANDS

Mr. C. W. A. Schürmann

NEW ZEALAND

Sir Leslie Munro
Mr. M. J. C. Templeton
Mr. Richard Brian Atkins

NICARAGUA

Mr. Luis Mena Solórzano

NORWAY

Mr. Hans Engen

PAKISTAN

Mr. Mohammad Mir Khan

PANAMA

Mr. Roberto de la Guardia
Mr. Ernesto de la Ossa

PARAGUAY

Mr. Pacífico Montero de Vargas
Mr. Fernando A. Caballero Marsal

PERU

Mr. Víctor A. Belaúnde
Mr. Carlos Holguín

PHILIPPINES

Mr. Felixberto M. Serrano

POLAND

Mr. Jerzy Michalowski
Mr. Antoni Czarkowski
Mr. Jacek Machowski
Mr. Jerzy Sztucki

PORTUGAL

Mr. Vasco Vieira Garin

ROMANIA

Mr. Athanase Joja
Mr. Mircea Gherman
Mr. Mircea Malitza
Mr. Constantin Dumitrachescu

SAUDI ARABIA

Mr. Jamil M. Baroody

SPAIN

Mr. José Félix de Lequerica
Mr. Diego Buigas de Dalmau

SWEDEN

Mr. Gunnar Jarring

SYRIA

Mr. Rafik Asha

THAILAND

Prince Wan Waithayakon Krommün Naradhip Bong-
sprabandh
Mr. Thanat Khoman

TURKEY

Mr. Selim Sarper

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Mr. V. I. Sapozhnikov

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. D. B. Sole

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Mr. V. V. Kuznetsov
Mr. A. A. Sobolev

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND
NORTHERN IRELAND

Sir Pierson Dixon

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Mr. John Foster Dulles
Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
Mr. James J. Wadsworth

URUGUAY

Mr. Enrique Rodríguez Fabregat
Mr. César Montero Bustamante
Mr. Américo Paz Aguirre

VENEZUELA

Mr. Santiago Pérez Pérez
Mr. Martín Pérez Matos
Mr. Víctor M. Rivas
Mr. Francisco Alfonzo Ravard
Mr. Ignacio Silva Sucre

YEMEN

Prince Sayful Islam Al-Hassan
Mr. Ahmad Zabarah
Mr. Mohammed Al-Haifi
Mr. Mohammed Abou-Taleb
Mr. Tawfik Chamandi

YUGOSLAVIA

Mr. Joža Brilej
Mr. Djura Ninčić
Mr. Dimče Belovski
Mr. Aleksander Božović

PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS

In accordance with rule 65 of the rules of procedure, the President and Vice-Presidents were as follows:

President of the General Assembly:

His Excellency Mr. Rudecindo Ortega (Chile).

Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly:

The representatives of the following Member States: CHINA, ETHIOPIA, FRANCE, LUXEMBOURG, UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

AGENDA

1. Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Chile.
2. Minute of silent prayer or meditation.
3. Appointment of a Credentials Committee.
4. Adoption of the agenda.¹
5. Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956.²

¹ The agenda of the first emergency special session was adopted by the General Assembly at its 561st plenary meeting on 1 November 1956.

² In accordance with rule 65 of the rules of procedure, the General Assembly considered this item in plenary session only, without previous reference to a Committee.



CONTENTS

	Page
Statement by the Secretary-General.....	1
Agenda item 1:	
Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Chile.....	1
Agenda item 2:	
Minute of silent prayer or meditation.....	1
Statement by the President.....	1
Agenda item 3:	
Appointment of a Credentials Committee.....	2
Agenda item 4:	
Adoption of the agenda.....	2
Agenda item 5:	
Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956.....	2

President: Mr. Rudecindo ORTEGA (Chile).

Statement by the Secretary-General

1. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I should like to draw attention to rule 65 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, which provides that the President and Vice-Presidents for an emergency special session shall be, respectively, the chairmen of those delegations from which were elected the President and Vice-Presidents of the previous session. In accordance with the provisions of this rule, I have the honour to invite the Chairman of the delegation of Chile, Mr. Ortega, to occupy the chair of the President in order that he may, in that capacity, declare open the first emergency special session of the General Assembly.

Mr. Ortega took the chair.

AGENDA ITEM 1

Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Chile

2. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I declare open the first emergency special session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

3. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): In accordance with rule 64 of the rules of procedure, I invite the representatives to stand and observe one minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Statement by the President

4. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): These are not only hours of suspense and anxiety for

people everywhere. These are times of drama and tribulation which trouble the conscience. Peace has been disturbed in the Middle East, and the first attempts to restore it have failed. People all over the world are turning anxiously towards the United Nations, which bears the heavy responsibility of finding a solution for the problems which have brought about this serious situation of belligerency, and of reconciling the divergent views of the parties. Is it still possible for the United Nations to do that? Every Member State bears the grave responsibility, the historic responsibility, of answering that question in the affirmative.

5. This first emergency special session, which I, as chairman of the delegation of Chile, have the honour to open, has been convened for the purpose of examining the problem in all its aspects. May I, in my capacity as the representative of a country devoted to peace and to conciliation as a procedure for settling disputes, express the hope that all members of this Assembly will bring their hearts and minds to bear upon the problem, so that we may find a favourable solution compatible with the principles of the Charter which we must all respect, a solution that will enable us to overcome the obstacles which have thus far prevented the countries involved in this conflict and all those which have offered their co-operation from reaching a peaceful settlement.

6. We all know that in any action we may take we must defend the principles of justice and of dignity which have been jeopardized in this conflict. All of us are aware that the United Nations must fulfil the duties incumbent upon it under the Charter by defending the moral principles which should govern relations among the members of the international community, and that it must safeguard the inalienable right of peoples to work in peace for the advancement and welfare of mankind.

7. Let me therefore repeat the hope that this sound and noble purpose will guide the work of this special session of the Assembly and the decisions which it adopts. With these words, I wish to open the session and extend a cordial welcome to all the representatives.

8. Before considering the first item of the agenda, I would draw the Assembly's attention to a note by the Secretary-General [A/3213] on the summoning of the first emergency special session of the General Assembly. That note embodies the resolution adopted by the

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After the close of the session, collated sets of fascicles will be placed on sale for the general public.

Security Council at its 751st meeting, held on 31 October 1956 [S/3721], under which the Council decided to call an emergency special session of the General Assembly under the terms of resolution 377 (V) of the General Assembly, entitled "Uniting for peace". The Secretary-General's note likewise confirms the telegram that was sent last night to all Members notifying them that the emergency special session would be held at Headquarters on 1 November 1956 at 5 p.m.

9. I should add that the Secretary-General has received a large number of communications from Governments supporting the convening of this emergency special session. They are being reproduced and circulated as Assembly documents.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Appointment of a Credentials Committee

10. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now proceed to the appointment of a Credentials Committee, as provided for in rule 28 of the rules of procedure.

11. In accordance with the spirit of the rules of procedure, I feel it would be appropriate to suggest that the Credentials Committee for this emergency special session should have the same membership as the Committee appointed for the tenth session.

12. The Credentials Committee would therefore consist of the representatives of the following countries: Afghanistan, Australia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, France, Indonesia, Iraq, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and United States of America.

13. If there is no objection, I shall consider this proposal approved by the General Assembly.

It was so decided.

14. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I should add that the credentials of representatives who are not yet authorized to represent their countries in the General Assembly will be recognized in accordance with rule 27 of the rules of procedure, and may be presented by telegram.

AGENDA ITEM 4

Adoption of the agenda

15. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): In connexion with the provisional agenda [A/3214], I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to rule 65 of the rules of procedure, which provides that, unless the Assembly decides otherwise, the Assembly, in case of an emergency special session, shall convene in plenary session only.

16. Unless there is any objection, I shall take it that the Assembly will proceed directly to consider the item proposed for its consideration.

17. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*translated from French*): I should like to know exactly what is the question before the Assembly.

18. In the Security Council, over which I presided yesterday [751st meeting], I put the same question to the representative of Yugoslavia. He replied that his draft resolution was clear, but it was precisely because it was not clear that I put the question to him.

19. Mr. Lodge, the United States representative, answered my question in these words: "I would say that the United States draft resolution would be the one that would be referred to, and that that is perfectly

adequate to meet all the needs of the situation." In my capacity as President, I took note of the United States representative's statement.

20. Presumably, therefore, the Assembly has before it the resolution of the Security Council adopted at the proposal of the United States [S/3721]. It could not possibly be discussing the point raised in the letter from the representative of Egypt, dated 30 October 1956 [S/3712]. General Assembly resolution 377 (V), entitled "Uniting for peace", provides that the General Assembly, meeting in emergency special session, shall be seized of a matter only "if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in any case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression". In the debate on the Egyptian complaint, no draft resolution was submitted. Therefore there was no vote and, consequently, no manifestation of the lack of unanimity of the permanent members. In the circumstances, the Council could not legally bring the Egyptian complaint before the Assembly.

21. The United States complaint, on the other hand, was clearly within the framework of Chapter VI, not Chapter VII, of the Charter. In that case too there was no reason to bring the matter before the Assembly, because, irrespective of whether or not Chapter VII was involved, the second condition laid down by the "Uniting for peace" resolution was not fulfilled.

22. Consequently, on behalf of my Government, I wish to reserve my position fully on the legality of convening this emergency special session of the General Assembly and on all the resolutions which it may adopt.

23. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): If there are no other speakers on the point raised by the representative of France, I shall put to the vote the item proposed for the agenda of this session: "Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings held on 30 October 1956."

The item was included in the agenda by 62 votes to 2, with 7 abstentions.

The agenda was adopted.

AGENDA ITEM 5

Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956

24. Mr. LOUTFI (Egypt) (*translated from French*): I sincerely thank the members of the Security Council who voted yesterday for the draft resolution presented by Yugoslavia [S/3719], and also those Member States which have informed the Secretary-General that they support that draft resolution and have voted for its inclusion in our agenda today. They have given me an opportunity to address the world forum of the General Assembly in this hour of trial for my country.

25. You all know what the issue is. I shall therefore be brief. As I stated yesterday before the Security Council, this is no time for speeches. My country has been subjected to bloody aggression. More blood is being shed every minute as the result of that aggression.

26. During the night of 29 October 1956, Israel committed the most serious act of unprovoked armed aggression that has taken place since the conclusion of the armistice agreements. This time, it was not a reprisal raid. It was a premeditated, carefully prepared

armed attack for the purpose of occupying part of Egyptian territory and provoking war in that area.

27. On 30 October, during the day, a note from the British Government was handed to the Egyptian Ambassador in London, serving an ultimatum on the Egyptian Government and calling upon it, first, to cease all hostilities on land, sea and air; secondly, to withdraw all Egyptian military forces ten miles from the Suez Canal; and thirdly, to agree to the occupation by French and British forces of part of Egyptian territory, including the towns of Port Said, Ismailia and Suez.

28. The ultimatum called for a reply by 6.30 a.m., Cairo time, on 31 October, failing which the Governments of the United Kingdom and France would intervene as they deemed necessary in order to obtain satisfaction of their demands.

29. Since that date, the Franco-British air force has begun to bomb Egypt from bases in Cyprus, where it is stationed against the will of the inhabitants of the island. Several raids took place yesterday, including raids on Cairo. According to information I have received, three air raids were carried out yesterday by British and French jet bombers, at 7 p.m., 8.45 p.m. and 10.30 p.m. respectively, against the military academy, a mosque, a hospital at Almaza, Cairo airport, some military airfields and several points in the Shubra district. Nine lives were lost.

30. Throughout last night, British and French bombers carried out non-stop raids against all the Egyptian airports. The French air force joined Israel aircraft in their attacks on Egyptian troops in the Sinai peninsula.

31. Today, 21 raids took place over Egypt, 9 of them on Cairo, 3 on Ismailia, 3 on Port Said, 3 on Suez and 3 on Alexandria. In the raid on Alexandria, dwellings at Montaza, near Alexandria, were destroyed. The number of casualties is not yet known.

32. Furthermore, the Commander-in-Chief of the Franco-British forces attacking Egypt declared today, at Nicosia:

"Aerial bombing will continue until Egypt sees reason. Length of the operation depends on how quickly Egypt accepts our terms. The sooner Egypt sees reason, the less damage will occur. We have considerable strength to deal severe blows."

This cynical *communiqué* calls for no comment.

33. Egypt is thus the victim of combined premeditated aggression by Israel, the United Kingdom and France. It is now clear that the aggressors conspired together to commit this act of war.

34. In order to justify the armed attack they have just perpetrated, the Governments of the United Kingdom and France have presented arguments which it is very difficult to find words to describe.

35. Sir Pierson Dixon said yesterday in the Security Council [751st meeting] that he regretted that Egypt had rejected the British ultimatum. I was amazed that the United Kingdom representative could have thought for a single moment that Egypt would agree to Franco-British forces landing on its territory against its will, after unprovoked aggression had been committed against it.

36. The United Kingdom representative has alleged that the main purpose of this intervention is to safeguard the Suez Canal and to restore peace in the Middle East. But no danger threatened the Suez Canal before the Franco-British intervention.

37. According to our information, the aircraft of the aggressors have sunk an Egyptian vessel in the Canal. This act of war committed by France and the United Kingdom in the Canal zone is a violation of the United Nations Charter, the Constantinople Convention of 1888, and the principle of free passage, even in time of war, guaranteed to all States under article 4 of that Convention.

38. Apart from all this, who gave the United Kingdom and France the right to intervene in order to safeguard the Canal? The 1888 Convention gives Egypt alone the right to take measures for the defence of the Canal. Has there been a decision by the United Nations, a resolution of the Security Council, giving the United Kingdom and France the right to resort to force, with the alleged purpose of safeguarding the Canal and ensuring the free passage of vessels? Many other States use the Canal, yet no one else thought for a moment of resorting to force or of joining the French and the British in occupying the Canal zone.

39. What makes the situation even more strange, as was stressed by Mr. Brilej, the representative of Yugoslavia, at the meeting of the Security Council in the afternoon of 30 October 1956, is that:

"This threat of force is primarily directed against the country which is the victim of aggression. Egypt is being enjoined to waive its inherent right of self-defence as set forth in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. Egypt is also being summoned to acquiesce in the occupation of part of its territory by two foreign Powers. It is confronted with a rigid time-limit in the worst tradition of what we had hoped had become an obsolete policy of ultimatums." [749th meeting, para. 26.]

40. Moreover, the United Kingdom representative claims that one of the purposes of the Franco-British intervention is to put an end as soon as possible to any act of war on land, at sea and in the air. If that is really the purpose of the Franco-British intervention, why did the representatives of those two countries use the veto against two draft resolutions containing stipulations for a cease-fire?

41. An argument advanced by the French and United Kingdom representatives which struck my delegation forcibly was their allegation that the occupation was merely a "temporary measure". History has taught us that the words "temporary measure" as used by the United Kingdom representative have a very different meaning from their usual one. The occupation of Egypt in 1882 was a "temporary measure", according to the British leaders at that time. It lasted seventy-four years.

42. But the bad faith of the aggressors hardly needs further proof. It is self-evident that the aggressive action of France and the United Kingdom in trying to settle, on their own account and in a unilateral manner, a question which has been submitted to the United Nations, is a flagrant violation of the Charter. We thought the United Nations Charter had put an end to the reign of force and that the era of the ultimatum and the *diktat*, of bitter memory, had vanished with the signing of the Charter at San Francisco. Resort to force may now take place only in accordance with the principles and provisions of the Charter.

43. France and the United Kingdom, in violating the Charter, have assumed a heavy burden of responsibility before the world. This act will have incalculable repercussions, and France and the United Kingdom will have to bear the consequences.

44. In this grave ordeal which my country is undergoing while attempts are being made to invade Egypt and to trample its sovereignty under foot, one thing only comforts us—the condemnation of this act of aggression by world public opinion, and the fact that two of the great Powers which are members of the Security Council, the United States and the Soviet Union, have censured the use of force by France and the United Kingdom.

45. No less a person than President Eisenhower, and the Soviet leaders also, have clearly stated that they oppose the use of force in the settlement of this dispute. Many other leaders have made similar statements, among them Marshal Tito, the Head of State of Yugoslavia, and Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India. I should have liked to quote their statements, and others as well, but I shall leave this to the representatives of the countries concerned.

46. Even in the United Kingdom, the members of the Opposition, the Labour Party, have condemned the policy of the present British Government in no uncertain terms. Mr. Gaitskell, the leader of the Opposition, made the following statement in the House of Commons yesterday:

“All I can say is that, in taking this decision, in the view of the Opposition, the Government has committed an act of disastrous folly, whose tragic consequences we shall regret for years . . . I can only say that any impartial observer must recognize that this is a clear breach of the Charter of the United Nations . . . There are millions and millions of British people—as we believe a majority of the nation—who are deeply shocked by the aggressive policy of the Government and who still believe that it is both wise and right that we should stand by the United Nations, the Commonwealth and the United States alliance.”

The conclusion to be drawn from these quotations is that, even in the United Kingdom, public opinion by no means approves of the policy of Sir Anthony Eden's Government.

47. As I have already told the Security Council, until such time as the necessary measures are taken by the Council or the General Assembly, the Egyptian Government has no other choice but to defend itself and to protect its rights against this armed and unprovoked attack. We stand by this attitude.

48. This act of war committed by two permanent members of the Security Council is a heavy blow to the United Nations, world peace and all mankind.

49. By using their right of veto against the draft resolutions presented in the Security Council, France and the United Kingdom have paralysed the Council's action. In these circumstances, it is for the General Assembly to follow up the adoption of the Yugoslav draft resolution in the Security Council, and, in accordance with resolution 377 (V), to take the necessary measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace.

50. The Assembly is called upon to take very grave decisions, which will affect the future of our Organization and the principles governing the world in which we live. Egypt is defending itself and will continue to do so. The matter is in your hands. Denounce the aggressors, and put an end to aggression.

51. Mr. GUNWARDENE (Ceylon): We meet today in a situation of extreme danger to international

peace. The territory of a Member nation has been subjected to armed attack by three Powers. Two of these are permanent members of the Security Council charged with the responsibility of maintaining peace in the world. All three Powers, as Members of the United Nations, have pledged themselves to uphold in spirit and in letter the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

52. As a member of the Commonwealth, an association of nations dedicated to the cause of peace and international harmony, it is with profound sorrow that I express my Government's strong dissent and disapproval of the actions of a fellow member of the Commonwealth with which we have traditional ties of friendship.

53. It is to me a matter of profound grief that I should have to perform this duty. I have always been a stout upholder of the concept of the Commonwealth as one of the greatest contributing forces fostering international peace and the principles of liberty and justice.

54. Events are moving fast, and time is very short. It is not for us to debate at tortuous length the intricate antecedents of this grave situation. The fact remains that aggression has taken place and that this must be halted immediately. The territorial integrity of Egypt has been violated and Egypt has been subjected to invasion and aerial bombardment. What seems to be deplorable is the fact that two members of the Security Council, instead of joining in efforts to halt the initial aggressor, have themselves committed a further act of aggression—all this in the name of peace.

55. It is our strong belief, shared I have no doubt by all right-thinking people, that the United Nations is the proper organ for the settlement of disputes among nations. It is not for individual members of that body to arrogate to themselves the right to intervene with military force. In this case, such intervention occurred at the very moment when the Security Council was earnestly engaged in the pursuit of a peaceful settlement.

56. We have heard the phrase “police action” with regard to internal matters within a sovereign State. We are now asked to accept, in the name of “police action”, a wanton violation of a sovereign nation's rights.

57. This action on the part of three Member States sworn to uphold the Charter constitutes a serious threat to the effectiveness of the United Nations. As a small nation, we look to the United Nations as the guardian of peace, but if superior military strength is wilfully and, in our opinion, unjustifiably used, as in this case, by individual nations in the exercise of their fancied rights, the future of this Organization will be in serious jeopardy.

58. The events of the last few days have demonstrated the tremendous weight of world opinion that has been brought to bear against the reckless use of force. We refuse to believe that there is any nation so devoid of conscience and responsibility that it can continue to defy the moral judgement of the world.

59. In the view of many responsible nations, the action of the United Kingdom and France is a continuation of the tradition of colonialism. It does not require much foresight to see that no nation, however powerful, can turn back the clock in Asia and Africa, and resist the inexorable march of events. The nations of resurgent Asia and Africa are determined to exercise their sovereign rights in conformity with the principles

of the United Nations Charter. It is naïve to assume that this process of change can be arrested by the crushing of a leader or of leaders. The spirit of Asia and Africa can never be crushed.

60. It would be both expedient and dignified for the colonial Powers to accept the change with grace. In this connexion, I have no hesitation in applauding the United Kingdom Government for its timely recognition of the claims for freedom and self-determination in India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. This act earned the United Kingdom the admiration and respect of the whole world. I would appeal to the United Kingdom even at this late stage not to jeopardize this well-earned goodwill in the pursuit of an objective that is fraught with disaster. May I also address a similar appeal to the Governments of France and Israel.

61. In the tragic situation that has developed, my Government feels that the least that should be done is that, first, there should be an immediate cease-fire, and, secondly, all military forces should be withdrawn to their own territory. We feel also that this Assembly should continue in session until these objectives are achieved.

62. At this stage, may I take the liberty of delivering a message sent to this Assembly by my Prime Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike, which reads as follows:

"On behalf of the Government and people of Ceylon, I wish to express my sense of shock and perturbation at developments in the Middle East. I consider that there has been no adequate justification for the invasion of Egyptian territory by Israel and for the action taken thereafter by Britain and France. I consider the situation one of the utmost gravity to the whole world, and press most strongly that Israel, British and French forces be immediately withdrawn from Egyptian territory and the situation prevented from deteriorating into one that is bound to bring calamity and disaster to the whole world. I appeal to you in the name of humanity to do everything in your power to achieve this object."

63. I wish to express also my Government's appreciation of the positive stand taken by the Government of the United States in its earnest search for a peaceful solution of this problem, in spite of its traditional friendships.

64. May I express the sincere hope that the deliberations of this august body will restore peace and harmony to a trouble-torn world.

65. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): Before I enter into the substance of the matter for which this emergency session of the General Assembly has been called, I feel bound to point out, as has already been done by the representative of France, and as I did in the Security Council yesterday [751st meeting], that the procedure under resolution 377 (V) of the General Assembly, "Uniting for peace", has, in our view, been improperly invoked on this occasion. I stated in the Council that the draft resolution [S/3519] providing for the convening of this emergency special session of the General Assembly was out of order. I asked that the question be put to the vote, and the result of that vote showed that my doubts regarding the legality of the proposed reference to the General Assembly was shared by several members of the Council. On that occasion I accordingly reserved the position of my Government on the question whether the procedure under the "Uniting for peace" resolution had been properly invoked on this occasion.

66. I shall not restate the reasons why I believe that this procedure is out of order, and I do not wish to argue the point further now. I shall merely endorse the arguments which were advanced a few moments ago by the representative of France in support of the position which we both took up.

67. Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has nevertheless decided to attend this session, for an important reason. It is because it believes that the United Nations can and should do what it can to make effective contributions in the present grave situation in the Middle East.

68. The situation in the Middle East is indeed grave. I do not believe that it has been fully realized by those who may not be as intimately concerned with Middle Eastern affairs as we are how explosive the situation in the Middle East was a few days ago, when the United Kingdom and French Governments took the drastic steps which they felt obliged to take.

69. From all the information at our disposal, we had reason to judge that a major clash, whose consequences would have been incalculable, between Israel and its Arab neighbours was more imminent than at any time since the signing of the armistice agreements in 1949. The sudden Israel mobilization and incursion into Egypt made it imperative to take very speedy and effective measures to prevent a war between Israel and Egypt which could only lead to a general conflagration throughout the Middle East and which would, in its train, have involved prolonged disruption of free passage through the Suez Canal, the canal which is of such vital interest to so many nations.

70. It has long been the declared policy of the United Kingdom to do everything in its power to lower tension in the Middle East in order to bring about conditions favourable for the conclusion of a final peace settlement between Israel and its Arab neighbours. Unhappily, neither Israel nor the Arab States has seen fit to listen to our advice or to that of our friends. It is as a consequence of this that we are now faced with the present situation which culminated in the Israel incursion into Egypt. I think it is fair to say that the United Nations has done everything that it could do to promote the prospects of a final settlement and, in the meantime, to uphold the fabric of the armistice régime.

71. The General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretary-General and, in the area, the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, have done everything that was humanly possible. As regards the General Assembly, I would recall that at the seventh session, in 1952, a group of delegations, representing countries far from Palestine and with no partisan feelings in regard to the problem, put forward a proposal that the parties to the armistice agreements should negotiate directly with a view to a settlement. After a long and at times very heated discussion, their draft resolution failed to secure a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly; and, except in connexion with the budget of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, the General Assembly has not discussed the Palestine problem since then, four years ago.

72. Then let us look for a moment at the history of this question in the Security Council. As those representatives who have served in recent years on the Council will know, the Security Council has devoted a very great part of its activities to a continuous effort to uphold the armistice régime and to support the United Nations Chief of Staff. It is my impression—

and I should be interested to hear whether my present and past colleagues in the Council disagree with me on this—that the attitude of all the parties has been getting more and more refractory, and less and less inclined to take serious account of the Council's views in so far as these seem to them inconvenient.

73. In these circumstances, how could we have confidence, much as we should have liked to, in view of the past disregard shown by all parties for the United Nations wishes and injunctions and, indeed, disregard for their treaty obligations to one another, that any fresh injunctions by the Security Council would be effective to deal in time—and time was of the essence—with a situation which was getting so clearly out of control?

74. With regret, I say that the Security Council, in our opinion, could have provided no effective remedy in time.

75. I need not here go into the reasons why those provisions of the Charter which were designed to provide the Council with a military arm have remained in abeyance. It is well known that it is because a permanent member of the Security Council, by a persistent misuse of the veto, has seen fit to thwart the intentions of the Charter. The result has been that the world has not been able to rely on the United Nations for the collective security which the Organization was designed to provide. Least of all, in view of the intransigence of the parties and the cynical misuse of its veto power by the Soviet Union, could we expect swift and effective action from the United Nations in an emergency in the Middle East.

76. It is hard to say these things, but I fear they are true. It is precisely because of this unhappy limitation in the effective powers of the Security Council to deal with such an emergency that the United Kingdom and French Governments were compelled to intervene at once, as they were fortunately in a position to do.

77. It was through no wish of ours that a situation arose in which we were compelled to act independently of the United Nations. Indeed, as soon as the news of the Israel action reached us here in New York, in the afternoon of 29 October, I took immediate steps, with the representatives of the United States and France, to make it clear that the Council should be seized of this situation at once.

78. We did not, however, consider that the course of action proposed by the United States, without consultation with Her Majesty's Government, could effectively achieve the twin objectives of separating the belligerents at once and of safeguarding free passage through the Canal.

79. It was in these circumstances that we were obliged to cast our negative votes in the Security Council. The action which we and the French Government have taken is essentially of a temporary character, and, I repeat it, designed to deal with a unique emergency. Our intervention was swift because the emergency brooked no delay. It has been drastic because drastic action was evidently required. It is an emergency police action. The situation is not dissimilar to that which obtained at the time of the North Korean invasion. On that occasion the Member of the United Nations which had forces on hand and was in a position to intervene at once courageously did so. By a happy chance—and I mean the absence of the Soviet representative from the Security Council on that occasion—the Council was able to endorse the United States action. The same fortunate chance was not ours.

I cannot, however, believe that the United States would not, in any case, have acted, and rightly so, in the circumstances.

80. I would now like to try to fill in some of the background of the grave situation with which we are all faced in the Middle East, and which we judged to have reached the point where our own intervention had become essential.

81. Over the years, since the signing of the armistice agreements, every effort has been made to reduce tension between Israel and its Arab neighbours in order that the armistice agreements themselves should be fully respected and conditions created which could lead to permanent settlements in the Middle East. But, despite the continued effort of the Governments most closely concerned, namely, the United States, French and British Governments, and the injunctions of the United Nations, together with the persistent and skilful work of our Secretary-General, there has been a mounting series of incidents and the risks of war have become increasingly greater.

82. It would be a profitless task to attempt to apportion the blame between Israel and the Arab States. It may be, but I am not sure, that in terms of border incidents Israel has infringed the armistice agreements more seriously than have the Arab States. An increasingly serious situation culminated a few days ago in the partial mobilization by Israel of its forces, and a large-scale incursion into Egyptian territory in violation of the armistice agreements. But we must not lose sight of the fact that Israel has felt its very life to be threatened, in particular by Egypt, whose Government has proclaimed, again and again, that its aim is the total destruction of Israel.

83. Let us not forget that Egypt stands today in open defiance of the United Nations. It has deliberately maintained the exercise of belligerent rights against Israel and has refused to afford free passage to Israel ships and cargoes through the Suez Canal, thereby flouting the express injunctions of the Security Council [S/2322]. It is unrealistic to think that, in searching for a peaceful solution of the Palestine problem, we can ignore the declared aspirations of the Egyptian Government to establish an Egyptian hegemony throughout the Middle East, after having eliminated the State of Israel.

84. That is what has been happening, and it is essential to understand this background if we are to deal constructively with the present situation. For it is from these Egyptian policies in particular that much of the present crisis has sprung. I submit that to ignore them is to shun reality.

85. So grave, indeed, is the present situation that it would be wrong for this Assembly to turn a blind eye on the malevolent activities of a country, outside the area, which are no less pernicious for being partially concealed.

86. The Soviet Union bears a heavy burden of responsibility for the present situation. Having extended its domination over a number of ancient and civilized countries of Europe by overt aggression and by covert subversion, the Soviet Union had until recently been able to keep those great nations in subjection by such means of terrorism as the execution, on orders from Moscow, of sincere national patriots, and by the dreaded and hated secret police.

87. It then looked round for further areas to subjugate, and turned its attention to the Middle East. The

Soviet Union has repeatedly intervened in Middle Eastern affairs with the scarcely concealed purpose of discomforting the Western Allies and profiting from the disorder which it itself has helped to create. Both inside and outside the United Nations, Soviet influence has been used to incite the extremists in the Arab countries and to thwart all attempts to achieve a peaceful solution of the Palestine problem.

88. This callous policy was most blatantly revealed a year ago when, by arming Egypt with the most modern weapons, the Soviet Union deliberately brought to nought the careful efforts of the responsible Powers, the United Kingdom, France and the United States, to keep a balance between the war potential of the Arab States and Israel.

89. Not content with thus inciting the Egyptian extremists to follow out expansionist aims in the Middle East, the Soviet Union, by methods of propaganda and subversion, has sought to undermine the establishment of the other Arab States. I do not believe that Egypt would have dared defy the United Nations or forcibly seize the Suez Canal if it had not thought that it would never be brought to book because the Soviet Union could be relied upon to frustrate any efforts by the United Nations to establish peaceful conditions and the rule of law.

90. It was, above all, the Soviet Union's irresponsible exploitation of the privileges of a great Power that had made it impossible for the Security Council to mete out impartial justice as between Israel and its Arab neighbours. Who can deny that, as a consequence, the Security Council has been working under impossible conditions in attempting to maintain the peace in the Middle East?

91. It has indeed been for me ironical, in these last few days, to see the Soviet Union posing—and, it would seem, being accepted—as the apostle of peace, and to see the motives of the United Kingdom and France being maligned and misunderstood. It is more ironical if one pauses for a moment to consider the record of my country in the Middle East.

92. In the first place, it is no exaggeration to say that most of the countries in the area owe their existence as States at all to actions on the part of my country. Furthermore, our contribution to their continued existence as independent States and to their economic prosperity has been immeasurable. There has been a long tradition of friendship and co-operation between the Arab States and England. The emergence, under the aegis of the United Nations, of the State of Israel, has caused many new problems, but we have not been backward in the efforts that have been made to solve those problems. My country, as much as any other, has been responsible for keeping the peace in the Middle East. We have supported all the measures taken by the United Nations towards a just settlement. Again, I would ask representatives to contrast this with the attitude of one of our accusers.

93. I have dwelt at some length on the background in order that there should be no misunderstanding about the reasons which prompted Her Majesty's Government and the French Government to make the communications of 30 October 1956 to the Governments of Israel and Egypt.

94. The immediate situation with which we were confronted was Israel's incursion in force into Egyptian territory, in violation of the Egyptian-Israel General Armistice Agreement, and the ensuing threat to the safety of the Suez Canal.

95. The threat to the Canal arising from Israel movements in that direction—and I can assure this Assembly that it is only too clear that this threat was very real—introduced a further complication in an already highly explosive situation. If the Israel adventure were allowed to continue as planned, it would undoubtedly have given rise to a threat to ships and cargoes in passage, and to the security of the Canal itself. It would have imperilled free passage through that vital waterway. It was a threat to the vital interests of my country, as well as to those many nations which are dependent on free passage through the Canal.

96. The Assembly must acknowledge that, by our swift intervention, the Israel advance has already been halted and this threat to the Canal has been averted. I do not know of any alternative steps which could have achieved this result.

97. It is absurd to suggest—as it has, I regret, been suggested—that our intervention was part of a long-prepared plot concerted with Israel. Such allegations are not only absurd, they are false. It is common knowledge, I think, that, over the past few months, our relations with Israel have been difficult and strained, precisely because of our efforts to restrain Israel from retaliation against its Arab neighbours.

98. Between Egypt and Israel the attitude of Her Majesty's Government remains quite impartial. We do not and could not condone this Israel action, which is clearly in violation of the Armistice Agreement and aimed at the occupation of positions in Egyptian territory. It was indeed precisely because of this very serious Israel violation that we judged it necessary ourselves to intervene. It is, of course, our view that Israel should withdraw its forces from its present positions as soon as this can be arranged.

99. Let me, at this stage, towards the end of my speech, briefly restate the objectives of the Anglo-French intervention. The overriding purposes are: the safeguarding of the Suez Canal and the restoration of peaceful conditions in the Middle East. Let me say with all the emphasis at my command that neither we nor the French Government have any desire whatever that the military action which we have taken should be more than temporary in its duration. It will be terminated as soon as the emergency is over. It is our intention that our action to protect the Canal, to terminate hostilities and to separate the combatants should be as short as possible in duration.

100. The action taken by my Government and by the Government of France has been called an act of aggression against Egypt. This is a charge which we emphatically deny. There is much debate about what constitutes aggression, but it is certainly not true to say that every armed action constitutes aggression. Every action must clearly be judged in the light of the circumstances in which it has taken place and the motives which have prompted it.

101. The action of France and the United Kingdom is not aggression. We do not seek the domination of Egypt or of any part of Egyptian territory. Our purpose is peaceful, not warlike. Our aim is to re-establish the rule of law, not to violate it; to protect, and not to destroy. What we have undertaken is a temporary police action necessitated by the turn of events in the Middle East and occasioned by the imperative need not only to protect the vital interests of my own and many other countries, but also to take immediate measures for the restoration of order.

102. Our action is in no way aimed at the sovereignty of Egypt, and still less at its territorial integrity. It is not of our choice that the police action which we have been obliged to take is occurring on Egyptian territory. We have taken the only action which we could clearly see would be effective in holding the belligerents apart and which would give us a chance to re-establish peace in the area. By entering the Suez Canal area, we would only be seeking to protect a vital waterway, and it is also the only practicable line of division between the combatants.

103. Finally, on this point, I cannot help contrasting the motives of this police action undertaken by France and the United Kingdom in the Middle East with the armed action of the Soviet Union aimed at perpetuating its domination of Hungary.

104. I suggest that there is a great need for realism about this situation. After all, the fighting in which Israel is involved is taking place in Egypt, and it is therefore only in Egypt that it can be stopped. When two householders have committed a breach of the peace, the policeman has no option but to attempt to separate them where it is taking place.

105. Although my Government was obliged to disagree with the measures which it was proposed that the Security Council should take to meet this emergency, because they would have been too late to be effective, I trust that, in the light of what I have said, this Assembly will recognize that the Anglo-French intervention has been justified and is indeed in the best interests of all concerned.

106. I can well understand that the emotional shock naturally created by the fast-moving pattern of events may have obscured the realities behind the events in the Middle East. In the light of what I have said about the ambitions of Egypt and the policies of the Soviet Union, I hope that the true situation will now be clearer.

107. It is indeed ironical to see today in the United Nations the two Powers which have contributed so much to the world Organization being arraigned in certain quarters for actions which they have taken in the interests of the world community and of the United Nations itself.

108. We believe that the United Nations now has a unique opportunity to bring peace to the Middle East. It is our hope that the emergency action we have taken to protect the Canal, to terminate hostilities and to separate the belligerents will result in a settlement which will prevent such a situation from arising in the future. We must speedily work for a settlement of the whole Middle East question which takes account of the legitimate interests of the Arab countries as well as those of Israel.

109. I am not making any precise proposals—it would be inappropriate on such an occasion—but I should like to throw out the suggestion that one method of achieving this would be to convene a suitably constituted conference to consider how best to promote a permanent settlement.

110. I realize that there may at this moment be a temptation for this Assembly to take no effective action but merely to call upon all parties to cease hostilities and withdraw, but I must solemnly state—and I say this with great emphasis—that, if that were the only action which the United Nations was prepared to take at this time of crisis, we would merely revert to the continuation of the chaos in the Middle East which

we have endured in the last eight years. We should thus inexorably be drawing nearer to the time when the growing threat of war became a reality.

111. The first urgent task is to separate Israel and Egypt and to stabilize the position. That is our purpose. If the United Nations were willing to take over the physical task of maintaining peace in the area, no one would be better pleased than we. But police action there must be, to separate the belligerents and to stop the hostilities.

112. In my sober submission, all Members of the United Nations should earnestly bend their efforts to bring about a lasting settlement which can replace the armistice agreements which have now proved to be too fragile for their task of preserving peace and order in the Middle East.

113. Mr. TSIANG (China): Yesterday afternoon, when I voted in the Security Council for the draft resolution to call an emergency special session of the General Assembly, I explained to the Security Council that I was primarily interested in a constructive approach. By that I meant that my primary interest was to help to restore peace and to find solutions in harmony with law and justice. I also stated that, in voting for a special session of the General Assembly, I was not interested in the mere denunciation or condemnation of any party; neither was I interested in providing an occasion for propaganda and controversy.

114. The United Nations, looked at from one angle, is a mechanism for the preservation of peace. It is a delicate and complicated mechanism. If we are to use this mechanism in a constructive way, I submit that in such complicated questions we cannot use push-button operations. The Charter of the United Nations provides us with principles which the Secretary-General has rightly called holy. I submit that the application of these holy principles to our problems, again, cannot be a push-button application. We want to stop war; at the same time we must work hard to remove the cause of war.

115. Time is pressing. I do not wish to make any long statement. I wish to indicate the kind of action which, in the opinion of my delegation, would be suited to the present occasion.

116. I wish, first of all, to take up the Israel phase of the problem. I do not wish to go into the history of the present conflict or the invasion by Israel of Egyptian territory. The officers of the United Nations charged with the supervision of the truce have certified to the United Nations and to the Security Council that Israel has violated the armistice.

117. My delegation would favour, first of all, an unconditional and immediate cease-fire. I think the situation obviously calls for that. Now, whereas one party can break the peace, it requires the co-operation of both parties to restore the peace. Therefore, the cease-fire obligation must be laid upon both Israel and Egypt.

118. Secondly, I feel certain that we all would favour the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel's forces from the territory of Egypt. However, cease-fire and withdrawal are interrelated, indeed, inseparable. Without the cease-fire, the withdrawal would not be possible.

119. I note that General Burns, in trying to prevent a worsening of the situation in the Sinai peninsula, called for a cease-fire and withdrawal. Therefore my delegation strongly urges that, in so far as we deal

with the Israel stage of this conflict, we ask for an immediate and unconditional cease-fire, and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel's troops from the territory of Egypt.

120. Would these two steps alone suffice? After we had taken these two steps, could the Assembly say that we had done all we could to settle the Israel phase of this conflict? I think not. I think it is our duty to bring the moral prestige of the United Nations and of the General Assembly to bear to remove the causes of war and to prevent future recurrences of the conflict which we face today.

121. My term of service in the United Nations has covered the entire period of the Palestine question. This question is in fact a chain of events, conflicts and developments. When we examine each link in that chain, as the Security Council has had to examine the individual links on numerous occasions, we are, for the most part, able to assign blame and responsibility. We can pinpoint that, on a particular occasion, country "X" committed aggression or violated the armistice. That is possible in most of the individual links in this chain of events. But, when we examine the chain as a whole, it would be very difficult and unfair to say that one party, and one party alone, bears the whole responsibility for the recurrence of conflict in the Middle East. The responsibility is two-sided, and the restoration of peace in that region does require the co-operation of all parties.

122. Now that this emergency special session of the General Assembly is meeting—and I feel that the Security Council, in calling for this session, has raised the moral prestige of the United Nations—we must seize the opportunity to do as much as we can to remove the causes of disturbance in the Middle East. I suggest that this special session should make an appeal both to the Arab States and to Israel to make the transition from the state of armistice to the state of peace. The state of armistice has lasted seven years. It has not been able to stand the strains. It cannot stand the strains in the future. We must either advance to the state of peace or we will be forced to retreat to future conflicts and wars.

123. Therefore, so far as the Israel phase of the present conflict is concerned, my delegation stands for: first, an immediate and unconditional cease-fire; secondly, an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel troops from Egypt; thirdly, an appeal both to the Arab States neighbouring on Israel and to Israel to proceed to make the transition from the state of armistice to the state of peace.

124. Let me now turn to the British-French phase of the present conflict. It is a sad sight. These events were both a shock and a surprise to me. I choose to interpret these developments as a temporary detour which the United Kingdom and France have taken from their usual path of peace. I hope that they will find that this detour leads nowhere, that this detour is a dead end, and I hope that they will soon return to their usual path of peace which they have followed in the community of States.

125. I do not care to assign, and I am not interested in assigning, blame or responsibility. Therefore, so far as this phase is concerned, my delegation stands for: first, an immediate and unconditional cease-fire; secondly, a withdrawal—in case there is anything to withdraw. I am not informed militarily up to the minute. I do not know where the forces are. I hope that there is nothing to withdraw. But, if there are forces to be

withdrawn from Egyptian territory, or from the Egyptian air, or from Egyptian waters, such forces of the United Kingdom and France should be withdrawn.

126. But in this case, too, I do not believe that these two measures—a cease-fire and a withdrawal—would be sufficient. They are important; they are steps that must be taken right away; we must insist on the priority of these two steps, and they must be taken unconditionally—the United Nations cannot bargain for a return to peace. However, facing this complicated situation, I do not believe that these two steps alone would be sufficient. If we should limit ourselves to these two steps, I have the feeling that we would be resorting to what I called a push-button application of the principles of the Charter.

127. A moment ago, I heard the explanations of the representative of the United Kingdom. I must say frankly that I do not accept his explanations, and I have a feeling that those explanations were specially tailored in view of the Charter and the atmosphere in the Assembly. I think the real motives lie elsewhere. And I venture to say that, in taking the actions which they have taken, France and the United Kingdom are not without provocation. There, again, we face a chain of events. The first link in that chain was Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal. I stated in the Security Council [737th meeting] how my delegation regarded that act. We felt that that act was not correct either in substance or in manner. Fortunately, that question was brought to the Security Council, and fortunately there was some kind of agreement. I myself do not say that the six principles agreed upon in the Security Council resolution [S/3675] are a complete solution of the Suez Canal question. I think they do point the way to a solution.

128. I choose to think that the real motive of the United Kingdom and France in this instance is connected with the vital interests that these two States—and others, too—have in the Suez Canal. Therefore my delegation would like to see the Assembly take a further step, to appeal to all the parties concerned to apply immediately the principles accepted by the Security Council and to work out a régime under which, on the one hand, Egyptian sovereignty would be accepted, and, on the other hand, the users of the Canal would feel guaranteed in their freedom of navigation.

129. If we were to limit ourselves, in this phase too, merely to a cease-fire and a withdrawal, again I feel that the Assembly would be doing only a part of its duty. Even if we should succeed in this instance in restoring peace, we might be allowing material to accumulate which some day would again face us with similar problems.

130. The Assembly today, in so far as it can act, must fall back on world public opinion. Fortunately, or unfortunately, public opinion with regard to the Palestine question is divided. It is divided in every country, and I would even venture to say it is divided even in Israel itself. There are extremists and there are moderates in Israel. So is public opinion with regard to the Suez Canal. If the Assembly adopted a resolution which primarily and instantly could restore peace, and at the same time would go far to remove the causes of war, I believe that we would be able to fall back upon the opinion of the moderate people not only in Israel but also in the United Kingdom and France.

131. I think that, in taking action on the Palestine question on the lines I have indicated, and in taking action with regard to the Suez Canal on the lines I

have indicated, we would have strengthened our decision to have a cease-fire and a withdrawal of forces.

132. Mr. DULLES (United States of America): I doubt that any representative ever spoke from this rostrum with as heavy a heart as I have brought here tonight. We speak on a matter of vital importance, where the United States finds itself unable to agree with three nations with which it has ties of deep friendship, of admiration and of respect, and two of which constitute our oldest and most trusted and reliable allies.

133. The fact that we differ with such friends has led us to reconsider and re-evaluate our position with the utmost care, and that has been done at the highest levels of our Government, but even after that re-evaluation we still find ourselves in disagreement. And, because it seems to us that that disagreement involves principles which far transcend the immediate issue, we feel impelled to make our point of view known to you and, through you, to the world.

134. This is the first time that this Assembly has met pursuant to the "Uniting for peace" resolution which the General Assembly adopted in 1950 [resolution 377 (V)]. I was a member of the United States delegation and had the primary responsibility for handling that proposal in committee and on the floor of this Assembly. It was then the period of the communist attack upon the Republic of Korea, and at that time surely we little thought that the resolution would be invoked for the first time under the conditions which now prevail.

135. What are the facts that bring us here? There is, first of all, the fact that there occurred, beginning last Monday, 29 October 1956, a deep penetration of Egypt by Israel forces. Then, quickly following upon that action, there came action by France and the United Kingdom in subjecting Egypt first to a twelve-hour ultimatum, and then to an armed attack, which is now going on from the air with the declared purpose of gaining temporary control of the Suez Canal, presumably to make it more secure. Then there is the third fact that after the matter had been brought to the Security Council, it was sought to deal with it by a draft resolution which was vetoed by the United Kingdom and France, which cast the only dissenting votes against the draft resolution.

136. Thereupon, under the provisions of the "Uniting for peace" resolution, the matter was brought before the Assembly upon a call from the Secretary-General instituted by a vote of seven members of the Security Council requiring that this Assembly convene in emergency special session within twenty-four hours.

137. The United States recognizes full well that the facts which I have referred to are not the only facts in this situation. There is a long and sad history of irritations and provocations. There have been armistice violations by Israel and against Israel. There have been violations by Egypt of the Treaty of 1888 governing the Suez Canal, and disregard by Egypt of the Security Council resolution of 1951 calling for the passage through that Canal of Israel ships and cargoes [S/2322]. There has been a heavy rearmament of Egypt in somewhat ominous circumstances. There was the abrupt seizure by Egypt of the Universal Suez Canal Company which, largely under British and French auspices, had been operating that Canal ever since it was opened ninety years ago. There had been repeated expressions of hostility by the Government of Egypt

towards other Governments with which it ostensibly had and should have friendly relations.

138. We are not blind to the fact that what has happened within the last two or three days has emerged from a murky background. We have, however, come to the conclusion that these provocations—serious as they were—cannot justify the resort to armed force which has occurred during these last two or three days and which is continuing tonight.

139. To be sure, the United Nations has perhaps not done all that it should have done. I have often—and particularly in recent weeks—pointed out that Article 1, paragraph 1, of the United Nations Charter calls for the settlement of these matters in conformity with the principles of justice and international law; that it calls not merely for a peaceful but also for a just solution. The United Nations may have been somewhat laggard, somewhat impotent, in dealing with many injustices inherent in this Middle Eastern situation. I think that we should, and I hope that we shall, give our most earnest thought—perhaps at the next regular session of the General Assembly—to the problem of how we can do more to establish and implement the principles of justice and international law. We have not done all that we should have done in that respect, and on that account part of the responsibility for the present events lies at our doorstep.

140. If, however, we were to agree that the existence in the world of injustices which this Organization has so far been unable to cure means that the principle of the renunciation of force should no longer be respected, that whenever a nation feels that it has been subjected to injustice it should have the right to resort to force in an attempt to correct that injustice, then I fear that we should be tearing this Charter into shreds, that the world would again be a world of anarchy, that the great hopes placed in this Organization and in our Charter would vanish, and that we should again be where we were at the start of the Second World War, with another tragic failure in place of what we had hoped—as we still can hope—would constitute a barrier to the recurrence of world war, which, in the words of the preamble to the Charter, has twice in our lifetime brought untold sorrow to mankind.

141. This problem of the Suez Canal, which perhaps lies at the basis of a considerable part of the forcible action now being taken, has been dealt with over the past three months in many ways and on many occasions. I doubt whether, in all history, so sincere and so sustained an effort has been made to find a just and peaceful solution.

142. When, on 26 July 1956, the Universal Suez Canal Company was abruptly seized by the Egyptian Government, all the world felt that a crisis of momentous proportions had been precipitated. Within, I think, three days after that event, representatives of the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France met together in London to see what could be done about the situation. Already at that time voices were raised in favour of an immediate resort to force in an attempt to restore the *status quo* before the Egyptian seizure. But it was the judgement of all three of our Governments that such resort to force would be unjustified—certainly under the conditions existing at the time—and that efforts should first be made to bring about a peaceful and just solution.

143. Instead of any resort to force at that critical moment, the three Governments agreed to call a conference. Invitations were issued to twenty-four na-

tions—including nations which were clearly surviving signatories of the Convention of 1888, nations which were the principal users of the Canal, and nations whose pattern of traffic showed a particular dependence upon the Canal. And twenty-two of those twenty-four nations met. Egypt declined to attend the conference. Out of the twenty-two nations at the conference, eighteen agreed upon what they regarded as sound principles for arriving at a peaceful solution which would be just and fair and which would secure for the future the open use of this waterway.

144. That agreement of the eighteen was sent to Cairo as a proposal. It was presented to President Nasser, who rejected it. Then, the eighteen met again in London and considered a proposal for creating an association, a co-operative group, of the users of the Canal. We felt that it might be possible to work out, with the Egyptian authorities, on some practical, provisional basis, an acceptable arrangement for ensuring the operation of the Canal in a free and impartial way. While that association was in the process of being organized, the question was brought to the Security Council of the United Nations by France and the United Kingdom.

145. In the Security Council, six principles were unanimously adopted [S/3675]. Egypt, which participated in the proceedings, although it is not a member of the Council, concurred. Those principles were, in essence, the ones which had been adopted by the eighteen nations which met in London [S/3665]. A second part of the draft resolution which was presented to the Security Council looked forward to the implementation of the principles. That part was not adopted—owing, in that case, to a veto by the Soviet Union.

146. Despite that fact, there occurred under the auspices of the Secretary-General—to whom I should like to pay a tribute for his great contribution to the efforts at a just and peaceful solution of this problem—exchanges of views on how the six principles could be implemented. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say something which I am quite sure the Secretary-General would confirm—that is, that very considerable progress was made and that it seemed that a just and peaceful solution, acceptable to all, was near at hand. It was hoped that those negotiations would continue.

147. I would remind the Assembly that, at the close of that series of Security Council meetings, I made a statement [743rd meeting, para. 111], which was acquiesced in by all present, to the effect that the Security Council remained seized of the problem and that it was hoped that the exchanges of views by the three countries most directly concerned—Egypt, France and the United Kingdom—with the assistance of the Secretary-General, would continue. They did not continue, although I am not aware of any insuperable obstacle to their continuance.

148. Instead, there occurred the events to which I have already referred: the resort to violence, first by Israel and then by France and the United Kingdom—the events which again brought the matter to the Security Council and which, in the face of the vetoes cast there, have brought the matter before the General Assembly tonight.

149. Surely, I think that we must feel that the peaceful processes which the Charter requests every Member of the United Nations to follow had not been exhausted. Even in the case of Israel—which has a legitimate complaint, since Egypt has never complied with the Security Council's 1951 resolution recognizing Israel's

right to the use of the Canal—there was a better prospect, because the principles adopted at the series of Security Council meetings on the Suez Canal, and adopted with the concurrence of Egypt, called for the passage of ships and cargoes through the Canal without discrimination and provided that the Canal could not be used or abused for the purposes of any nation, including Egypt.

150. Thus, peaceful processes seemed to be at work. As I have said, it appeared—at least to us—that those peaceful processes had not run their course. While I should be the last to say that there can never be circumstances where force may not be resorted to, and certainly there can be resort to force for defensive purposes under Article 51 of the Charter, it seems to us that, in the circumstances which I have described, the violent armed attack by three Members of the United Nations upon a fourth cannot be treated as anything but a grave error inconsistent with the principles and purposes of the Charter; an error which, if persisted in, would gravely undermine this Organization and its Charter.

151. The question then is: what shall we do? It seems to us imperative that something should be done, because what has been done, in apparent contravention of our Charter, has not yet gone so far as irretrievably to damage this Organization or to destroy it, and indeed, our "Uniting for peace" resolution was designed to meet just such circumstances as have arisen. It is still possible for the united will of this Organization to have an impact upon the situation and perhaps to make it apparent to the world, not only for the benefit of ourselves but for all posterity, that there is here the beginning of a world order. We do not, any of us, live in a society in which acts of disorder do not occur, but all of us live in societies where, if such acts do occur, something is done by the constituted authority to deal with them.

152. At the moment, we are the constituted authority, and while, under the Charter, we do not have the power of action, we do have a power of recommendation, a power which, if it reflects the moral judgement of the world community, world opinion, will be influential upon the present situation.

153. It is animated by such considerations that the United States has introduced a draft resolution [A/3256] which I should like to read out:

"The General Assembly,

"Noting the disregard on many occasions by parties to the Israel-Arab armistice agreements of 1949 of the terms of such agreements, and that the armed forces of Israel have penetrated deeply into Egyptian territory in violation of the General Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 24 February 1949,

"Noting that armed forces of France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland are conducting military operations against Egyptian territory,

"Noting that traffic through the Suez Canal is now interrupted to the serious prejudice of many nations,

"Expressing its grave concern over these developments,

"1. Urges as a matter of priority that all parties now involved in hostilities in the area agree to an immediate cease-fire and, as part thereof, halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area;

"2. Urges the parties to the armistice agreements promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice

lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements;

"3. *Recommends* that all Member States refrain from introducing military goods in the area of hostilities and in general refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of the present resolution;

"4. *Urges* that, upon the cease-fire being effective, steps be taken to reopen the Suez Canal and restore secure freedom of navigation;

"5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to observe and promptly report on the compliance with the present resolution to the Security Council and to the General Assembly, for such further action as they may deem appropriate in accordance with the Charter;

"6. *Decides* to remain in emergency session pending compliance with the present resolution."

154. I recognize full well that a recommendation which is merely directed towards a cease-fire, to getting back to the armistice lines the foreign land forces in Egypt which, so far as we are aware today, are only those of Israel, to stopping the attacks by air and to preventing the introduction of new belligerent forces in the area, and which puts primary emphasis upon that and upon the opening, as rapidly as possible, of the Suez Canal, is not an adequate and comprehensive treatment of the situation. All of us, I think, would hope that out of this tragedy there should come something better than merely a restoration of the conditions out of which this tragedy arose. There must be something better than that, and surely this Organization has a duty to strive to bring that betterment about. If we should fail to do that, we, too, would be negligent and would have dealt only with one aspect of the problem.

155. I have said, and I deeply believe, that peace is a coin which has two sides—one is the avoidance of the use of force and the other is the creation of conditions of justice. In the long run you cannot expect one without the other. I do not by the form of this draft resolution want to seem in any way to believe that this situation can be adequately taken care of merely by the steps provided therein. There needs to be something better than the uneasy armistices which have existed now for these eight years between Israel and its Arab neighbours. There needs to be a greater sense of confidence and sense of security in the free and equal

operation of the Canal than has existed since three months ago, when President Nasser seized the Universal Suez Canal Company. These things I regard as of the utmost importance.

156. But if we say that it is all right for the fighting to go on until these difficult and complicated matters are settled, then I fear that such a situation will be created that no settlement will be possible, that the war will have intensified and may have spread, that the world will be divided by new bitterness and that the foundation for peace will be tragically shattered. These things that I speak of need to be done, and I believe that they are in the process of being done because the Security Council is already seized of these matters and has been working upon them in a constructive way.

157. We must put first things first. I believe that the first thing is to stop the fighting as rapidly as possible, lest it becomes a conflagration which endangers us all—and that is not beyond the realm of possibility. As President Eisenhower said last night, the important thing is to limit and to extinguish the fighting in so far as it is possible and as promptly as possible. I hope, therefore, that this point of view, reflected in the draft resolution, will prevail, because I fear that if we do not act, and act promptly and with sufficient unanimity of opinion so that our recommendations carry real influence, there is great danger that what has started and what has been called a police action may develop into something which is far more grave; and that, even if that does not happen, the apparent impotence of this Organization to deal with this matter may set a precedent which will lead other nations to attempt to take into their own hands the remedying of what they believe to be their injustices. If that happens, the future will be dark indeed.

158. When we wrote the Charter at San Francisco in 1945, we thought that we had perhaps seen the worst in war and that our task was to prevent a recurrence of what had been. Indeed, what then had been was tragic enough. But now we know that what can be will be infinitely more tragic than what we saw in the Second World War. I believe that at this critical juncture we owe the highest duty to ourselves, to our peoples, and to posterity to take action which will ensure that this fire which has started shall not spread but shall be promptly extinguished; and then to turn with renewed vigour to curing the injustices out of which this trouble has risen.

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.



CONTENTS

Agenda item 5:

Page

Question considered by the Security Council at its
749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956
(continued) 13

President: Mr. Rudecindo ORTEGA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 5

**Question considered by the Security Council at
its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 Octo-
ber 1956 (continued)**

1. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): We have met in extraordinary session to consider a situation of extraordinary urgency. We are here met to try to hold in check, if we can, awesome events of catastrophic possibilities. The peace we have thus far been seeking desperately to preserve has been breached deeply and fearfully. We must heal that breach determinedly, by every pacific method the Charter permits, as we should; and by every effective method the situation requires, if we must. Now, more than ever, this United Nations must prove that it can be equal to the peril that is a challenge both to its own existence and to the peace of the world, which it was organized to keep. This, truly, is a moment of decision. The crisis calls for prompt remedial action, not idle words. I shall, therefore, be brief.

2. There are two ways of approaching the problem before us: First, to attend to right first and peace afterwards; secondly, to attend to peace first and right afterwards.

3. The first procedure is to ascertain the facts, determine which of the parties is in error, and then tell him to do what is right. This is the normal procedure in an atmosphere of calm and quiet.

4. The second procedure is to ask the parties, first, to go back to their original positions, provide an acceptable *modus vivendi* in the interim, and, after tranquillity has been restored, determine who is right and who is wrong. This is the usual procedure in an environment in flames.

5. If we adopt the first, I fear we shall get nowhere. No party in the thick of the fight will ever admit that he is wrong. Indeed, the more strongly you point to his error, the more stubbornly he would plunge into it. If we adopt the second course, we have every chance of saving the peace—which, for the present, is our primary and immediate concern.

6. Postulates of right and wrong must yield first to the exigencies of the moment. It pays to know who is right or who is wrong only if we survive. War—and the inevitable death to which it leads—does not linger on the witness-stand to gaze leisurely at the symbol of justice.

7. My Government certainly has its own views on the rights and wrongs of the crisis before us, but we will concern ourselves solely with how peace can be restored. We offer no formal proposal, but we will throw out some of our views for what they may be worth. It is the view of my Government that the world's peace can be salvaged within the framework of the following formula: First, restoration of the parties directly involved in the crisis to the *status quo* before the outbreak of the hostilities; secondly, the establishment immediately thereafter of a *modus vivendi*; and thirdly, resumption of peaceful negotiations on the issues involved. These are consecutive stages, and each stage involves its own practical measures.

8. At the first stage, to effectuate the restoration of the *status quo ante*, two steps are necessary. First, the United Kingdom, France, Egypt and Israel should immediately observe a cease-fire. This accomplished—and this is the second step—the United Kingdom and France, on the one hand, should be asked to withdraw their forces from Egyptian territory within a specified period, and, on the other hand, Israel and Egyptian forces should be withdrawn, simultaneously wherever possible, to their respective demarcation lines under the Egyptian-Israel General Armistice Agreement.

9. At the second stage—the establishment of an acceptable *modus vivendi* in the interim—two issues, if we are to be realistic, are immediately involved: the administration of the Suez Canal and the enforcement of the General Armistice Agreement.

10. The United Kingdom and France justified their action on the plea of protecting the international waterway, while Egypt, on the other hand, views with hostility the operation of the Suez Canal Users' Association.

11. As a first step in the establishment of this *modus vivendi*, temporarily—and I say “temporarily” with emphasis—the United Kingdom and France, on the one hand, and Egypt, on the other, could be asked to yield the administration of the Canal to an international commission to be created by the United Nations. During this interim arrangement, the proceeds of the Canal operation, after deducting the operational expenses and other obligations, would be held in trust, subject to disposition after the parties had come to a final settlement in the resumption of peaceful negotiations envisaged in the last stage of this proposal. This should not be a cause of alarm to Egypt, because, as I emphasize here, this would be no more than a temporary expedient. As soon as a final settlement was arrived at by the parties in the negotiations contemplated in the last stage, the international commission to be created by the United Nations would yield the administration back again to the machinery agreed upon by the parties.

12. Between Egypt and Israel, after withdrawal of their forces to the respective demarcation lines envisaged in the first part of this proposal, the Secretary-General would promptly resume his functions under the resolution adopted by the Security Council on 4

April 1956 [S/3575]. It would then be his task, among other things, to confer promptly with the Governments concerned with a view to tracing the causes of the unfortunate incidents which have brought about the hostilities and to seek such measures as he might deem appropriate to ensure the effective enforcement of the General Armistice Agreement.

13. We come now to the third and last stage. As the machinery of the *modus vivendi* envisaged in the second part of this proposal commenced to operate, and as calm and tranquillity were sufficiently restored, then, as the first step, the United Kingdom, France and Egypt would resume their peaceful negotiations on the Suez Canal question, with due regard to the six principles already agreed upon between them, until a satisfactory solution had been reached. At that juncture, the advisability of adding two disinterested countries to the negotiation group might be considered, so as to introduce into the negotiation moderating and conciliatory elements which could help to facilitate agreement.

14. Lastly, the Security Council could reconvene to consider more effective measures to ensure faithful compliance with the General Armistice Agreement between Israel and Egypt and devise additional measures to cope with the alleged causes of the repeated breaches of that agreement.

15. We wish to emphasize, in closing, that the formula we have outlined is no more than a temporary expedient to restore the peace. It is not by any means designed as a permanent solution of the outstanding issues between the parties. No prejudgement of their claims is contemplated. It is not intended to pre-empt any of their rights. It is clearly understood that the parties would be at perfect liberty to prosecute their respective contentions after peace had been restored.

16. My delegation is pleased that, except for the second stage of our proposal, the draft resolution presented by the Secretary of State of the United States [A/3256] agrees substantially with it and is animated by the same objective: the need for the immediate restoration of peace through the cessation of hostilities.

17. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): This emergency special session of the General Assembly will be remembered by future generations as one held to save right, peace and justice from being dented by aggression and colonialism. It will go into the annals of history as a great accomplishment of nations uniting for peace.

18. We meet today to consider an exceedingly grave situation that has been created by a premeditated, unprovoked open aggression against Egypt. The champions of this aggression carried out their plan in complete disregard of human intelligence, apart from their violations of their international undertakings, of the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the standards of civilization.

19. The plot, horrible and dismaying as it is, is so obvious that nothing could hide it. Israel, whose Government was condemned by every evidence and by the Security Council as an aggressor, was used as a tool to facilitate a still wider aggression against peaceful, independent Egypt. Consequently, Egypt became suddenly the target of a triple aggression by Israel, the United Kingdom and France. The conscience of the world was indeed shocked to see Egypt and the Egyptians come overnight under combined heavy fire and bombardment from the air, from the sea and from the land for no sin which they had committed.

20. It was in face of this intolerable situation that a high sense of manhood and honour moved Mr. Eisen-

hower, President of the United States of America, to press for an emergency meeting of the Security Council to deal with the situation when it first started with the Israel aggression against Egypt. It was most regrettable, however, that the noble efforts of the majority of the members of the Security Council failed to achieve the adoption of a resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of Israel forces from Egyptian territory, because of the vetoes of the United Kingdom and France.

21. The issue before us is most serious, and calls for the speediest action by this Assembly. The world is now witnessing a flagrant aggression carried out by Israel against Egypt, and an armed expedition carried out by France and the United Kingdom against Egyptian territory and its inhabitants. In violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, Israel, on the one hand, is aiming to gain more territory of Palestine, while the United Kingdom and France aim to occupy the Egyptian territory of the Suez Canal zone by force of arms.

22. Will the international community leave the victim at the mercy of aggression? Will the elements of virtue and righteousness throughout the world retreat in the face of violence and destruction? Fellow representatives, my Government appeals to you all, to your Governments and to your nations to hasten to join in a collective effort to stop this invasion of Egypt. Apart from any moral consideration, let me summarize to you the consequences of the present triple military action against Egypt.

23. Israel is driving militarily to occupy the Gaza strip, which is the only remaining part of southern Palestine under Egyptian administration. This strip is an area of vulnerable fertile plain-land along the coast of the Mediterranean, fifty miles long and five miles wide. It is indefensible; therefore it is difficult for any army to hold out trying to defend it. There live in this strip of land 300,000 Palestinian Arabs. The Israel aggression, if not halted immediately, will seal their fate. Once Israel succeeds in occupying the Gaza area with its large attacking force, the Arab inhabitants there will be thrown out either across the borders into the surrounding desert to meet death and destruction once again, or into the sea, or they will be liquidated and annihilated under a new Israel suppression. Israel will then get more space for the Zionist immigrants converging on it from the four corners of the globe.

24. As to the aims of the United Kingdom and France, they are well known. They want to occupy the Suez Canal zone by force. However, an immediate objective of these two States is to complicate matters for the present Egyptian Government, headed by President Nasser, who they allege is inflaming the Arab world with nationalism and the call for freedom. Thus, by breaking him, according to their illusions, they will be in a position to put down the progressing nationalistic movement in all other Arab countries and territories.

25. This is the situation in brief. This aggression by Israel, on the one hand, and the military action by France and the United Kingdom, on the other hand, are therefore directed not against Egypt alone but against the Arab homeland and the Arab nation as a whole.

26. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is pledged to stand by the side of Egypt, its Arab sister State, in defending peace and stability in our area and in repelling the aggression and invasion led against the Arab peoples and the Arab territories. Jordan and

Egypt are both members of the Arab League of States, both are parties to a regional collective defence pact, and both are parts of the Arab homeland and the Arab nation. We have our undertakings to Egypt, and we will live up to those undertakings. We shall stand together to defend our safety, our existence, our freedom and our future. The Arab countries will meet the situation and will meet it boldly, because we have faith in right, in justice and in God.

27. That is our pledge. But there is a greater pledge, a pledge which we share with all the Members here, a pledge in which we are all united and to which we are all devoted. It is the pledge of our holy Charter, of brotherhood and peace among all nations. In the name of this common cause, my delegation respectfully requests the Members of the United Nations to settle the present grave situation.

28. The delegation of Jordan has examined the draft resolution submitted by the United States [A/3256]. We feel that a draft resolution appropriate to meet the present situation should have gone further and should have included the following points: a condemnation of the military action taken by Israel, France and the United Kingdom against Egypt; the application of sanctions against Israel for its consistent aggression and continued violations; in case an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of the attacking forces from Egyptian territory were not effected, provision for United Nations assistance to Egypt, the aggrieved party. Nevertheless, in view of the urgency of the present situation, my delegation is prepared to vote in favour of the United States draft resolution as an immediate measure to deal with the situation.

29. Mr. URRUTIA (Colombia) (*translated from Spanish*): When we Latin American countries were invited to San Francisco, we had before us the agreements concluded by the great Powers at Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta, which in reality constituted a tripartite alliance aimed essentially at the absolute prohibition of the use of force by any country in the world, even in defence of its lawful rights, except with the express authorization of the Security Council. We opposed that principle, because we considered that the exercise of certain rights, such as that of self-defence, was so sacred that it should not be made subject to a veto in the Security Council. The great Powers accepted our point of view, but with the express limitation that the right to use force without the authorization of the Security Council should apply only to cases of self-defence, and not to self-defence simply but to self-defence in the case of an armed attack. It was in the light of that principle that Article 51 of the Charter was drafted by Mr. Dulles, Senator Vandenberg and Mr. Rockefeller, together with the representatives of the Latin American countries.

30. Today, however, we are faced with the situation which I shall now describe. We do not want to embark on a discussion of the rights which Israel, France and the United Kingdom may or may not have. They may indeed consider themselves entitled to demand compliance with the treaties of 1888 or 1949, but, as far as the United Nations is concerned, those rights, whatever they may be, must never be secured by the use of force. Ever since the ratification of the United Nations Charter, the use of force or armed intervention to secure rights, even lawful rights, has been strictly prohibited unless expressly ordered by the Security Council.

31. Nor can France and the United Kingdom allege that they are acting under Article 51 of the Charter, because, even if they themselves had been victims of some kind of aggression, the power to take action under Article 51 was expressly limited at San Francisco to cases of armed attack, and we have no information that there had been any armed attack on France and the United Kingdom.

32. Might has never been the source of right, but the United Nations was founded on a new principle, expressly accepted by all the Members of the United Nations on their signature of the Charter, namely, that, except in cases of collective action undertaken in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, no country might secure its rights, however legitimate, by the use of force.

33. The United Kingdom representative explained to us a few minutes ago that, on account of special circumstances, his country had been obliged to act independently, that is, outside the framework of the Charter. However, that is precisely what the Charter prohibits. Independent action outside the United Nations is prohibited, and it is prohibited precisely because Sir Winston Churchill, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Stalin so agreed at Yalta, and because the Charter so stipulates. For good or ill, that is an obligation which is in force and which no one has denounced.

34. We all agree that treaties, such as the Convention of 1888 and the 1949 armistice agreements, must be respected; it is not for the parties, however, but for the United Nations, or the International Court of Justice, to say whether those treaties have been complied with or violated. No country may take the law into its own hands, and a nation loses its right to demand compliance with other treaties if it starts off by ignoring its obligation under the Charter.

35. The representative of China is quite right in suggesting that we must try to look at the Palestine question from a new angle. Obviously, we cannot go on dealing only with incidents which are merely the effects of a single main cause, that cause being the general situation in Palestine. We have already suggested in the Security Council that the problem should be reconsidered as a whole, and it may be that in the end this crisis will lead to a comprehensive solution and a lasting peace.

36. As everyone knows, my delegation has defended the legitimate rights of Israel, France and the United Kingdom on the various occasions when it has been called upon to take a stand, and we shall continue to defend them whenever we consider it necessary. In the case of Israel and Egypt, we shall support any just solution, but only on the condition that such a solution is compatible with the principles of the Charter and is discussed in the light of those principles.

37. We should not be able to support any resolution calling for sanctions. When the Assembly was discussing resolution 377 (V), entitled "Uniting for peace", we emphatically stated that the Assembly could not take decisions but could only make recommendations. We therefore think that the draft resolution now proposed by the United States [A/3256] is extremely appropriate, in that it simply repeats the principles expressly stated in the Charter. We should adopt this draft resolution as soon as possible.

38. I should like, however, to make one point clear, namely, that we shall vote for it on the understanding that paragraph 1 of the operative part does not imply

any obligation upon Egypt to withdraw troops, because that would be tantamount to denying that country the right of self-defence allowed under Article 51 of the Charter. As we see it—and I think that that is what the paragraph says—the intention is to prevent the movement of major forces to the frontier, because, if a cease-fire is requested, it is only logical to provide that there shall be no movements of stronger forces to the danger spots.

39. This draft resolution does not close the door to further negotiations. I think that, on the contrary, if accepted in good faith, it may serve to initiate a new approach to the problems of the Middle East, which, as we all hope, will lead to a lasting and just peace in that region.

40. Mr. ASHA (Syria): It is with profound indignation that I speak today, not only in my capacity as representative of a Member State of the United Nations, but also as a human being deeply alarmed by the combined aggression of France, Britain and Israel.

41. This is an unprecedented session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The most dishonourable conspiracy in the history of our Organization has been engineered by two permanent members of the Security Council, which employed as the tool of their machinations Israel, that abortive issue of the United Nations which calls itself a State. Israel was born in aggression, nurtured in aggression and lives on aggression. Israel is now being used as a stooge for aggression.

42. The three conspirators have unashamedly exposed their infamous plot. It was a plot contrived behind the back of their most faithful ally, the United States, a country whose sons sacrificed their lives to defend them against aggression. That country came to their rescue in two world wars, only to have them perpetrate the faithless scheme now unfolded against a peaceful country striving solely for its freedom and independence from foreign domination.

43. In these tormenting hours in the history of mankind and of the United Nations, of peace-loving peoples everywhere, there is little use in talk. The human conscience is already aroused to a high pitch of indignation against the most flagrant and wanton aggression of our time. For this reason, I submit that our thoughts and energy must be directed towards one aim, that of vindicating the injured conscience of humanity by condemning this aggression and foiling its schemes.

44. The Secretary-General, in his timely statement yesterday [751st meeting], has been the most eloquent interpreter of the general indignation which has reverberated in the hearts of the Members of the United Nations and among people everywhere. This indignation was clearly reflected in the faces of the people who witnessed the debate in the Security Council and listened to the callous statements of France and the United Kingdom. The interventions of the French and British representatives in the Security Council furnished the purest example of classical machiavellism.

45. Not only does the combined armed aggression include all the essential elements of a crime perpetrated against peace and humanity and of armed aggression according to Article 51 of the Charter, but there are aggravating circumstances which render it more villainous and which merit the utmost condemnation. This aggression was carefully plotted and premeditated by two permanent members of the Security Council, and it was put in the service of the Israel policy of aggression which has been condemned several times by the

Council. Rumours are already circulating about the distribution of booty among the three aggressors.

46. The British and French representatives who attempted yesterday, in the Security Council, to deceive the world by stating that the real objective of their Governments' intervention was to ensure peace in the area, not to serve any selfish aims, were well answered by no less a person than Mr. Gaitskell, leader of the Labour Party, in the House of Commons. Mr. Gaitskell, said:

"I can only say that any impartial observer must recognize that this is a clear breach of the Charter of the United Nations. Whatever doubts there may be about the degree of aggression in the Israel invasion of Egypt and the extent of the provocation it suffered, there can unfortunately be no doubt about the nature of the British and French aggression. It is clear beyond all peradventure . . .

"I cannot believe that it is in the true interests of Israel to be associated with the reoccupation of the Canal zone. If they are looked upon as simply the stooges of Britain and France—a kind of advance guard of Western imperialism—then any prospect of a peaceful settlement is gravely endangered."

47. In this connexion, I wish to remind the General Assembly of what we have always stated before its various organs, namely, that Israel was a bridgehead for Western imperialism. And Western imperialism basically is French and British. Then Mr. Gaitskell went on to say:

"In the Canal zone, we may seize territory and may defeat—and no doubt will quite easily—the Egyptian forces. But then what do we do? The Prime Minister's own comment today that before we left we should have to make sure this did not happen again leads one to suppose that he has no real intention of evacuating at all."

48. Is there any doubt after this as to what the United Kingdom and France are after? These self-appointed guardians of the peace are not after peace. They have flouted the principles of the world Organization, whose primary duty is to ensure peace. They are after pieces of territory; they aim to satisfy their colonial and imperialist hunger with other people's land.

49. They thought they could satiate this appetite with impunity, but the world conscience has reacted vehemently to their greed. It is not only the peoples of Asia and Africa which have condemned their action, but their principal allies as well. I need not now repeat the wise words of President Eisenhower, which are well known to all the representatives in this Assembly, but let the French and British listen to the words of Marshal Tito, the President of Yugoslavia, of Mr. Pearson of Canada, of the Foreign Ministers of the Scandinavian countries, and of Germany, Italy and Spain, and of many other leaders in the world, and let them take cognizance of the letters from the overwhelming majority of the Members of this Organization, which have associated themselves with the Security Council's decision to call this extraordinary session to deal with this flagrant breach of the peace.

50. Mr. Ben Gurion, author of the Israel aggression, has pushed his effrontery to the height of praising the noble stand taken by the President of the United States. This is not the first example of its kind. Israel has accustomed us to declarations of peace in the public light, accompanied by machinations of war perpetrated in enveloping shadow.

51. The urgent convening of this body in special session, in spite of obstructions on two occasions from the French and British representatives against the action of the Security Council, constitutes a brilliant victory for the United Nations over the spirit of evil and destruction which inspired this combined aggression. This victory, however, is not complete. It is but a preliminary move for swift and radical action. The hour does not call for mellifluous speeches, nor for voluble tirades. At this very moment Egyptian cities are the targets of intensive bombardment. Human lives are being sacrificed. We must act immediately and sternly.

52. The Governments of three countries which pretend to be at the apex of civilization and democracy have, by their concerted action of aggression, launched an action of contemptuous defiance against the civilized world and democratic institutions.

53. If the United Nations does not succeed by immediate and vigorous measures in arresting the combined aggression, the conflict, at this point localized in Egypt, will spread swiftly throughout the whole region and beyond. Clauses guaranteeing mutual assistance bind the Arab States to Egypt. These States will sooner or later be called upon to exercise their legitimate right of individual and collective defence, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter.

54. Even if such measures of redress are not taken to re-establish the *status quo*, Israel, France and the United Kingdom will never be secure in that which they have momentarily acquired. We will never tolerate such a state of affairs.

55. In conclusion, I must say, as I stated at the outset, that the situation in which we find ourselves calls for urgent action on our part. The Prime Minister of India, in his letter dated 31 October 1956 to the Secretary-General [S/3720] mentioned the following, among other things:

"In view of the disastrous consequences of this invasion of Egyptian territory, I earnestly trust that the United Nations will take strong steps in this matter to prevent the world plunging into war, and demand immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Egypt. The procedure of the United Nations must be swifter than the procedures of invasion and aggression."

56. Such a procedure, in our view, must include these basic measures: first, condemnation of the United Kingdom, France and Israel for their armed aggression against Egypt; secondly, immediate cessation of air, naval and land operations initiated against Egypt by these three aggressors; thirdly, immediate withdrawal of foreign troops behind the armistice lines; fourthly, application of sanctions against Israel for its armed aggression against Egypt in flagrant violation of the General Armistice Agreement; and fifthly, in case of non-compliance by the aggressors with the resolution which the Assembly might adopt, immediate assistance prescribed by the provisions of Chapter VII must be made available to Egypt, the victim of aggression.

57. This, in the view of my delegation, is what this grave situation requires. However, due to the fact that the United States has submitted a draft resolution [A/3256] which embodies some of the measures we consider essential to deal with this problem, we are in a position to lend it our support. We take this opportunity to express to the Government of the United

States our deep appreciation for the initiative it has taken so far.

58. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): This emergency special session of the General Assembly faces a very important task: the immediate adoption of measures to end the aggression of the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt.

59. The situation in the Near East is extremely serious. On 29 October 1956, Israel, in violation of the General Armistice Agreement, of decisions of the Security Council and of the United Nations Charter, began aggressive military operations against Egypt. On that same day, when Israel's aggression against Egypt was already in full swing, the Governments of the United Kingdom and France presented Egypt with an ultimatum which, on the pretext of preventing further hostilities between Israel and Egypt, would have compelled Egypt to surrender to the United Kingdom and France key positions in Egyptian territory—Suez, Port Said and Ismailia.

60. In spite of the fact that the Government of Egypt, acting in defence of its national sovereignty and territorial integrity, rejected this unprecedented demand, the Governments of the United Kingdom and France did not renounce their aggressive designs. At the very time that the Egyptian army was forced to repel aggression by Israel's armed forces, Egypt found itself confronting the immediate danger of an invasion by British and French occupation forces.

61. According to an announcement by the Egyptian Command, British and French military aircraft, in the course of 31 October and 1 November, carried out a number of raids on Egyptian territory, bombing Cairo, Alexandria and towns in the Suez Canal zone.

62. British and French bombers have sunk a ship in the Suez Canal, thereby disrupting navigation through the Canal. British warships have blockaded the Suez Canal at both ends. Strong British and French naval forces are moving towards Egyptian ports.

63. By engaging in armed intervention in Egypt, the Governments of the United Kingdom and France have hurled a challenge at the peace-loving peoples of the whole world. They have violated the obligations assumed by them under the United Nations Charter. In so doing, these Governments have taken upon themselves the grave responsibility of seriously aggravating the international situation.

64. There is every indication that the aggression against Egypt by Israel, and the aggression by the United Kingdom and France, is the result of a co-ordinated plan worked out in advance by the United Kingdom and French Governments, and not of mere coincidence.

65. Israel aggression was planned with the purpose of creating a pretext for the seizure of the Suez Canal by British and French armed forces. The Israel Government, in undertaking aggressive action against Egypt, proved to be a tool in the hands of the imperialistic circles which are trying to re-establish their colonial domination in the East. In so doing, they have hurled a challenge at all the Arab peoples, at all the peoples of the East, which are fighting colonialism. This action by the ruling extremist circles of Israel is criminal and dangerous, primarily for Israel itself and for its future.

66. By undertaking aggressive action against Egypt, the United Kingdom and France have entered upon a

course which is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The representatives of the United Kingdom and France have prevented the Security Council from taking the necessary measures to put an end to the aggression against Egypt. While the Security Council was considering this question, the Governments of the United Kingdom and France, in circumvention of the Council, started serving Egypt with threats and with an ultimatum, and began open hostilities against the State of Egypt.

67. The Governments of the United Kingdom and France are trying to justify their action by alleging that they are protecting the Suez Canal and freedom of navigation through the Canal. The question may legitimately be asked: who is threatening the Suez Canal and freedom of navigation through it? If the threat comes from Israel's military operations against Egypt, why is it that the United Kingdom and France took action not against Israel but against the victim of Israel aggression, Egypt? Why is it that their ultimatum demanded that Egypt should allow Israel armed forces to occupy all Egyptian territory east of the Suez Canal? How can the protection of freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal explain the blockading of the Canal by the British and French navies? In what way can concern for the Suez Canal account for British and French air raids against installations of the Canal?

68. It is perfectly clear that the statements by the United Kingdom and France concerning the protection of navigation through the Suez Canal are only a pretext to disguise their aggressive action against Egypt. In the Security Council, too, the representatives of the United Kingdom and France attempted to justify that aggressive action by alleging that their respective countries were trying to put an end to hostilities in the Near East and to restore peace and calm to that region.

69. The facts, however, indicate the contrary. The United Kingdom and France prevented the Security Council from taking measures to stop Israel aggression against Egypt. The United Kingdom and France themselves opened hostilities against Egypt, thus fanning the flames of war in that region. Such conduct on the part of the United Kingdom and France is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations and is a gross violation of the solemn obligations which Members of the United Nations assume under the Charter.

70. The aggression of the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt has stirred the profound indignation of all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, who have expressed their deep sympathy to the Egyptian people in their just struggle in defence of their national independence and sovereignty. The peoples of the world demand the cessation of aggression against Egypt and the immediate withdrawal of the troops of the interventionists from Egyptian soil.

71. The representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Pierson Dixon, speaking from this rostrum [561st meeting], openly conceded that the French and British were engaged in intervention in Egypt, and tried to show that the armed forces of the United Kingdom were invading Egypt in order to restore law and order. He even argued that the bombing of Egyptian towns was a peaceful police action by the United Kingdom Government. What would Sir Pierson Dixon say if one of the United Kingdom's neighbours tried to carry out "police measures" of this kind on British soil?

72. As to the objectives of the Soviet Union's foreign policy in the Near East, I shall not take the path down

which Sir Pierson Dixon would lead the Assembly, the path of slander and distortion of well-known facts. I shall only make the following points. British, not Soviet, aircraft are bombing Cairo, Port Said and many other towns in Egypt, killing the peaceful population. British, not Soviet, armed forces are poised on Egyptian shores, or perhaps are already landing and occupying Egyptian territory. Let me say to Sir Pierson Dixon that no barrage of slander and insinuation, no smoke-screen, can hide these facts from the eyes of the whole world.

73. The peoples of the Soviet Union join in the demand of the peoples of the whole world that the United Nations should take resolute and effective action for the immediate cessation of the aggression launched by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt.

74. The representative of the Soviet Union, in his statement of 31 October 1956 in the Security Council [751st meeting], unequivocally condemned the act of aggression perpetrated against Egypt by those three countries. The Soviet Government considers it the duty of the United Nations, for the sake of the preservation of peace and calm in the Near East, to take urgent measures for the cessation of military operations by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt, and for the immediate withdrawal of the armed forces of the interventionists from Egyptian soil and from Egyptian waters.

75. The delegation of the Soviet Union urges the General Assembly: to condemn the armed attack by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt as an act of aggression incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations; to demand of the United Kingdom, France and Israel the immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of their armed forces from the territory of Egypt and from Egyptian territorial waters; to appoint a United Nations commission to supervise the carrying out of the recommendations of the emergency special session of the General Assembly. The Assembly must act swiftly and resolutely.

76. Mr. MIR KHAN (Pakistan): I speak on a point of order. As I understand it, we have perhaps about twenty more speakers, and perhaps there will be many more inscribed to speak as we go on. I also see that a draft resolution has been submitted by the United States [A/3256]. I particularly have my eye on paragraph 3, under which it is recommended that all Members refrain from introducing military goods in the area. The draft resolution also urges that the cease-fire become effective immediately.

77. I myself have a great deal to say on this matter. I have to say that we feel in great pain while our brothers in faith in Egypt are being killed. I have to say how angry we feel against the aggression committed by Israel against Egypt. I also have to say how unwarranted we feel the attack made by the United Kingdom and France against Egypt—the United Kingdom and France, with whom my country has such traditional and sacred ties. We belong to the Commonwealth. We are associated with the United Kingdom in that wonderful association of countries which work for peace. With France we have traditional and cultural friendship. However, I see that while we speak and perorate here, there is damage being done to valuable property; there are people being killed.

78. With this in mind, I make a formal proposal that we take up this draft resolution for consideration and

voting here and now, without prejudice to the right of any member to speak after this draft resolution has been voted. I move that as a formal proposal, and I request the President to consult the Assembly on this proposal.

79. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As the Assembly has heard, the representative of Pakistan has raised a point of order under rule 73 of the rules of procedure. He proposes that the Assembly should proceed to an immediate vote on the draft resolution submitted by the United States [A/3256]. This proposal has been made without prejudice to the rights of representatives wishing to take part in the debate; it should consequently be understood that, if the Assembly decides to approve the proposal of the representative of Pakistan, all representatives will have ample opportunity to express their views.

80. I shall therefore put this proposal to the vote. A roll-call vote has been requested.

81. The representative of New Zealand has asked for the floor.

82. Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand): As I understand the proposal just put by the representative of Pakistan, he is moving for closure on the basis that, after the vote, members will be able to explain their votes. I have also heard it suggested—and I think this would be eminently reasonable—that there should in any case be at least three speakers on either side before it is put to the vote. I should think that this would be the least that we could agree to.

83. We are discussing a great and solemn matter. We have a draft resolution before us which has been submitted by the leader of the delegation of the United States. This draft was submitted about two hours ago. I have had some time to examine it, but I have not had time to refer it to my Government. Nevertheless, I have been able to formulate certain views about it.

84. I believe that there is a difference between speaking before a draft resolution is put to the vote and explaining one's vote afterward. Even though the hour is late, surely this is not a time to act precipitately. I should be astounded if other representatives wished this matter to be considered precipitately. We are dealing with issues on which we should debate carefully and with time. We surely can postpone the vote at any rate for one hour.

85. Therefore, at the very minimum, I put to the Assembly that, before the vote is taken, we should hear three speakers for each side.

86. Mr. SARPÉR (Turkey): I shall be very brief. My delegation fully realizes the importance and extreme gravity of the situation. However, I want to submit that if the Assembly presses for a vote tonight or during the next hour or two hours, I shall find myself in considerable difficulty in regard to voting. I know that there are a number of other representatives who are in the same position. I wish to repeat that I fully realize the gravity of the situation. I appeal to the Assembly, however, not to press for a vote at least during the next two or three hours. I am quite prepared to sit here for that time, if it should be necessary.

87. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*translated from French*): Since I represent one of the Powers involved in this debate, I think it would be absolutely inadmissible for the Assembly to proceed to a vote on the United States draft resolution before I had had an opportunity of commenting upon it. I shall not oppose the amendment proposed by the representative of New

Zealand to allow three speakers in favour of the draft resolution and three opposed to it to present their views. In any event, I wish to be one of the three speakers opposing the draft resolution.

88. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I should like to ask the representative of Pakistan whether he is prepared to accept the amendment proposed by the representative of New Zealand, to the effect that we should hear three speakers in favour of the draft resolution and three against it before we proceed to a vote.

89. Mr. MIR KHAN (Pakistan): I certainly intended that the parties principally concerned in the draft resolution should have an opportunity to speak. If the representative of France wishes to speak, I am sure that not only I but the whole Assembly would be very glad to hear what he has to say. I would say the same thing as regards the representatives of the other countries affected. Should the representative of the United Kingdom and the representative of Egypt wish to speak on the draft resolution, I had no intention of suggesting that they should not.

90. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I understand that the representative of Pakistan accepts the amendment proposed by New Zealand.

91. I shall consequently give the floor to three speakers who are in favour of the United States draft resolution and to three who are against it. The list of speakers will be drawn up in such a manner as to include speakers of both opinions.

92. I now put to the vote the proposal of Pakistan as amended by the representative of New Zealand.

93. Mr. WALKER (Australia) (*from the floor*): Point of order.

94. Mr. KIDRON (Israel) (*from the floor*): Point of order.

95. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The voting has already started. I gave representatives the opportunity to speak on the proposal before.

96. Mr. KIDRON (Israel) (*from the floor*): Point of order.

97. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I must again point out that I asked if anyone wished to speak, and, as there was silence in the hall, I put the Pakistan proposal to the vote. I must insist that we proceed now with the vote.

98. Mr. KIDRON (Israel) (*from the floor*): Mr. President . . .

99. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We are now in the process of voting.

100. I shall have to repeat once again the proposal on which we are voting. The Pakistan proposal has been amended by the representative of New Zealand to provide that a vote shall be taken on the United States draft resolution after we have heard the views of three speakers who are in favour of that draft and three who are against.

101. I must therefore ask the representatives who are in favour of the proposal as I have just explained it to raise their hands.

The proposal was adopted by 57 votes to 2, with 10 abstentions.

The meeting was suspended at 11.10 p.m. and resumed at 11.50 p.m.

102. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I must apologize for the delay in complying with the

Assembly's instructions. We have had difficulty in making up the list of speakers. We have been able to overcome this difficulty, we think, through the co-operation of the New Zealand representative, who told us that his proposal that the list of speakers should include three representatives supporting the United States proposal and three against did not mean that the countries concerned in the dispute which had not yet spoken, namely France and Israel, should not be given the floor.

103. On this basis I submit to the Assembly for its approval the following list of speakers: Israel, Ecuador, Australia, Yugoslavia, France, India, Saudi Arabia and New Zealand.

104. If the Assembly agrees to this list, we shall be able to carry out the decision we took just now.

It was so decided.

105. Mr. EBAN (Israel): On Monday, 29 October 1956, the Israel defence forces took security measures in the Sinai peninsula in the exercise of Israel's inherent right of self-defense. The object of these operations is to eliminate the bases from which armed Egyptian units under the special care and authority of Mr. Nasser invade Israel's territory for purposes of murder, sabotage and the creation of permanent insecurity to peaceful life. These are the only military activities for which the Government of Israel is responsible.

106. Stretching back far behind the events of this week lies the unique and sombre story of a small people subjected throughout all the years of its national existence to a furious, implacable, comprehensive campaign of hatred and siege for which there is no parallel or precedent in the modern history of nations. Not for one single moment throughout the entire period of its modern national existence has Israel enjoyed that minimal physical security which the United Nations Charter confers on all Member States, and which all other Member States have been able to command.

107. We meet here under the auspices of the United Nations, a family of sovereign States organized in a system of mutual rights and obligations. Its basic premise is the principle of sovereign equality of all its Members. Whatever rights are enjoyed by other Members of this Organization belong to Israel, without addition or diminution. Whatever obligation any Member State owes to another, Egypt owes to Israel and Israel to Egypt. If Egypt denies Israel the plenitude of its Charter rights, then it inflicts a deep injury upon Israel, and its competence to invoke the Charter against Israel is seriously compromised and reduced.

108. What are the obligations which Egypt owes to Israel under the Charter? Under the Charter, Egypt is bound to practise tolerance and live together in peace with Israel as a good neighbour. Under the Charter, Egypt is bound to unite its strength with Israel to maintain international peace and security. Under the Charter, Egypt is bound to regard Israel as a State endowed with sovereignty equal to its own. Under the Charter, Egypt is bound to respect the territorial integrity and the political independence of the State of Israel, and especially to refrain from the threat or use of force against that integrity and that independence. Under the Charter, Egypt is bound in advance to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council whenever such decisions are made in favour of Israel as of any other State.

109. To these broad obligations, derived from the Charter, there must be added to Egypt's account other obligations of a more specific nature, based on the General Armistice Agreement of 1949. Under that agreement, Egypt is bound to respect the demarcation line between Israel and Egypt, to prevent any illegal crossings of that line, to abstain from the threat or use of force from its own side of the line against Israel's side, to regard the agreement itself as a transitory measure leading to permanent peace, to respond at any time to Israel's request for a conference to develop the agreement into a peace settlement or to amend and review the provisions of the agreement, to abstain from any act of hostility or any act of blockade or belligerency.

110. Is there any resemblance whatever between this list of obligations and Egypt's actual conduct of its relations with Israel? Can anyone imagine that, if Egypt had been willing to carry out this system of relations with Israel, we should have been assembled here on this tragic and solemn occasion?

111. What we confront tonight is a point of explosion after seven years of illicit belligerency. Belligerency is the key to the understanding of our problem tonight. Egypt has practised belligerency against Israel by land. Egypt has practised belligerency against Israel by sea. Egypt has established belligerency as the juridical basis of its relations with Israel. Egypt has held belligerency to be the spiritual and emotional mainspring of its conduct towards Israel. Out of this four-fold belligerency maintained by Egypt for seven years—but with special vigour and intensity since the rise of the Nasser régime—is born the crisis which the Assembly of the United Nations confronts tonight. I would say a word to the Assembly on each of these aspects of Egyptian belligerency.

112. Belligerency by land took its origins in May 1948 on the very morrow of Israel's emergence to sovereignty. On that date, Egyptian forces, joined by the converging forces of other Arab armies, marched into the newly established, independent, sovereign State of Israel with the avowed aim of its destruction.

113. Alas, the processes which now move so swiftly in Egypt's protection were much slower at that time. It took us eight weeks to secure from the organs of the United Nations the establishment of an effective and stable cease-fire. During that period, every home in Israel stood under the direct shadow of death and extinction. Our men, women and children fell by the thousands while this wave of aggression threatened to convulse us.

114. At the end of that year, negotiations were held under United Nations auspices which led to the conclusion of the Rhodes Armistice Agreement. This agreement did not promise us an affirmative, trustful and co-operative pattern of relationships. It did at least, however, promise us immunity from overtly hostile acts. Under the Armistice Agreement, every citizen of Israel is entitled to till every inch of Israel's soil and to navigate every inch of Israel's waters, without let or hindrance by any violent encroachment from the Egyptian side.

115. Yet, throughout this period of the armistice, our territory has been subjected to constant encroachments. The frontier has not been for Israel a barrier against the sudden leaping forward of violence by day and by night. Our toll of over 400 dead or wounded through these incursions tells the story of an armistice frontier which has been violated with consistency, and with

special frequency and intensity during the past two years, since the Nasser régime has held sway in Egypt. The toll of dead and wounded has been augmented and aggravated by countless pipelines blown up, by water supplies demolished, by trees pulled down, by an inferno of insecurity and danger which has raged along peaceful farms and homesteads in the frontier area. And last year, as I shall point out, to all of these torments was added perhaps the most penetrating and perilous of all, through the organization and mobilization of the *fedayeen* movement.

116. It may be difficult for nations assembled here, which enjoy a normal security, to understand what has been involved for Israel by this belligerency on land. While much has been said about Israel's responsibilities to the United Nations, it is a melancholy fact that, since 1948, any Arab State which has ever tried to kill Israel, to plunder Israel property, to blockade Israel's ports, to intercept Israel's navigation, has never regarded itself as operating under any effective international deterrent. Thus the United Nations has not been able to offer Israel the minimal of daily security enjoyed by all its other Members in nearly every sector of their national lives.

117. Surrounded by hostile armies on all its land frontiers, subjected to savage and relentless hostility, exposed to penetrations, raids and assaults by day and by night, suffering constant toll of life amongst its citizenry, bombarded by threats of neighbouring Governments to accomplish its extinction by armed force, overshadowed by a new menace of irresponsible rearmament, embattled, blockaded, besieged, Israel alone amongst the nations faces a battle for its security anew with every rising dawn and with every approaching nightfall. In a country of small area and intricate configuration, the proximity of enemy guns is a constant and haunting theme.

118. These are the fears and provocations which hover over us everywhere, but they fall upon us with special intensity in the frontier areas, where development projects vital to the nation's destiny could be paralysed or interrupted by our adversaries from a position of dominating geographical advantage.

119. In short, it is a small country where every activity by farmers or citizens becomes a test of physical and moral courage. These are the unique circumstances in which Israel pursues its quest for security and peace.

120. On innumerable occasions, the active defence of Israel life and territory has been compromised in deference to international opinion. We know that Israel is most popular when it does not hit back, and world opinion is profoundly important to us. So, on one occasion after another, we have buried our dead, tended our wounded, clenched our teeth in suppressed resentment and hoped that this very moderation would deter a repetition of these offences. But sometimes the right and duty of self-preservation, the need to avoid expanding encroachments, the sentiment that if the claim to peaceful existence is not defended it will be forever lost, prevails in the final and reluctant decision.

121. But this belligerency which assails us by land has its counterpart by sea. In 1948, the Government of Egypt established processes of visit, search and seizure, began to confiscate ships and cargoes bound for Israel ports, established restrictive regulations, assumed punitive measures against the shipping and flags of other countries desiring to trade peacefully with Israel and to navigate upon and between the high seas. The flags of fifteen nations, endowed with the

unconditional right of free navigation in the Suez Canal, have been abused and prejudiced by unlawful acts of interception. Ships have been confiscated and sold, cargoes have been held and sequestered, sailors have been tormented and wrongfully imprisoned, and all of this on the great international waterway consecrated nine decades ago to the universal right of all nations to free commerce and navigation.

122. Thus, classic acts of war by maritime blockade have been added to the pattern of Egypt's land belligerency in the total pattern of Israel's siege. Again, through all the development of this policy during the Nasser régime, we have witnessed a consequent sequence of aggravation. The processes of blockade and interception have been extended in the name of belligerency from the Suez Canal to another international waterway, the Gulf of Akaba, and the State of Israel has had to distort the entire pattern of its economy, to bear unwarranted burdens running into tens of millions of pounds, in order to compensate for the impact of this piratical system which Egypt has established on this great artery of the world's communications.

123. Belligerency by land and belligerency by sea are both expressed in a doctrine of juridical belligerency. This doctrine has been discredited by the Security Council of the United Nations, but it continues to be maintained. On 12 June 1951, in the Mixed Armistice Commission, the Egyptian representative said:

"We exercise our rights of war. We are legally at war with Israel. This armistice does not put an end to a state of war. It will not prohibit Egypt from exercising certain rights of war."

In the Security Council of the United Nations, the Foreign Minister of Egypt declared:

"The Egyptian-Israel General Armistice Agreement will not be interpreted by us as terminating in any legal or technical sense the state of war between Egypt and Israel."

124. This jurisprudence continues to be maintained long after it has been adjudicated and discredited. It furnishes a basis for our contention that in juridical and legal terms Egypt has cut itself off from its Charter obligations towards Israel and does not even avow a legal basis upon which this conduct towards us can legitimately be explained.

125. The fourth aspect of this belligerency should be studied in those statements of Egypt's intentions towards Israel which furnish the philosophical background to the belligerent acts which I have described.

126. Here is a typical example of the kind of utterance which bombards the ears of Israel's population by day and by night:

"Wait and see"—says the Egyptian dictator—"soon will be proven to you the strength and will of our nation. Egypt will teach you a lesson and quieten you forever. Egypt will grind you to the dust."

127. On 11 April 1956, celebrating the exploits of Egypt's commando units in Israel, the Egyptian Minister of Religious Properties declared:

"There is no reason why the faithful *fedayeen*, hating their enemies, should not penetrate into Israel and transform the lives of its citizens into a hell. Yes, we will be victorious because our motives are holy and our aims are the highest. We will be victorious because we are more diligent in death than is Israel in life."

128. On 14 October 1956, the Egyptian dictator himself said:

"I am not solely fighting against Israel. My task is to deliver the Arab world from destruction through Israel's intrigue, which has its roots abroad. Our hatred is very strong. There is no sense in talking about peace with Israel. There is not even the smallest place for negotiations."

129. The Press and all the agencies and media of information take up the chorus. A typical example was contained in the leading Egyptian newspaper:

"Israel will not be saved from the Arabs. She will be destroyed under the feet of Arab fighters and the flag of freedom will be unfurled over Palestine."

130. There is a tendency in some quarters to underestimate the importance and the impact of these pronouncements. I can assure members of the General Assembly that it is a unique and disquieting experience to live in a country surrounded by neighbours which bombard it by day and by night with predictions and menaces for its physical destruction. There is no doubt whatever that these authoritative directives furnish the psychological and emotional background against which belligerency by land and by sea is organized with growing and increasingly explosive intensity.

131. But all these aspects of belligerency together would not of themselves automatically invite a drastic response in self-defence, and I wish to explain frankly and candidly to the General Assembly the special background against which our action of 29 October took place.

132. World opinion naturally asks itself: What are these *fedayeen* units? What do their activities imply for Israel's security? It asks whether their actions in the past and their plans for the future are really full of peril for Israel, and whether the peril was really so acute that Israel might reasonably regard the elimination of this peril as a primary condition of its security and indeed of its very existence.

133. The Government of Israel represents a people endowed with a mature understanding of international facts. We are not unaware of the limits of our strength. We are perhaps amongst the half dozen smallest Members of this Organization. We fully understand how certain measures might at first sight evoke a lack of comprehension, even in friendly minds. Being a democracy, we work under the natural restraints of a public opinion which compels us to weigh drastic choices with care and without undue precipitation. It is, in short, a Government which determines its actions by its single exclusive aim of ensuring life and security for the people whom it represents, while safeguarding the honour and trust of millions linked to it by the strongest ties of fraternity.

134. In recent days, this Government of Israel has had to face a tormenting question: Do its obligations under the United Nations Charter require it to resign itself to the existence of uninterrupted activity to the south and north and east of armed units practising open warfare against it, and working from their bases in the Sinai peninsula and elsewhere for the maintenance of carefully regulated invasions of our homes, our lands, and our very lives? Or, on the other hand, are we acting legitimately within our inherent right of self-defence when, having found no other remedy for over two years, we cross the frontier against those who have no scruples in crossing the frontier against us?

135. Members of the General Assembly may be in a better position to evaluate the choice and to identify themselves with this situation if they hear something of the background of this movement and its place in the total pattern of Egyptian intransigence and aggression.

136. Let it be plain that the system of waging war against Israel by commando penetrations is the product of Mr. Nasser's mind. It is one of his contributions to the international life and morality of our times.

137. After intensive preparation during the spring and summer of 1955, this new weapon was launched in August of that year, breaking a period of relative tranquillity on the Egyptian-Israel frontier, indeed, coming at a time when Egypt and Israel were engaged in hopeful negotiations with the United Nations Chief of Staff, looking towards the integral implementation of the 1949 Armistice Agreement.

138. Between 30 August and 2 September 1955, the Egyptian Government proclaimed its official responsibility for those invasions. On 30 August, it broadcast:

"Egyptian forces have penetrated into the territory of occupied Palestine and pursued the attackers."

On 31 August 1955, an official *communiqué* informed the Egyptian people of this new military technique:

"Egypt has decided to dispatch her heroes, the disciples of Pharaoh and the sons of Islam, and they will cleanse the land of Palestine. Thus we have decided and thus is our belief. There will be no peace on Israel's border because we demand vengeance, and vengeance is Israel's death."

On 31 August, another official *communiqué* stated:

"The Egyptian *fedayeen* have begun their activities inside the territory of Israel after repeated clashes on the border during the past week. The Egyptian *fedayeen* have penetrated into Israel settlements spread out in the Negev until Beersheba and Migdal Ashqelon, at a distance of 40 kilometres from the Egyptian border, and have taught our aggressive enemies a lesson that they will not forget. The Egyptian *fedayeen* sowed fear and consternation amongst the citizens of Israel."

On 2 September, the following official statement was broadcast in Cairo:

"The forces of the Egyptian *fedayeen* moved towards Israel, approached its capital and caused heavy casualties along the border between Gaza and Tel Aviv."

139. These are some of the documents which mark the origin of the *fedayeen* movement. United Nations authorities have repeatedly condemned these activities, designated them as aggression, held the Egyptian Government responsible for them and called for their cessation. As one example, I quote a statement at that time by the United Nations Chief of Staff, General Burns. Reporting to the Security Council, he wrote:

"The episode of 22 August was soon after followed by an organized series of attacks on vehicles, installations and persons, carried out by gangs of marauders in Israel territory which, according to my information, resulted in the deaths of 11 military and civilian personnel . . .

"The number and nature of these acts of sabotage perpetrated well within Israel territory are such as to suggest that they are the work of organized and well trained groups." [S/3430, paras. 3 and 4.]

140. That was the opening shot in the *fedayeen* offensive in the summer of 1955. In the spring of this year, the activity of these groups took on a new scope and intensity. This was the period during which the arms race initiated by Mr. Nasser with external help was running most drastically to Israel's disadvantage. Members of the General Assembly will recall how close we were then to the threshold of general war, while these units came in and out of Israel every day on their missions of murder and plunder, accompanied by the official exhortations of Mr. Nasser and his officials and by exuberant shouts of triumph in all the media of Arab information.

141. In an address to the Security Council on 30 October [749th meeting], I submitted a detailed chronicle of acts of violence carried out by penetrating *fedayeen* units, day by day and night by night, in the period between April of this year and a few days ago. Throughout the whole of that period, United Nations officials concerned with security on our frontier were devoting great attention to this problem. On 8 April 1956, the United Nations Chief of Staff addressed a letter to the Foreign Minister of Israel. In that letter, General Burns includes the following passages:

"I am dispatching to the Foreign Minister of Egypt a protest against the action of the *fedayeen*, assuming it to have been authorized or tolerated by the Egyptian authorities, and requesting the immediate withdrawal of any persons under Egyptian control from the territory of Israel . . .

"I consider that if Egypt has ordered these *fedayeen* raids, it has now put itself in the position of the aggressor."

142. I will not weary the General Assembly with this sordid chronicle in all its details. Suffice it to say that, during this period of Egyptian belligerency, there had taken place against Israel 435 cases of armed incursion, nearly 2,000 cases of armed robbery and theft, 1,300 cases of armed clashes with Egyptian armed forces, 172 cases of sabotage perpetrated by Egyptian military units and *fedayeen* in Israel. As a result of these activities, 465 of our people have been killed or wounded. In 1956 alone, so far, as a result of this one aspect of Egyptian belligerency, 28 of our people have been killed and 127 have been wounded.

143. I have said that this activity is merely the spearhead of Egyptian belligerency. It is a new device for making war and for making it with safety. The doctrine is one of unilateral belligerency. The Egyptian-Israel frontier is to be a one-way street. It is to be wide open for these armed Egyptian units to penetrate deeply into Israel to accomplish their mission and to return. It is to be closed in their favour against any offensive response.

144. It was in these circumstances that the Government of Israel faced the tormenting problems of its duties and obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. We are not satisfied with a justification of our actions in pure terms of national expediency. There is perhaps no Member of this Organization more sensitive to all the currents of international opinion, more vulnerable to the disfavour and the dissent of friendly world opinion, broader in the scope and extent of its universal associations, less able to maintain its life and its existence on any principle of self-sufficiency and of autarchy.

145. It was with full knowledge of this fact that we have been forced to interpret Article 51 of the Charter

as furnishing both a legal and a moral basis for such defensive action as is literally and specifically applicable to the dangers which we face. Under Article 51 of the Charter, the right of self-defence is described as "inherent"; in the French translation it is "*naturel*". It is something which emerges from the very nature of a State and of humanity. This inherent right of self-defence is conditioned in the Charter by the existence of armed attacks against a Member State.

146. Can anyone say that this long and uninterrupted series of encroachments did not constitute in its totality the essence and the reality of an armed attack? Can it seriously be suggested that we made no attempt to exhaust peaceful remedies. Time after time at the table of the Security Council and in meetings of the Mixed Armistice Commission efforts were made to bring about tranquillity on this frontier. Yet all of this well-intentioned, enlightened, and, at certain times, hopeful effort ended without making the life or the security of a single citizen of Israel greater than it was before.

147. I have mentioned the problem of opinion. It is perhaps natural that a country should interpret its own obligations for the preservation of security more stringently than those who enjoy greater security far away. If we have sometimes found it difficult to persuade even our friends in the international community to understand the motives for our action, this is because nobody in the world community is in Israel's position.

148. How many other nations have had hundreds of their citizens killed over these years by the armed action of armies across the frontier? How many nations have had their ships seized and their cargoes confiscated in international waterways? How many nations find the pursuit of their daily tasks to be a matter of daily and perpetual hazard? In how many countries does every single citizen going about his duties feel the icy wind of his own vulnerability? It might perhaps require an unusual measure of humility and imagination for others to answer the question how they would have acted in our place. Nobody else is in our place and is therefore fully competent to equate the advantage and the disadvantage of our choice.

149. The Government of Israel is firmly convinced that it has done what any other nation would have done in our place, with the reservation that many would have done it earlier and perhaps with greater impact of resistance. It is especially moving to us to find that, despite the uniqueness and the eccentricity of our position, something of it is making its way into the generous consciousness of mankind. Since this discussion proceeds not merely from the rostrum of the General Assembly, but also against the bar of world opinion, I think it is legitimate to quote an eloquent and cogent passage from one of the great organs of opinion published in this, the host city of our Organization. Yesterday's edition of *The New York Times* stated:

" . . . it would be ridiculous to permit Colonel Nasser to pose before the United Nations or the world as the innocent victim of aggression, or to hold a protecting hand over him. On the contrary, in so far as there is any one man guilty of aggression, it is the Egyptian President, for he has waged war against Israel, Britain and France by propaganda, by gun-running, by infiltration of murderous bands, by stirring up rebellion in French North Africa, by seizing the Suez Canal by force and scrapping a treaty in the same manner in which Hitler marched into the Rhineland, by blocking the canal for Israel shipping in defiance of United Nations orders—fi-

nally by his whole loudly proclaimed programme of throwing Israel into the sea in alliance with other Arab states and creating an Arab empire under his hegemony which would expand his influence in concentric circles to all Africa and the whole Moslem world".

150. In these circumstances, both the position and the attitude of the Israel Government are clear. This attitude is based upon our fundamental concept of reciprocity. If the frontier between Egypt and Israel is to protect Egyptian territory against Israel entry, then it must protect Israel territory against Egyptian entry. We hold that it is a self-evident truth that the lives of Israel men, women and children are not less sacrosanct or less worthy of international protection than are the lives of the hired *fedayeen* groups which are the main instruments of Nasserism in its assault upon the peace and decencies of Middle Eastern life.

151. Beyond these incidents, grave as they are, we discern issues of even greater moment. World opinion must surely choose between the two candidates for its confidence: on the one hand, the farmers and workers, the men, women and children of Israel; and, on the other hand, the fanatic warriors of the *fedayeen* groups. Behind that confrontation there stands the much broader and more significant confrontation between Israel and Mr. Nasser.

152. A small people builds its society and culture in its re nascent homeland. In the early days of its independence it is set upon by the armed might of all its neighbours, who attempt to wipe it off the face of the earth. In the following years its neighbours continue their assault; with warlike acts of their own choice they attempt its destruction by armed intervention. They send armed units into its territory to murder and plunder. They strive by every means to ensure that nowhere shall there be tranquillity for peaceful pursuits. They blare forth the most violent threats of Israel's destruction. They accumulate vast armaments for bringing this about. They announce, as they did last week from Cairo, that it is they who will choose the time and the place for the final assault and that it is for us to wait passively for the moment of their selection. They proclaim that a state of war with Israel already exists. They seize the greatest of the world's international waterways and convert it into an instrument for unilateral national pressure.

153. Across Africa and Asia, wherever Nasserism spreads its baneful influence, it works actively to subvert all peace and progress and to establish an ambitious and insatiable hegemony. Now, having considered that it has humbled and defeated the international community and the maritime Powers, Nasser's action returns to its first target, Israel, which is to be swamped from three sides with a new wave of *fedayeen* violence. The Assembly will recall that the new wave began shortly following the tripartite military alliance concerted ten days ago between the Government of Syria, Jordan and Egypt, under Egypt's control.

154. While studying with attention all proposals for strengthening security in the Middle East, we must reject with vehement indignation the charges of aggression launched against us here, launched by some States whose own current international and security activities are well in the forefront of today's international attention.

155. There is aggression, there is belligerency in the Middle East, but we for eight years have been its victims, not its authors. That is what I mean when I

say that world opinion as here represented should decide whom to trust. Shall it be the small free people establishing its homeland in peace and constructive progress, or shall it be the dictatorship which has bullied and blustered and blackmailed its way across the international life of our times, threatening peace in many continents, openly avowing belligerency, placing its fist on the jugular vein of the world's communications, bringing the Middle East and the world ever nearer to the threshold of conflict, intimidating all those who stand in its path, all except one people, at least, which will not be intimidated—one people whom no dictator has ever intimidated, the people which has risen up against all the tyrants of history, the people which knows that the appeasement of despots yields nothing but an uneasy respite, and that a Government which allowed its own citizens to be murdered daily in their homes would lose the dignity and the justification for which Governments are instituted among men?

156. In conclusion, I would ask the General Assembly to believe that Israel and the Arab States, the region in which they and we must forever live, now stand at the crossroads of their history. An aggressive dictatorship has for the first time encountered successful and glorious resistance. Some elements of its pride have been broken. Those whom it has outraged with impunity have stood up and asserted their rights, and the hope of freedom burns brighter in the Middle East today, not only for Israel but for many others in our region who have found ways of communicating to us their own deep apprehensions of what Nasser's encroachment means for their own cherished sovereignty.

157. If the power of this tyranny is not artificially revived, our region will again become a place where men of all nations, including Israel, can live and work in peace, where legitimate universal interests will be respected under the sanction of law, where contacts with other lands will be held in respect, where all those in Asia and Europe whose fortune is linked by history and geography with the Middle East will receive justice and respect for their legitimate interests. It will be a region where the great maritime nations will not have to suffer the indignities which they underwent in this building last month, when they had to hang with exaggerated deference on every wave of the hand, on every nod of condescension from the representative of the territorial Power which had converted the unconditional right of navigation into an act of grace or a privilege to be conferred or withheld at will.

158. Such a Middle East, free from domination and totalitarian influence, will enter perhaps soon upon its new birth of freedom. This is the crossroad at which we might soon stand. We could have wished that we had reached it less drastically, with smaller peril and sacrifice. But, having reached it, surely we must go forward and not back. This momentous discussion today has made it plain that one thing will not do: it will not do to go back to an outdated and crumbling armistice régime designed by its authors to last for a few months and now lingering for eight years in growing paralysis of function. Least of all can we be satisfied to return to an imperfect armistice, distorted by unilateral belligerency, to a system designed seven years ago as a transition to peace and interpreted for seven years by one of the parties as a continuing state of war.

159. Israel has no desire or intention to wield arms beyond the limits of its legitimate defensive mission. But whatever is demanded of us by way of restoring Egypt's rights and respecting Egypt's security under

international law must surely be accompanied by equally binding Egyptian undertakings to respect Israel's security and Israel's rights under the identical law. Egypt's obligation to abstain from acts of hostility, to liquidate its commando activities, to abolish its illicit discrimination against Israel shipping in the Suez Canal and in the Gulf of Aqaba, is equal and identical in law to Israel's obligation to respect the established armistice lines. Our signpost is not backward to belligerency, but forward to peace. Whatever Israel is now asked to do for Egypt must have its counterpart in Egypt's reciprocal duty to give Israel the plenitude of its rights.

160. Beyond the moment when fire will cease, the prospect must not be one of unilateral claims by one party against the other. The horizon must be of peace by agreement, peace without maritime blockades in the Gulf or in the Canal, peace without frontier raids or commando incursions, peace without constant threats to the integrity or independence of any State, peace without military alliances directed against Israel's independence.

161. Egypt and Israel are two peoples whose encounters in history have been so rich and fruitful for mankind. Surely they must make their journey from this solemn moment towards these horizons of peace.

162. Mr. TRUJILLO (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): Before going into the substance of the question, I should like to refer to the motion which the Assembly has approved under which three speakers have been selected to speak for and three against the United States draft resolution [A/3256], over and above the Powers directly involved. I think that those of us who opposed the motion were very few. The object of the motion was to save time, so that the draft resolution could be approved and could have effect at once. The net result, however, was to lose more time and the resolution will have the same effect whether we approve it now, in the early hours of the morning, or many hours later.

163. The great significance of this debate is precisely that it gives all the civilized peoples of the world an opportunity to come to this rostrum and state their views on a problem which is of the deepest interest to all countries, particularly the small ones. This is the forum of world opinion, and we must defend our right to speak here and to show the world that we small nations cannot assert ourselves by force but must do so by reason, argument and propaganda. This rostrum must be open to all debates and the opinion of all peoples must be heard, especially at such a crucial moment of history as this, when the final position of a civilization is being defined. The Ecuadorian delegation accordingly objected to the debate being closed, since that would prevent those who wished from expressing their views freely and frankly. There is a difference between taking part in the debate and expressing views after the debate is closed, when the vote has been taken and it is merely a matter of explaining one's vote. Such statements are not even listened to with due attention.

164. As regards the substance of the matter, we must analyse the facts in order to appraise them. We have before us two cases of aggression, of a very clear aggression, which does not need to be defined in order to be immediately understood and judged morally: first, that of Israel against Egypt, and secondly, that of the United Kingdom and France against Egypt.

165. Are the two related? Was one the historical antecedent of the other? My delegation refuses to believe such a thing, it rejects such a theory. It does not

believe that Israel has lent itself to a manoeuvre of this kind, not even on the pretext of defending its vital interests.

166. I greatly appreciate the worth of this small State and, as I know it and have been there, though only for a few days, I am aware of the marvellous efforts that it is making, cultivating what is little more than stones and desert and sand and making it bring forth vegetation and produce gardens to feed the people and beautify the country. I know this people's worth, and all they are doing to create their homeland and to further universal culture, and I reject as inconceivable the idea that they can have lent themselves to such trickery.

167. The second act of aggression, that of the United Kingdom and France against Egypt, followed upon the invasion of Egypt by the Israel armed forces; was it deliberately linked to the Israel invasion? I believe that, with their well-known political acumen, the United Kingdom and France merely took advantage of the political, economic and social circumstances to carry out a plan which had been maturing for many months.

168. Both are acts of aggression, and all countries, particularly the small countries, which have been or may be victims of aggression, must from this rostrum condemn aggression in the strongest and most emphatic terms, whatever the motive or the pretext for that act of aggression may be. It was for this very purpose that this Organization was established; it was for this that the Charter to which we are subject was drafted at San Francisco. Either at that time, or subsequently, all the States represented here, including the present aggressors and their victims, promised to relinquish the threat of force, on any pretext, and to use it only in self-defence, in the case of an armed attack and never in any other.

169. The nations, particularly the small ones, cannot accept the argument which the representative of the United Kingdom defended with so much skill, but to the alarm of the world, adducing a multitude of apparent reasons. He maintained that the situation was such that the United Kingdom and France had no alternative but to take matters into their own hands. The Security Council—these are almost his very words—was unable to do anything, being always hamstrung by the veto, and, since it was impossible to rely upon the United Nations because it was not strong enough to enforce respect for peace and the law, it had been necessary, urgent and legitimate to take this police action whose only object was to restore and maintain peace.

170. But there had in fact been no breach of the peace. The Suez Canal had been operating perfectly. On the eve of the British and French aggression, fifty ships had gone through the Canal peacefully. It is therefore clear from a simply study of the facts that France and the United Kingdom seized the opportunity offered by the invasion of Egypt by the Israel army to do what they had been thinking of doing, what they had threatened to do but had not ventured to do because there had been no clear and adequate pretext.

171. They had already made it clear from the moment that the Egyptian Government nationalized the Suez Canal Company and refused to participate in the London Conference and later refused to accede to what was almost an order presented by the five Foreign Ministers who were sent to Cairo, that they did not exclude the possibility of using force to save the situation. But there could be no immediate resort to

force, because there was no pretext to justify it; the scandal would have rocked the world, and so they did not dare go further.

172. The opportunity, however, quickly presented itself and then, in defence of purely economic interests, they violated the Charter, as well as the fundamental rights and guarantees of peoples, and committed an act of aggression that was doubly immoral. In the first place, it violates the Charter, which all countries, large and small, are bound to respect. In the second place, the violation has been committed by two great Powers, two Powers in which we have all placed our confidence as guarantors of world peace and security and which, for that very reason, enjoy the right of veto. That right they used a few days ago in order to prevent the Security Council and the United Nations from coming to the defence of the weak and so preventing an outrage from being committed.

173. The two cases of aggression before us must therefore be judged differently. Both are unpardonable, but both cannot be equally explained; Israel's aggression is explicable, but the attack by the United Kingdom and France defies explanation. The civilization of these two great nations, to which the representative of the United Kingdom referred from this very rostrum a few hours ago, has played a great role in the East and in the Middle East, as well as in Europe and America. We owe our culture to the United Kingdom and France; we owe all our civilization to them, and it was not to be expected that they, who gave us our civilization, and who have a moral obligation to continue that great tradition, should have been the ones to violate a sacred undertaking. Why have they done so? In order to defend purely material interests. In so doing, they are setting a bad example to us smaller countries, encouraging us to think that we should or could do the same when our own interests are at stake.

174. What, then, have these two great Powers achieved by violating the Charter? They have given us the most barbarous of lessons; they have told us that the Charter is good only when it suits our purposes, and that it can be flouted when it runs counter to our interests. Today it is the great Powers which are doing this; what example are they setting the smaller Powers? Is the Charter intended only to keep the smaller nations in chains and obedient to its doctrine, and not to apply to the others?

175. I believe that this is one of the gravest and most acute crises in the history of our Organization, because of the nature of the acts committed and of the status of those responsible for committing them. I can explain, though I do not justify, Israel's aggression. From the beginning, Israel's history has been one of struggle. It is surrounded by a group of peoples hostile to it, peoples opposed to it on grounds of religion, language and culture; it has to fight, and it has fought bravely. In Israel, passions are running high; the people are besieged, panic-stricken, and could commit an act of tragic folly.

176. But what are France and the United Kingdom fighting for? Israel is fighting for its very existence, for all that the mind and muscle of its people have created, but what are these two great Powers fighting for? Simply for a matter of business, the business of the Suez Canal. They are fighting, they say, for the freedom of this vital international waterway; for freedom of passage through the Suez Canal, the canal which is essential to the existence of many European coun-

tries and on which the life of half of Europe, and of the United Kingdom and France in particular, depends.

177. All this is true, but at bottom it is a question only of great economic interests, it is simply a matter of big business; and peoples surely do not go to war to defend the fat dividends of Suez Canal shareholders. There can be no question of that. In this day and age the peoples are not blind to that extent, and the proof is that in the United Kingdom itself a large body of opinion, educated people, highly responsible members of the British Parliament, have said much harsher things than I am saying now on behalf of my small nation, in this, the supreme forum of the world.

178. From the time of Israel's establishment until the armistice agreements, war raged. From the armistice agreements until the present day, Israel has had to face a constant and uninterrupted struggle: it has had to plough its fields rifle in hand; it has not known a single hour of real peace. So that although it has committed an act which we do not approve, even if we can explain it, it is fighting for its life and for an ideal, the ideal of being an independent country, however small; the ideal of being a State and of giving fit expression to the intellectual gifts with which its great race has been endowed.

179. I believe that at this time we must, on behalf of all the civilized peoples of the world, condemn these acts of aggression and, in the name of world peace and security, ask that everything possible should be done to repair the evil so far committed and to solve all the problems whose solution has been sought by violence.

180. The United Nations also has a great responsibility in regard to the problem of relations between the Arab peoples and Israel. The United Nations has not done all that it could and should have done to prevent the ever-increasing problems in this field from reaching the present explosive stage. The United Nations, in execution of its lofty legal and moral purpose, must take advantage of this opportunity and, after censuring the deed which has been committed, albeit only morally, it must make every effort to settle the various problems involved so that, once the present hostilities are halted, these problems do not remain as seeds of discord and of war.

181. The United Kingdom representative said [*561st meeting*] that after the police action undertaken by his country and France, it would be possible to work out a settlement of these problems so that out of this great evil much good might come. Here the adage may perhaps apply that evil is sometimes the origin of much good; there is no evil of which good may not come.

182. The President of the United States, in his dispassionate and masterly statement to the American people yesterday, made it clear that he and his Government are taking the highest possible moral position; it is clear to us all that he has sacrificed important interests and risen above them in order to pass judgement impartially, applying, as he said, the same law to friends and to enemies, for it is true that there can be no peace in the world if we apply one code of international law to our friends and another to our enemies. Mr. Eisenhower, although we do not agree with all he said, has demonstrated once and for all that his great country is worthy of the trust which all the Americas have placed in it. As the true standard-bearer of democracy, the principles of justice and the Charter, he has not hesitated, even at the risk of endangering the interests of his two great friends, to utter

a moral but effective condemnation of the acts which have prompted the present meeting.

183. I believe that in the midst of this crisis we have gained two fundamental advantages: first, that we have been able to come here to express the opinion of all peoples on acts committed by great Powers; and secondly, that the greatest Power in the world has at this time taken a democratic, intelligent and human stand, thereby winning universal respect and admiration.

184. We shall vote for the draft resolution introduced by the United States delegation [A/3256]; but, applying Mr. Eisenhower's observation that there should be one law for all, I would say that the first and second paragraphs of the preamble should have been drafted in the same form.

185. In the first, which notes the disregard on many occasions by the parties to the Israel-Arab armistice agreements of 1949 of the terms of such agreements, and the fact that the armed forces of Israel have penetrated deeply into Egyptian territory in violation of the General Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel, there is a strong condemnation of Israel. The second paragraph, however, notes only that armed forces of France and the United Kingdom are conducting military operations against Egyptian territory.

186. These military operations constitute the most flagrant and open aggression, they are a violation of the United Nations Charter and they threaten the downfall of our Organization. But they are referred to in veiled diplomatic and tactful terms, although the act in question violates the United Nations Charter, whereas the other act, which is no more than a breaking of the armistice between a group of countries, is harshly judged.

187. Are we applying the same law in our judgement of the little State of Israel and the little Arab States, as in our judgement of the great Powers which are at this moment attacking Egypt? I do not think so. I wish merely to draw attention to the fact that the carefully worked out and subtle language used to disguise this bitter pill simply means that the military operations are open and flagrant aggression against a country which had given no cause for it and, even if it had done so, should not have been so attacked. I wish to place on record the view of my delegation.

188. The third paragraph of the preamble says that traffic through the Suez Canal is now interrupted, to the serious prejudice of many nations. Yes, traffic is now interrupted; it was interrupted as soon as the United Kingdom and France began their bombing; it was interrupted as soon as the British-French aggression began. The paragraph should therefore read: "Noting that, owing to the British-French aggression, traffic through the Suez Canal is now interrupted, to the serious prejudice of many nations . . .", etc.

189. Finally, in paragraph 1 of the operative part of the draft resolution, it would appear that Egypt, too, is being ordered not to move forces within its own territory. I do not think that was the intention of the United States delegation: the text must surely be understood as referring to the forces which started the aggression.

190. After these few remarks on the view taken by my delegation in voting for the draft resolution, I will conclude by voicing my earnest hope that the United Kingdom and France, which have always been among the leaders of the civilized world, which have done much to spread civilization and have hitherto been its

official spokesmen, will pause for reflection and retrace their steps. I trust that they will see that, with the bombs they are now raining on Egyptian territory, they are throwing away their prestige, and that the great evil they are doing is not only destroying their prestige but causing all the peoples which formerly believed and had faith in their greatness to lose that faith and to consider them worthy of the sharpest censure.

191. Mr. WALKER (Australia): When the Secretary of State of the United States addressed us earlier this evening, he said that he spoke with a heavy heart. I must say that I heard his statement with heavy heart.

192. In Australia we believe that the strength of the United Nations rests principally upon two foundations: on the one hand, the participation of the wide range of Members throughout the world and, secondly, on the close friendship and close co-operation of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. It is with very heavy heart that we recognize the division of opinion, the very deep division of opinion, that has developed regarding the practical measures that should be taken at this time to deal with the tragic situation in the Middle East.

193. Moreover, our own relations with the United States are so close and so friendly that our hearts are heavy as we find ourselves in opposition to a draft resolution proposed by the United States [A/3256], particularly as we know in our hearts that the objectives sought by the United States are those that we would seek ourselves in connexion with this grave problem. I wish I could say that I were as sure that all those who speak or vote in favour of this draft resolution share profoundly the same objective of restoring the peace in the Middle East.

194. I propose to address myself strictly to the terms of the draft resolution, and to refer to it as briefly as is consistent with making the position of my delegation clear.

195. The draft resolution must be analysed in terms of its objective: the restoration of peace in the Middle East. The problem out of which the present difficulties have arisen is one that has a long history, and I do not intend to go into it, but I do wish to emphasize the fact that throughout a considerable number of years this Organization has wrestled, with only very limited success, with the enormous problems involved in maintaining the peace between Israel and its neighbours.

196. Some parts of this draft resolution do not present any difficulty. Two days ago, I voted in the Security Council [750th meeting] for a draft resolution calling upon Israel and Egypt to cease fire and to withdraw behind the frontiers, and we find a provision for something of that sort in this draft resolution. But we find other things with which we have very great difficulty.

197. Some reference has been made already to those parts of the draft resolution that refer to the need to reopen the Suez Canal when hostilities have ceased, and the draft asks us to note that traffic through the Canal is now interrupted, to the serious prejudice of many nations. It has even been suggested and stated here that the traffic through the Canal has been interrupted through the military action of the United Kingdom in sinking an Egyptian vessel. I have seen a message from the Middle East Command that has just recently been published, stating that an Egyptian blockade ship which was being moved into a sinking position athwart the Lake Timsah channel was attacked

twice today by British naval aircraft and sunk at the second attempt. It is believed that the ship is lying outside the buoys demarcating the channel. Egyptian reports that this was a deliberate British attempt to block the channel are said to be wholly unfounded.

198. We are hearing many reports of the results of developments in the region. I mention this because I take it that the reference to traffic through the Canal being now interrupted is not intended as requesting this Assembly to endorse reports being made by one side or another before this Assembly is in a position to establish the actual facts. We know that in times like this some rather strange claims are sometimes made. We know also that ships are not using the Suez Canal and that many countries are diverting their ships away from the Canal until it is safer to continue to use that international waterway.

199. The main features of this draft resolution to which I wish to direct attention are the second paragraph of the preamble and paragraph 1 of the operative part. Paragraph 1 reads as follows:

“Urges as a matter of priority that all parties now involved in hostilities in the area agree to an immediate cease-fire and as part thereof halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area”.

This paragraph, taking priority, as it were, over the other operative paragraphs of the draft resolution, seems to be clearly directed against the action which has been taken by France and the United Kingdom. It reflects a judgement which this Assembly is asked to make on that action.

200. We have heard a statement by the representative of the United Kingdom this evening, and we have yet to hear a statement from the representative of France. We have also heard statements in the Security Council, and they have been available in the Press of the world. The declared objectives of the United Kingdom and France in this matter are not to wage war, but to prevent some of the consequences of war, and to prevent the development of the conflict between Israel and Egypt and, in particular, to safeguard the lives and property of the nations using the Suez Canal. Their objectives have been stated to be to prevent the Canal itself from becoming a battle line between Israel and Egypt, a development which would deny the use of this international waterway to the whole world. Their objective is to interpose forces between the Egyptian and Israel forces.

201. The United Kingdom and France have declared solemnly that this is temporary emergency action, to be terminated when peaceful conditions are restored. They are not setting out to impose a solution to the problems of the Middle East by force, but to establish the conditions necessary for a peaceful solution of those problems. Their objective is not to supersede the action of the United Nations, but to reinforce the limited measures that the United Nations is able to take in present circumstances. The United Kingdom and France have declared that these emergency measures are not directed against Egypt's sovereignty or territorial integrity.

202. As I said in the Security Council yesterday [751st meeting], the record of the United Kingdom and France in this Organization is such as to warrant a fair consideration of their statements. Their record is such that I believe they have a right to have their solemn assurances accepted by Members of this Organization.

203. For these reasons, a resolution drafted in the terms that have been placed before us is not acceptable to the Australian Government and its delegation.

204. Mr. BRILEJ (Yugoslavia): The General Assembly is meeting tonight in what has been rightly described as an unprecedented emergency session. It is meeting at a moment of crucial gravity for the peace of the world. An act of aggression whose consequences are incalculable is being committed against a Member State of the United Nations. Its territory is being invaded, its cities bombed.

205. Egypt has been attacked, it is true, by three States—by Israel, by France and by the United Kingdom—for what are alleged to be different reasons. Can there be any doubt, however, that what is now unfolding before our very eyes is a single pattern of aggression? The planning, the timing and the only too apparent ulterior motives are surely conclusive in this regard. Both the Israel attack and the attack by the United Kingdom and France have come after a series of deliberate and increasingly obvious preparatory moves. The Israel attack is the culmination of a growing series of armed retaliatory attacks against Israel's neighbours in defiance of the Armistice Agreement, of Security Council resolutions and of the United Nations Charter. The attack by the United Kingdom and France has climaxed many months of threats and ominous military moves openly directed against Egypt.

206. When the Israel attack occurred, the Security Council was called, on the initiative of the United States, to discharge its primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security. It was considering the urgent steps required—to achieve a cease-fire and a withdrawal of the invading forces. Draft resolutions to this effect were submitted. They had the support of the majority of the members of the Council. They were, however, vetoed by France and the United Kingdom on the ground that those very draft resolutions, calling for a cease-fire and for the withdrawal of the invading forces, were inconsistent with their policy, as explicitly stated by the representative of the United Kingdom at the 750th meeting of the Security Council. Even as they did so, as they themselves frustrated even the mildest form of Security Council action, they argued that the Council was clearly incapable of effective action.

207. Thereupon, they took the law into their own hands. They presented Egypt, the victim of the original attack, with an ultimatum. They enjoined the Egyptian Government to renounce its inherent right of self-defence within the meaning of Article 51 of the Charter. They also summoned Egypt to accept the occupation of a part of its territory by two foreign and obviously hostile Powers. This, surely, was going back to the methods of 1940, or even 1914. Egypt, of course, rejected this ultimatum, as any self-respecting sovereign State would have done. A few hours later, the attack by the United Kingdom and France, the second phase of aggression, began.

208. The impact which this aggression is bound to have, if it is not halted in time, upon the fabric of world peace is still difficult to surmise to the full extent of its implications. France and the United Kingdom have sought to justify their armed intervention in Egypt on the grounds of a desire to extinguish, or at least to circumscribe, the Israel-Egyptian conflict. What they have in fact done is to start a conflagration of even more alarming proportions. They have claimed that their action was necessary to ensure freedom of navigation

in the Suez Canal. What this action has in fact done is to block the navigation which had been proceeding in a perfectly normal manner. It is hard, indeed, to find a plausible excuse for aggression in a world in which the United Nations has become a reality.

209. It is encouraging on this dark occasion to note that a swelling tide of revulsion at the British-French-Israel aggression is already sweeping the world. Public opinion and responsible statesmen have not been slow to react to this deliberate assault on the peace of the world.

210. It is hardly necessary for me to stress the momentous responsibility which has now fallen on the General Assembly. Our task here is to stop the fighting and to halt what might be irreparable while there is still time to save the peace. All other considerations fade before these overriding tasks. On this much we are surely all agreed—the attack on Egypt must cease, and the attacking forces must be withdrawn. We all know full well, of course, that this will not in itself settle the basic issues which have so long tormented the Middle Eastern scene. We shall, however, have created the elementary preconditions for any settlement.

211. It is surely obvious that one cannot hope to advance towards a solution while fighting is going on and while invading armies are on the march. Indeed, should the present situation persist or worsen, the issues may well become insoluble. Therefore, as Mr. Dulles so rightly pointed out, first things must come first.

212. The draft resolution proposed by the United States delegation fully meets the immediate requirements of the situation, and it has the full and warm support of the Yugoslav delegation. I am confident that this draft resolution will meet with an overwhelmingly favourable response in this Assembly, and that it will be adopted as speedily as possible. Let us hope that the voice of the General Assembly will not remain unheard, and that peace will yet be restored.

213. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*translated from French*): A short time ago, speaking on behalf of my Government, I made specific reservations as to the legality of any resolutions this Assembly might adopt concerning the item now under discussion. I feel obliged to reaffirm those reservations, particularly since part of the draft resolution now before us exceeds the scope of the item submitted to the Assembly.

214. I think, however, that I should now state the position of my Government. I deem it necessary, first of all, to recall the events of the last two days and the reasons for the attitude adopted by France in the Security Council.

215. The French Government approved the request for an urgent meeting of the Security Council made by the United States delegation during the night of 29 October 1956. The French Government has never questioned the fact that, given the gravity of the situation, an urgent meeting of the Security Council was called for. It took the view that the fighting going on between the Israel forces and the Egyptian army should be stopped immediately. It also believed that it was necessary to take all appropriate steps to ensure that the hostilities which had just begun would in no event impede free navigation through the Suez Canal. We all know how vitally important this international waterway is to France and to many other countries.

216. The Security Council was convened on 30 October 1956 [749th meeting], and the United States

delegation immediately submitted a draft resolution, the text of which I shall not read to the General Assembly because that very resolution afforded the basis for convening this Assembly. We opposed the adoption of that draft resolution. We did so because we felt that it covered only one phase of the problem and that from the entirety of an extremely dangerous situation it singled out one incident, a most serious one to be sure, but merely an incident.

217. The United States delegation answered by saying that the Assembly should first deal with the incidents in the Sinai peninsula and then, if the Council deemed it appropriate, discuss the Suez question and the other items included in the agenda of the Security Council.

218. In the French Government's view, this approach did not take account of the political situation. The French Government considered, in fact, that the tension in the Middle East had progressively assumed so grave a nature that it was imperative to view the situation in its entirety and act accordingly. The French Government, in close co-operation with the Government of the United Kingdom, decided to take the necessary action. The members of the Security Council were apprised of that decision while it was in session.

219. The French Government did not lightly embark on measures which at first glance might appear to be inconsistent with its traditions. It did so because it felt, in full agreement with the United Kingdom Government, that the tragic and rapid turn of events called for vigorous and immediate decisions.

220. Who can in all honesty dispute the fact that ten years' work by the United Nations, innumerable resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and even the noteworthy efforts of our Secretary-General, have been powerless not only to eliminate the danger of war in the Middle East, but even to prevent that danger from increasing to the point where it became a threat to world peace?

221. In reality, the United Nations has proved powerless to settle the Palestine question, because the action of the Security Council has been paralysed by the veto of one of its permanent members. Two years ago, for the first time, the Soviet Union delegation exercised its right of veto to prevent the condemnation of an Arab stand in the Palestine question. Subsequently it persistently prevented any condemnation, no matter how justified, from being pronounced against any one of Israel's neighbours.

222. The impunity thus vouchsafed to certain States has intensified the intransigence of some of them. The inability of this Organization to enforce its decisions—or even sometimes to take such decisions—and to induce the parties concerned to conclude a permanent peace, has had the result of giving free rein to inordinate ambitions, based on increasingly modern armaments, the source of which should provide serious cause for concern to those who would regard the situation we are considering today as a mere border incident.

223. These are not unfounded allegations. There is abundant proof in the writings and statements of Mr. Nasser and his spokesmen, and also in a number of indisputable facts. The United Nations need hardly be reminded of statements to the effect that Israel must be wiped off the map, or appeals made to Islamic solidarity, which, under the guise of strengthening the religious ties of all Moslems—ties which in themselves

are worthy of respect—were actually designed to serve Egyptian national interests exclusively since, to quote Mr. Nasser, that solidarity was without a doubt destined to be the gigantic scaffolding of Egyptian power.

224. In so far as Egypt's African ambitions are concerned, suffice it to recall Mr. Nasser considered that "we cannot forswear the task of expanding Egyptian civilization, even into the heart of the virgin forest".

225. The August 1956 issue of an economic and political review published in Cairo contained a statement of the measures to be taken by Egypt in order to achieve its objective. In addition to systematic propaganda efforts, there were two very specific projects. In the first place, a pan-African conference was to be held at Cairo chiefly for the purpose of reaching decisions ensuring Egyptian domination over the entire African continent. Secondly, the publication recalled that the Supreme Council for African Affairs had been established at Cairo in 1955 in order to make that policy a reality.

226. These ambitions are as inordinate as those which, twenty years ago, were nourished by another dictator whose megalomania ultimately led to the death of more than 25 million human beings. This manifold aspiration is no longer at the stage of individual dreams or academic projects. It has already taken the form of a series of aggressive acts aimed, like the plan which conceived them, in various directions.

227. Against Israel, the activities of so-called death volunteers have been organized on a strictly military basis. Is there any need to recall that, on the very eve of what is now called the "Israel aggression", a number of Egyptian commandos had carried out raids deep into Israel's territory, causing numerous casualties among the civilian population?

228. The Members of the United Nations will surely not have forgotten the forcible seizure of the Suez Canal last July, which constituted not only a violation of international law and commitments undertaken, but also one of the most serious blows ever directed against international confidence.

229. Lastly, the recent seizure by the French navy of a cargo of armaments loaded at Alexandria by Egyptian soldiers and designed to supply the forces of rebellion in North Africa demonstrated without a shadow of doubt that the Egyptian Government, not only by means of propaganda and by sending sabotage experts, but also by shipments of supplies and armaments, is fanning the flames of revolt against the established order. The French Government signified the gravity of this question by requesting that it should be placed on the agenda of the Security Council. The Council members unanimously decided to do so.

230. Thus, before our very eyes, day in and day out, notwithstanding our decisions, Egypt has been openly and cynically helping to aggravate the situation and to prepare the way, within a relatively short time, for developments even more serious than those which we are witnessing today.

231. Could traditional methods prevent this march towards the point of no return? I regret to say that we were no longer able to believe it. When, on the night of 29 October 1956, Israel forces, retaliating against the provocation of the Egyptian death commandos, penetrated into the Sinai area, the French Government considered that this time it would no longer suffice to add to the collection of Security Council resolutions another page containing recommenda-

tions which would remain a dead letter. What was called for was action, and swift action. Those who now blame us for that action should recall the continued flouting of the provisions of the Security Council resolution concerning the free passage of Israel's ships through the Suez Canal [S/2322] and the Council's inability to act effectively when, hardly a month ago, the question of the seizure of the Suez Canal in violation of international agreements was placed before it. Precedents of this order left no hope that substantial and lasting results could be expected from recourse to traditional procedures. These procedures have also proved incapable of putting an end to a situation which, as Mr. Dulles remarked earlier in this meeting, has existed for eight years.

232. France and the United Kingdom then decided to intervene, not in a manner contrary to the purposes of the United Nations as defined during the past few days by the majority of the members of the Security Council, but because it seemed to them essential—as at the time of the Korean situation—that a Power or group of Powers should resolutely take the initiative of facing the real problems. It has been alleged that we have violated international law, and even that we have committed an act of aggression. But as Mr. Mollet, Prime Minister of France, stated on 30 September 1956, "the spirit of the Charter is not a spirit of capitulation; the quest for peaceful solutions cannot mean the acceptance, out of inertia, of *faits accomplis*". It was in that spirit that we felt in duty bound to intervene.

233. Those were the motives which impelled the French Government to take its decision, jointly with the United Kingdom Government. We are aware that it is in the interests of some people not to understand those motives. But we also know that the majority of the members of this Assembly are convinced that the greatest international catastrophes have been caused by the fact that those who were to be the victims were unable to take the necessary decisions in time. As I have already said, the Franco-British intervention in the Suez Canal zone is designed, in the first place, to call an immediate halt to hostilities between Egyptian and Israel armed forces by setting a screen, as it were, between the belligerent forces, and, in the second place, to protect the Suez Canal and establish lasting peace in the Middle East.

234. The French Government will not maintain its forces in the Canal area beyond the time required for the fulfilment of the objectives I have just enumerated. This operation in no way jeopardizes Egyptian sovereignty. We affirm that in taking the decisions which have been forced upon us we in no way intended to act in a manner incompatible with the principles of the Charter. The situation facing us today can be properly appraised only in the light of all its elements, historical, geographical and political. It is within this general framework that the decision taken by my Government, in the interests of the free world and of that just peace which Mr. Dulles invoked a short time ago, must be placed.

235. Mr. LALL (India): In this hour overcast with clouds of war and aggression, I rise to make these brief remarks on behalf of the Government of India because my Government remains convinced that the horror which is upon us can be arrested, and a major catastrophe averted, if immediate and effective action is taken by this emergency special session of the General Assembly, which has been called by vote of the Security Council and for which supporting requests have been

made by as many as forty-nine Members of the United Nations, that is, by well over half of its total membership.

236. Let me say immediately that I do not propose at this late hour to engage in a discussion on the remarks of the representatives of France and the United Kingdom, except to say that if they would only re-read parts of their speeches side by side with the Charter, they would be amazed at the wide gulf between the two sets of documents and would find no support or sanction whatsoever for their self-imposed role of policemen in the Middle East.

237. At this very moment, the people and the Government of Egypt are the victims of a triple invasion, and our deepest feelings go out to them in sympathy. They are being subjected to the brutal facts of war. Their sovereignty is being violently curtailed and their territory is being occupied by the armed might of a neighbour and of two powerful countries. There has been released over Egypt a manifestation of the law of the jungle instead of the law of peace and the law of nations as enshrined in our Charter. Thus on the territory of Egypt is mockery being made of the Charter of the United Nations, and there the organs of the United Nations are being affronted by aggression and invasion. It is this appalling state of affairs which confronts us and which demands, through our united efforts, an immediate remedy, a remedy which will directly replace folly and inhumanity by peace and justice.

238. There cannot, there must not, be the slightest delay in applying such a remedy, and that is why in our opinion we must waste no time in proceeding to a vote on the draft resolution before us.

239. For the United Kingdom and France, in this moment when we are in total disagreement with the actions of their Governments and completely repudiate the course on which they have embarked, we have feelings. Those feelings reflect our conviction that those two countries are capable of an entirely different and immeasurably superior quality of international action. We believe that in this moment of clouded vision they will wish us to remind them of their own capacity to seek solutions by peaceful means which they themselves have brought to bear with success in other situations which, if handled as they are handling this one, could have become equally grave and equally perilous to the peace of the world. We believe that the interests, not only the best interests but the basic interests, of France and the United Kingdom cannot be served by the course they have chosen. That course is self-defeating and destructive for them as much as for anyone else.

240. We in fact ask France and the United Kingdom to apply now those standards of objectivity and good sense which they would expect of other nations, and much more strongly does all this apply to Israel, a State that owes its very existence to the United Nations and which should most appropriately, therefore, be foremost in its adherence to the Charter.

241. Speaking of this situation, the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, has said:

"The sudden invasion of Egypt by Israel was a breach of the armistice and of the United Nations. It was clear and naked aggression. In such circumstances, when every United Nations Member should have tried to stop the invasion, Britain and France issued an ultimatum to Egypt . . .

"Remember here that Israel was the aggressor who was attacking the Suez Canal, which was then func-

tioning properly. If there was danger to the Canal, it was from Israel, which overran ninety miles inside Egypt . . .

"We are going back in this twentieth century to the predatory methods of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The difference today is that there are self-respecting independent nations in Asia who are not going to tolerate this kind of incursion."

242. There has been much talk of the protection of vital interests, but we ask ourselves: how can the protection of the vital interests of some so blatantly crush the vital interests of others, and how can this protection be achieved by a course which sows the seeds of increasing strife and war? We do not ask for the resigning of these vital interests, but we do ask that those countries which have deluded themselves into the view that their present actions will protect their interests recognize immediately how futile is the course they are following.

243. Their argument is that their invasion is meant to protect the Suez Canal and to ensure free passage, but this argument has no force, for the first result of this invasion is that traffic in the Canal has ceased. This has actually happened as a result of the military action of France and the United Kingdom, and these countries have added to their other follies their disregard of the Constantinople Convention of 1888. As was to be expected, this violent approach to the safeguarding of vital interests is thus plunging the world into chaos.

244. It is for this reason that we demand of the nations concerned that they immediately seek to pursue their vital interests only through the measures allowed to them by the Charter and sanctioned by all codes of civilized and humane behaviour.

245. It is with these feelings and with a deep sense of urgency that we ask this Assembly to act immediately and to adopt the draft resolution before it.

246. This draft resolution calls for the very minimum that is required at this stage. The aerial and sea bombardment and other operations of this character against Egypt must stop forthwith. The armed forces of Israel, France and the United Kingdom must leave Egyptian territory and waters immediately and this Assembly, which has met here to fulfil the objectives of peace, must remain in session until this purpose has been achieved. We must, one and all, be determined that there will be no repetition of 1935 or of 1939. We must remember that the engines of war today are immeasurably more destructive than they were before. We must rescue ourselves immediately from the vistas of horror which face us, lest there be no returning for mankind to the paths of peace.

247. Only determined and immediate action will now suffice us. Again, as Mr. Nehru said in his message to the Secretary-General yesterday [S/3720], the procedure of the United Nations must be swifter than the procedures of invasion and aggression.

248. Thanks to the initiative of the United States, we have before us a draft resolution which, for the most part and with the interpretation given to its first operative paragraph by the representatives of Colombia and Ecuador, fulfils the immediate requirements of the situation. It decides, furthermore, that we remain in emergency session pending compliance with the resolution. We strongly urge this Assembly, including the parties mainly concerned, to accept the draft resolution by unanimous vote as a first step towards settling the issues involved.

249. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): Were I to take the time to unfold this question as the representative of the United Kingdom has done, maybe many thousands of lives would be lost. Therefore it is not my intention to deliver a long speech, because now, more than ever, time is of the essence.

250. Nonetheless it is imperative that Saudi Arabia make its position clear in this struggle between right and wrong. If this crisis, which directly affects us, is not promptly resolved by the United Nations, it will undoubtedly lead to dangerous consequences in all the Arab countries, which consequences indeed may easily extend to other areas of the world. Saudi Arabia, as well as the other Arab States, are allied to Egypt in accordance with the Charter of the Arab League and the mutual military pact that bind them together in peace and in war. Furthermore, Saudi Arabia has contracted a treaty of defence with Egypt, whereby any attack on Egypt would be considered as a direct attack on Saudi Arabia.

251. The whole United Nations is confronted by an immoral act of aggression, not only against one of its sovereign States, but, as has been said time and again during the last few days, against the principles of the United Nations Charter. An unprovoked act by any aggressor is nowadays fraught with great danger because it may well spread into a global conflagration. It is therefore heartening that the Security Council did not allow itself to be frustrated by a veto in this most serious situation. It is also heartening that the General Assembly has met in an emergency special session with the hope of putting an end to the unwarranted aggression by two Member States on another Member State of our world Organization.

252. It is not now a question of peace or war; it is war. What can the United Nations do to stop it? We have met here under resolution 377 (V) of 3 November 1950 entitled "Uniting for peace". This resolution provides for collective measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. How can we achieve this goal? The said resolution is clear about the methods to be used. It stipulates the employment of force, when necessary.

253. All the Members of this Organization enjoy a juridical equality. But it so happens that two of the strongest Powers, Member States, have resorted to the use of force in this act of aggression against Egypt. Those of us who do not possess the technology of the modern war machine which these two aggressors are deploying against Egypt would be powerless to stop their aggression and that of their stooge which they used as a pretext in this unwarranted and inhuman act in the Middle East. Hence the United Nations has no other choice but to pool its resources and, at the same time, to urge concerted action, even to the extent of using force, to resist aggression, not only to defend the sovereign rights of one of its Member States, but to save the United Nations as the only effective instrument for maintaining world peace.

254. I am sure that the members of the General Assembly would agree that the United Kingdom and France have chosen a path that should have been avoided by all means. They have utilized a State of their own creation as a vehicle for their attack on Egypt, justifying their intervention in the name of security of traffic in the Suez Canal. Whom do they think they are fooling? It is the height of folly to consider it reasonable to request Egypt to withdraw to a distance of ten miles from the Suez Canal for the alleged pur-

pose of avoiding a clash with the Zionist State. Obviously this will provide the United Kingdom and France with a free hand to occupy Egypt and to assert their own rule and suzerainty over that country.

255. One would have expected the United Kingdom and France to refrain from allying themselves with Israel against the Arab countries, all the more so because of the repeated treacherous attacks committed by that State, which has been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations. Unfortunately, however, they decided to conspire with Israel against Egypt and the Arab countries in order to pursue their own egotistical interests.

256. If we are to dismiss this conspiracy and conclude that the United Kingdom and France were seriously concerned about the Suez Canal as a result of Israel's aggression, is it not reasonable to inquire why they did not confine their ultimatum to Israel, by blocking its advance towards the Canal, and order their troops to stop the Zionist aggression? Is that not logic? We are also impelled to ask the United Kingdom and France why they did not direct their naval and aerial attacks against the ports and air-fields of the Zionist State instead of sending them against Egypt. And they have repeatedly accused Israel from this rostrum of having infringed the armistice agreements and violated the Charter. Why do they do that?

257. In the whole history of the United Nations, I am not aware of a similar unprovoked aggression as has been perpetrated by two great Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, whose primary duty is to set an example in respecting the provisions of the United Nations Charter and to be against the aggressor. Instead, what did they do? They sided with the aggressor. They became aggressors themselves.

258. The United Kingdom and France issued a twelve-hour ultimatum to the Egyptian army to withdraw all its forces ten miles west of the Canal. Do you realize the significance of this? It is really ridiculous. It means that a million Egyptian civilians would be left in the area without any security, without any food and without any communications. At the same time, such a situation would place those refugees at the mercy of the enemy.

259. Who can guarantee that genocide will not be on the march again on a larger scale than that which was committed at Deir Yassin? Would the two aggressor States abet such a plan? Can they guarantee that no pretext would be invented to slaughter refugees? Who knows? They may say that there are *fedayeen* there. Inventions. Even in the Gaza strip.

260. Second, the twelve-hour ultimatum would signify that all communications would be severed—relations between the bulk of the army and those 250,000—and I hear that there are about 300,000—refugees between the Suez Canal and the Gaza strip. That would leave them at the mercy of the Zionist aggressors without the support of Egypt—and they are Egypt's responsibility.

261. Third, the twelve-hour ultimatum would signify that Egypt would be compelled to hand over bases, aerodromes, depots and warehouses of food to the enemy, thus paralysing the Egyptian army and making it unable to resist Zionist aggression and the aggression of the colonial Powers. No one in the world would accept such an ultimatum. Such ultimatums could emanate only from tyrants and dictators in order to get the law into their hands so as to enable them to pounce upon their prey. While paying lip-service to democracy,

France and the United Kingdom are unabashedly playing the role of such tyrants and dictators in Egypt today. Egypt's sovereignty has been attacked. Cities have been ravaged and bombarded from the air. What has befallen Egypt is a stab in the hearts of all the Arab peoples and, I am sure, of many Asian and African peoples.

262. When this ultimatum was being handed to the Egyptian Ambassador in London with diplomatic decorum, ships were passing through the Canal in a regular manner, notwithstanding the various acts of sabotage designed to render the operation of the Canal a failure.

263. That the attack on Egypt was conspired in and concocted by the British and French can clearly be demonstrated by citing many dispatches. But I will cite one that appeared in *The New York Times* of 1 November 1956. It was a dispatch from Paris and stated:

"Highly responsible and well-informed circles here cited evidence today to indicate that a British-French occupation of the Suez Canal zone had been planned for weeks and awaited only a suitable occasion."

264. We know what the suitable occasion was—some difficulties in Hungary and the elections in the United States. The motives can be summed up as being the result of a frustrated France in North Africa, stuck in a colonial war and trying to divert attention from its abject failure by fighting another war in Egypt where, with the United Kingdom, they enlisted Israel as their ally.

265. It is evident that both the United Kingdom and France were quite perturbed to see the renaissance of the Arab world, and they were dismayed to discover that Egypt was able to ensure passage through the Canal without external assistance. They failed to understand these developments, and therefore they succumbed to their selfish desires and hypocrisy in using force, completely disregarding the dangerous consequences to the whole Middle East.

266. The United Kingdom and France, in their perfidious attack against Egypt, have committed a grave breach of the Charter of the United Nations, both in its letter and in its spirit—the Charter which urges all countries to resolve their disputes by pacific means.

267. The United Kingdom and France have also renounced the agreement previously made to co-operate with the United States to come to the assistance of victims of aggression. Unfortunately, those two countries conspired with the Zionist State to commit this crime and refused to heed the pleas of President Eisenhower calling upon them to refrain from the use of force.

268. The world today is witnessing the real motives of those two imperialistic Powers in their attempt to reassert their domination over Egypt, the Arab world and other areas of Asia and Africa. However, nothing that the United Kingdom and France may commit against the Arab lands in the form of destruction and intimidation will diminish Arab resolve to resist such attacks, and we have the support of our Asian and African friends in this struggle to free ourselves from the last vestiges of abject colonialism.

269. It is obvious that the consequences of their blunder—it has been called an error; we call it a blunder; some call it a crime—will have great repercussions for many years to come, the more so because the world has denounced those attacks. Notwithstand-

ing that, many innocent Arabs will be sacrificed. The United Kingdom and France will undoubtedly suffer great losses in blood and treasure which to many of them—their Governments—is more important than blood because they have been sacrificing in North Africa a lot of their blood and the blood of others—and treasure too.

270. By this act of folly they will lose all their friends—if they still have any—among the Arab countries. It is shocking indeed to note that until the last minute the United Kingdom has been distorting the truth through Press releases in which it says that Egypt was negative in responding to the Secretary-General's communication with regard to the Suez Canal problem. At 8.15 p.m. on 1 November the British circulated a Press release which is full of untruths, which they think will influence the world, to the effect that President Nasser and the Government of Egypt have not responded to any attempts to solve the Suez question.

271. A message from the Secretary-General belies such a Press release. I have a copy of it here and, if I may, I shall read it out to this Assembly:

"A message from the Secretary-General to the Foreign Minister of Egypt was sent in the afternoon of 24 October. A preliminary reply was received 29 October indicating that the message was to be studied. In view of later events, no further reaction was to be expected in the few days which have elapsed."

272. And still the United Kingdom, which has highly developed media of information, disseminates untruths about Egypt and the Government of Egypt at this last moment.

273. Furthermore, we have the testimony of none other than the Secretary of State of the United States, who only a few hours ago delivered to us a most momentous statement, in which he said "it seemed that a just and peaceful solution, acceptable to all, was near at hand". Every word uttered by the Secretary of State is carefully weighed, and he would not have said "was near at hand" and "it was hoped that those negotiations would continue", if he had not so intended.

274. Mr. Dulles went on to say—and although we all listened to what he said, it is worth repeating in order to show the flagrant distortions that are being carried out by the United Kingdom and France—France naturally trailing along:

"... at the close of that series of Security Council meetings, I made a statement, which was acquiesced in by all present, to the effect that the Security Council remained seized of the problem and that it was hoped that the exchange of views by the three countries most directly concerned—Egypt, France and the United Kingdom—with the assistance of the Secretary-General, would continue. They did not continue, although I am not aware of any insuperable obstacle to their continuance". [561st meeting, para. 147.]

275. Having said this, I shall now address myself very briefly to the United States draft resolution [A/3256]. As much as we regret that in its preamble some Arab States are placed on the same level as the aggressor, and as much as we regret that paragraph 3 recommends that all Member States refrain from introducing military goods without naming the aggressors, who are known to all, we have no choice at this very late hour but to agree to this draft resolution and to vote for it.

276. There is hope for us in that, if the aggressors do not heed the warning of the United Nations, para-

graph 5 of the draft resolution requests the Secretary-General to observe and promptly report on the compliance with the resolution to the Security Council and to the General Assembly for such further action as they may deem appropriate in accordance with the Charter. It is only because of this paragraph 5 that we feel that we can vote for the draft resolution despite the discrepancies which I have just mentioned.

277. Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand): The gravity of the situation which faces this special session of the General Assembly leads me to speak with a deep sense of responsibility. I speak as the representative of a country which has always given devoted support to the objectives of the United Nations Charter, which is a fellow-member with the United Kingdom in the Commonwealth, with all that that implies, and which is closely and enduringly associated with the United States, not only by formal treaty arrangements in the Pacific and South East Asian areas but also by ties of respect and friendship.

278. My Prime Minister yesterday issued a statement in which he expresses full confidence in the intentions of the United Kingdom in moving forces into the Suez Canal zone. He notes that the United Kingdom Government has given an undertaking that its operations are designed solely to protect the Suez Canal and to halt the fighting between Israel and Egyptian forces, and are intended to be of limited duration. It is my Prime Minister's hope that there will in due course be wider understanding of the motives of the present action as explained by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

279. My Government is confident that the measures taken by France and the United Kingdom constitute an emergency action of a limited nature designed to deal with a situation of great political danger, a situation likely to deteriorate still further unless checked by drastic action.

280. May I add one word in particular about the position of the United Kingdom, with which our ties are never closer than in times of stress and danger. My Government does not accept any charge or imputation of insincerity in the motives of the Government of the United Kingdom. Still less does it accept the charge of British complicity in the Israel attack upon Egypt, a charge which was, in our opinion, convincingly answered by the representative of the United Kingdom in the Security Council [750th meeting] and again in this Assembly [561st meeting].

281. With these considerations in the forefront of our minds, my delegation has carefully examined the United States draft resolution [A/3256]. Let me say at once that we do not feel able to support proposals which, as so many speeches reveal only too clearly, gravely reflect upon those on whom now rests a principal responsibility for the restoration of peace and order in the Middle East.

282. The United States draft resolution is at present the only draft before us. It raises issues which are at least as important as, and perhaps more difficult than, any on which my Government has been required to take a decision since the foundation of the United Nations. As I read the draft resolution, it appears to raise more questions than it answers. Who, for example, is to take steps to reopen the Suez Canal and restore secure freedom of navigation? The most serious defect in the draft resolution, it seems to my delegation, lies in the absence of any proposal for dealing effectively with the situation in the Middle East as a whole, a

situation which has been so seriously aggravated by the action of the Egyptian Government in seizing the Suez Canal.

283. The Prime Minister of my country has been at pains to emphasize that the New Zealand Government cannot but regard with the utmost concern what appears to have been complete disregard by Israel of the existing General Armistice Agreement between Israel and Egypt. There is no doubt about our concern on that point. There is equally no doubt about our concern over the various past events which are part of the whole unhappy story contributing to the incursion of Israel forces into Egypt.

284. I should have liked, moreover, to have heard some response to the constructive suggestions of the United Kingdom in regard to the desirability of a conference to negotiate a lasting settlement of the problems which have thrown the Middle East into turmoil. There is obviously not time tonight for my delegation, or for many others, to obtain instructions based on the present text of the United States draft resolution. Despite the undoubted urgency of the situation, it would, I believe, be proper and justifiable for the Assembly to adjourn before a vote is taken. If, however, we are obliged to cast a vote tonight, my delegation will regretfully be constrained, for the reasons I have given, to oppose the draft resolution.

285. May I say, finally, that New Zealand's interest in this issue is a vital but not a selfish one. Our sole aim here and elsewhere will be to do what we can to contribute to a solution of Middle Eastern problems which will be swift, which will be effective and which will be lasting. Whatever our vote here tonight, let us not regard our work in this place as finished. I make a suggestion for serious consideration, that the whole problem of Arab-Israel relations should be fully and effectively considered at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly. I go further: we shall get nowhere if the parties to the Arab-Israel dispute are not prepared to meet and to negotiate. They owe it to themselves and to the whole world to do no less.

286. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): With the statement just made by the representative of New Zealand, we have exhausted the list of speakers who were entitled to take the floor before the vote. We shall therefore proceed to vote on the draft resolution submitted by the United States [A/3256]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Panama, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mexico, Nepal, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan.

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, France, Israel, New Zealand.

Abstaining: Portugal, Union of South Africa, Belgium, Canada, Laos, Netherlands.

The draft resolution was adopted by 64 votes to 5, with 6 abstentions.

287. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): In accordance with the Assembly's earlier decision, I shall now give the floor to any other representatives who wish to speak in the debate.

288. Mr. VITETTI (Italy): I have asked to speak on a point of order.

289. Document A/3251, which has just been circulated, has brought to our attention a letter addressed to the Secretary-General by the Hungarian People's Republic. This letter contains a protest against the entry of further Soviet troops into Hungary and an urgent appeal to the United Nations.

290. The events in Hungary, which have already been discussed by the Security Council, are of the utmost gravity, arousing deep emotion all over the world. It is my belief that we should immediately demonstrate to the Hungarian people our real concern in their destiny. Let us not forget that, at this very moment, in Hungary a desperate struggle for freedom—that very freedom which the United Nations Charter guarantees to all the peoples of the world—is in progress. Hungary asks for the help of the United Nations. We cannot be deaf to its appeal.

291. I hope that the United Nations—and, if necessary, this special emergency session—will immediately take whatever action is possible with regard to the request of the Hungarian people.

292. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Chair takes note of the statement made by the representative of Italy.

293. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (*from the floor*) (*translated from Spanish*): I ask for the floor.

294. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Chair has a list of speakers and we must adhere to it.

295. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (*from the floor*) (*translated from Spanish*): A point of order has been raised and I wish to support it. That is all I have to say.

296. Mr. PEARSON (Canada): I rise not to take part in this debate, because the debate is over; the vote has been taken. But I do wish to explain the abstention of my delegation on that vote.

297. It is never easy to explain an abstention, and in this case it is particularly difficult, because we are in favour of some parts of this resolution, and also because this resolution deals with such a complicated question.

298. Because we are in favour of some parts of the resolution, we could not vote against it, especially as, in our opinion, it is a moderate proposal couched in reasonable and objective terms, without unfair or unbalanced condemnation; and also, by referring to violations by both sides to the armistice agreements, it puts, I think, recent action by the United Kingdom and France—and rightly—against the background of those repeated violations and provocations.

299. We support the effort being made to bring the fighting to an end. We support it, among other reasons, because we regret that force was used in the circumstances that face us at this time. As my delegation sees it, however, this resolution which the General Assembly has thus adopted in its present form—and there was very little chance to alter that form—is inadequate to achieve the purposes which we have in

mind at this session. Those purposes are defined in the resolution of the General Assembly under which we are meeting—resolution 377 (V), entitled “Uniting for peace”—and peace is far more than ceasing to fire, although it certainly must include that essential factor.

300. This is the first time that action has been taken under the “Uniting for peace” resolution, and I confess to a feeling of sadness, indeed even distress, at not being able to support the position taken by two countries whose ties with my country are and will remain close and intimate; two countries which have contributed so much to man's progress and freedom under law; and two countries which are Canada's mother countries.

301. I regret the use of military force in the circumstances which we have been discussing, but I regret also that there was not more time, before a vote was taken, for consideration of the best way to bring about that kind of cease-fire which would have enduring and beneficial results. I think that we were entitled to that time, for this is not only a tragic moment for the countries and peoples immediately affected, but it is an equally difficult time for the United Nations itself. I know, of course, that the situation is of special and, indeed, poignant urgency, a human urgency, and that action could not be postponed by dragging out a discussion, as has been done so often in this Assembly. I do feel, however, that had that time, which has always, to my knowledge, in the past been permitted for adequate examination of even the most critical and urgent resolution, been available on this occasion, the result might have been a better resolution. Such a short delay would not, I think, have done harm but, in the long run, would have helped those in the area who need help most at this time.

302. Why do I say this? In the first place, our resolution, though it has been adopted, is only a recommendation, and its moral effects would have been greater if it could have received a more unanimous vote in this Assembly—which might have been possible if there had been somewhat more delay.

303. Secondly, this recommendation which we have adopted cannot be effective without the compliance of those to whom it is addressed and who have to carry it out. I had ventured to hope that, by a short delay and in informal talks, we might have made some headway, or at least have tried to make some headway, in securing a favourable response, before the vote was taken, from those Governments and delegations which will be responsible for carrying it out.

304. I consider that there is one great omission from this resolution, which has already been pointed out by previous speakers—more particularly by the representative of New Zealand, who has preceded me. This resolution does provide for a cease-fire, and I admit that that is of first importance and urgency. But, alongside a cease-fire and a withdrawal of troops, it does not provide for any steps to be taken by the United Nations for a peace settlement, without which a cease-fire will be only of temporary value at best. Surely we should have used this opportunity to link a cease-fire to the absolute necessity of a political settlement in Palestine and for the Suez, and perhaps we might also have been able to recommend a procedure by which this absolutely essential process might begin.

305. Today we are facing a feeling of almost despairing crisis for the United Nations and for peace. Surely that feeling might have been harnessed to action, or at least to a formal resolve to act at long last and to do

something effective about the underlying causes of this crisis which has brought us to the very edge of a tragedy even greater than that which has already taken place. We should then, I think, have recognized the necessity for political settlement in this resolution and done something about it. And I do not think that, if we had done that, it would have postponed action very long on the other clauses of the resolution. Without such a settlement, which we might have pushed forward under the incentive of fear, our resolution, as I see it, may not make for an enduring and real peace. We need action, then, not only to end the fighting but to make the peace.

306. I believe that there is another omission from this resolution, to which attention has also already been directed. The armed forces of Israel and of Egypt are to withdraw or, if you like, to return to the armistice lines, where presumably, if this is done, they will once again face each other in fear and hatred. What then? What then, six months from now? Are we to go through all this again? Are we to return to the *status quo*? Such a return would not be to a position of security, or even a tolerable position, but would be a return to terror, bloodshed, strife, incidents, charges and counter-charges, and ultimately another explosion which the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization would be powerless to prevent and possibly even to investigate.

307. I therefore would have liked to see a provision in this resolution—and this has been mentioned by previous speakers—authorizing the Secretary-General to begin to make arrangements with Member States for a United Nations force large enough to keep these borders at peace while a political settlement is being worked out. I regret exceedingly that time has not been given to follow up this idea, which was mentioned also by the representative of the United Kingdom in his first speech, and I hope that even now, when action on the resolution has been completed, it may not be too late to give consideration to this matter. My own Government would be glad to recommend Canadian participation in such a United Nations force, a truly international peace and police force.

308. We have a duty here. We also have—or, should I say, we had—an opportunity. Our resolution may deal with one aspect of our duty—an urgent, a terribly urgent, aspect. But, as I see it, it does nothing to seize that opportunity which, if it had been seized, might have brought some real peace and a decent existence, or hope for such, to the people of that part of the world. There was no time on this occasion for us to seize this opportunity in this resolution. My delegation therefore felt, because of the inadequacy of the resolution in this respect, that we had no alternative in the circumstances but to abstain in the voting.

309. I hope that our inability to deal with these essential matters at this time will very soon be removed, and that we can come to grips with the basic score of this problem.

310. Mr. SOLE (Union of South Africa): All speakers have emphasized the gravity of the situation that we have been discussing. It was no less true that all delegations faced a grave decision in determining how they should vote on the draft resolution which was before us. It was a decision to be taken not by delegations but by Governments. South Africa has the closest of ties with the United Kingdom and France. It also has cordial relations with both Egypt and Israel. The draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation became available only a few hours ago. My

Government obviously had no time whatsoever to consider it in all its far-reaching implications, many of which have been referred to in the statement made by the previous speaker, the representative of Canada. In these circumstances, it would have been neither right nor proper for me to record South Africa's vote either for or against the United States draft resolution. My delegation therefore abstained.

311. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): Since the draft resolution was circulated at what in Europe was already a very late hour, and was put to the vote this morning, I have had no opportunity to consult my Government on it. I therefore felt obliged to vote against it, since it seems not consistent with the policy of my Government.

312. Mr. DE LA COLINA (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation has observed with deep concern the grave events which have stirred the world in the past few days.

313. It could hardly be otherwise, for Mexico has at all times unswervingly upheld the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and has steadfastly advocated that Member States should refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. Mexico has constantly maintained that all the nations of the world should endeavour to bring about by peaceful means, and in accordance with the principles of justice and international law, the settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

314. Mexico condemns the use of force as an instrument of the international policy of States. But the reports received from official sources and from the Press and, in particular, the statements made in the Security Council by the representatives of two permanent members with whose countries and peoples we are bound by ancient ties of friendship, unfortunately leave no room for doubt that Israel, the United Kingdom and France are conducting military operations in Egyptian territory which constitute a flagrant violation of the Charter, whose provisions all Members have undertaken to fulfil in good faith.

315. In view of those facts, my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the Secretary of State of the United States, because we believe that it is designed to bring about a cessation of hostilities against Egypt and the withdrawal from Egyptian territory of all the foreign troops that have invaded it, so that at a later stage a pacific settlement may be sought within the framework of the United Nations and in accordance with the obligations assumed by its Members.

316. I should like to place on record the fact that we could have wished that some paragraphs of the draft resolution had been couched in stronger terms; we accepted it without amendment because of our earnest desire that the General Assembly should lose no time in assuming its responsibilities under the "Uniting for peace" resolution [377 (V)].

317. The blood of thousands of human beings is at this very moment being shed on Egyptian soil. It is the inescapable duty of the United Nations to give effect to the first of the purposes set forth in the Charter, to maintain international peace and security.

318. Mr. PALAMAS (Greece) (*translated from French*): The Greek delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution presented by the United States dele-

gation. At so grave a juncture, this resolution represents the least that the General Assembly could do to try to stop the conflagration and facilitate the restoration of peace in the Middle East. As I did not have an opportunity to take part in the debate preceding the vote, I should like briefly to explain my Government's position on this important matter.

319. Israel, the United Kingdom and France have invaded Egyptian territory. They have resorted to force, to war, for reasons which there is no point in discussing now. Under the Charter, there is no valid justification for the unilateral use of force. We know of only one case where the Charter authorizes the use of force: that provided for in Article 51, which sanctions the exercise of the right of self-defence. In the present instance, Egypt alone is exercising that right, for it is defending itself against invaders. In any other case, according to the Charter, the use of force is admissible only as a collective measure. It can be used only to ensure respect for obligations arising out of the Charter, in pursuance of decisions taken by the competent organs of the United Nations.

320. Aggression in itself is an international crime. Nothing can justify a breach of the peace, as defined by the Charter. Even the best reasons lose their validity if such a breach is committed. The Charter was designed to abolish the law of the jungle. Some have not understood that, and they are jeopardizing the United Nations, world peace and their own fate.

321. We all have our friendships, our ties, our alliances. We have not come here to judge the present case in the light of those friendships, ties and alliances, important though they are to us; we have acted as Members of the United Nations. The only cause with which we are concerned now is that of peace and our community of free and independent nations.

322. In this spirit, the United States has set the world a shining example. It has taken the initiative and placed itself at the service of peace, setting aside all extraneous considerations of expediency and political interest. In this dilemma, with the future of the United Nations at stake, the only encouraging sign is that this truly great Power in the world today is supporting the United Nations and its principles of law.

323. In this hour, when Egypt is defending itself against aggression, the Greek delegation extends to the people and Government of Egypt its deepest sympathy, born of a close and age-old friendship. The Egyptians are now living in the shadow of fear, and our thoughts and hearts go out to them. Greece knows full well the price of independence. It has always opposed aggression and has always rallied to the cause of international law and order. The reckless adventure of this ill-considered action against Egypt is the result of illusion and a wistful harking-back to a colonialism which refuses to face reality.

324. Some purblind political leaders persist in ignoring the changes which have occurred since the last war and the new conditions created by the entry into force of the United Nations Charter. It is the same colonialism which still continues to dominate the people of Cyprus by force, and from Cyprus is now attempting to extend its dominion over other civilized peoples. Colonialism has proceeded from its static phase to an expansionist phase. Half a century ago, the appearance of a squadron was enough to stifle any shred of inclination on the part of a nation or people for independence. However, times have changed. We

fervently hope that the resolution which has just been adopted will exercise its salutary effect.

325. Mr. VAN LANGENHOVE (Belgium) (*translated from French*): The Belgian delegation abstained from voting for the following reasons.

326. The Belgian Government fully appreciates the reasons which prompted the resolution just adopted by the Assembly. The Charter condemns resort to force in the settlement of international disputes. Consequently, the Belgian Government regrets that Franco-British military intervention occurred before any decision was taken by the United Nations. However, the Belgian Government considers that this intervention cannot properly be the subject of a recommendation which fails to take account of the entire body of facts and responsibilities which led up to it. In the opinion of the Belgian Government, the recommendation cannot attain its stated objective unless it is coupled with the satisfactory settlement, under United Nations auspices, of the international dispute concerning the Suez Canal, which has seriously affected security and order in the endangered area.

327. Mr. MICHALOWSKI (Poland): The Polish Government whole-heartedly supported the decision of the Security Council to convene an emergency special session of the General Assembly. We gather here at a moment when Egypt, a Member of our Organization, has become the victim of a concerted armed attack by three other Members of this Organization. I take this opportunity to express on behalf of my Government and the people of Poland our deep sympathy for the people of Egypt which is now subjected to the horrors of modern warfare.

328. It is a tragic thought that, at the very moment when the Security Council was prevented by two vetoes from acting in the conflict, bombs started falling on Egyptian territory, and they are falling now. We here are deliberating, and over there casualties keep mounting. The principles of our Charter have been brutally violated. The basic principle of international relationship has received a serious blow indeed. A breach of the peace has been committed.

329. What makes the situation even more tragic and dangerous is that all this is happening in the midst of what seemed to be a general improvement in the international situation. It seemed that we were entering a new era of improved and more normal relations between nations.

330. We knew that in the Middle East the situation was a tense one. The United Nations had been continually seized of the problem, and only two weeks ago six Foreign Ministers gathered in this very building in order to find a satisfactory solution.

331. Nothing extraordinary has happened on the Israel-Egyptian border since to justify such sudden and violent steps as those undertaken by Israel. We must, therefore, consider the invasion of Egypt by the Israel forces as absolutely unwarranted. It constituted an act of plain aggression.

332. But this is only a fragment of the whole problem. Further developments bring us to the conclusion that the Israel invasion is only part of a concerted action backed and inspired by third Powers.

333. The course of events has proved that the whole military action was planned and prepared for quite a while. Even before the representatives of the United Kingdom and France had a chance to veto the draft resolution, and while the Council was in session, the

Governments of those two permanent members of the Security Council presented an ultimatum to Egypt and Israel giving them a twelve-hour limit in which to comply. In connexion with this I should like to stress two points.

334. First, we were witnessing an attempt on the part of the United Kingdom and France to take the situation out of the hands of the Security Council and into their own—in other words, to present our Organization with a *fait accompli*. Who, may I ask, has authorized the United Kingdom and France to take such arbitrary action? Neither country can claim to have such authority or legal power.

335. Second, what was the essence of the ultimatums? That addressed to the aggressor virtually invited the Israelis to advance towards the Suez Canal and to stop at a distance of only ten miles therefrom. The second ultimatum, addressed this time to the victim of aggression, demanded not only the surrender of its inherent right of self-defence, but also the withdrawal of Egyptian forces from their own territory, the surrender of key positions along the Suez Canal and the acceptance of the return of British forces to the Canal zone.

336. All this is presented to the world under the smoke-screen of concern for the freedom and security of navigation in the Canal. But if there existed any threat to that navigation, it was the drive of Israel forces towards the Suez Canal. Therefore the only way to protect free navigation was to stop hostilities and make Israel troops withdraw from the Sinai peninsula. It was just such a solution which the two Powers vetoed at the Security Council meeting on 30 October 1956 [750th meeting]. Thus they demonstrated clearly that they were opposed to all measures for restoring peace in the area, and showed the world that, furthermore, they were interested only in the continuance of the conflict and in the occupation of the Canal.

337. It appears that these three Powers are determined to achieve their aims at any price—not only at the price of the sovereign rights of one particular State, but even at the price of flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, even at the price of international peace and security.

338. Egypt had no choice but to reject the ultimatum, as every Government in the world would have done. What followed was the launching of a well-prepared and well-planned attack by British and French forces upon Egypt, the victim of Israel aggression. Now both the French and United Kingdom Governments assure us that their intervention is only temporary. Consequently, a new definition has been introduced in international law—the notion of temporary aggression.

339. I cannot believe that this aggression has the whole-hearted support of the British people—a great people which merits our respect and sympathy. This belief of ours has been confirmed by the words pronounced yesterday in the House of Commons by the leader of the Opposition, who said that this attack was an “attack on the principles and the letter of the Charter” and an attempted breach of the Charter.

340. Those were the words of the leader of the Opposition, but now let me quote the words of the Prime Minister himself. Less than a year ago, on 9 November 1955, speaking about the situation in the Middle East, Sir Anthony Eden said:

“Her Majesty’s Government and I personally are available to render any service in this cause. If there

is anything that we can do to help, we would gladly do it for the sake of peace.”

And now we are asked to accept a flagrant aggression as an action for the sake of peace.

341. But the General Assembly has today refused to do that. The Polish delegation deeply regrets that the Security Council proved unable to act effectively in this case. We believe, however, that the holding of the present special session of the General Assembly will result in the prompt restoration of peace in the Middle East, in the cessation of the armed attack, in an immediate cease-fire, and—what is more—in an immediate evacuation of Egyptian territory by foreign troops.

342. For that reason, the Polish delegation voted in favour of the United States draft resolution, which, despite certain omissions, provides for the most immediate objective of restoring peace in Egypt.

343. Mr. SUDJARWO (Indonesia): When the President opened this emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly this evening, we all realized that the session had been called to meet an emergency situation.

344. War is going on in Egypt. Egypt is the victim of an armed aggression committed by three Powers, Israel, France and the United Kingdom. People are being killed by bombs, by air attacks. Many of these people are defenceless against the brutal forces of aggression. Hence, this special session of the Assembly is really called upon to take immediate steps to bring the aggression to an end, to restore peace and the integrity of Egypt—even if this is only the first step to a further solution of this grave problem.

345. When, however, I listened to some of the speeches made during the first part of this evening’s meeting—and specially the speech of the United Kingdom representative—it seemed almost as if there were no war at all, as if the killing of people by the British and other invading forces should be allowed to continue, in violation of the United Nations Charter. Moreover, the United Kingdom representative’s defence of the aggressive action of his Government was really an insult to the intelligence of man. This is truly tragic.

346. My delegation appreciates the fact that the draft resolution introduced by the United States delegation was put to the vote as soon as possible, so that at least some definite measures to stop the aggression could be taken this evening. Had the draft resolution not been put to the vote quickly, my delegation would have had much to say about the aggressive action committed by France, the United Kingdom and Israel. The actions of those three Governments have provoked the indignation, and indeed the condemnation, of all the freedom- and peace-loving peoples of the world, including even those in the three countries themselves.

347. My Government and people were, needless to say, shocked by the recent developments, not only because they have the closest and most friendly relations with Egypt, but also and no less because they clearly recognize the crucial issue at stake in this crisis. They cannot but view with profound consternation this malicious conspiracy, not only against Egypt, but indeed against the very aims and purposes of the United Nations.

348. The draft resolution introduced by the United States delegation was, in my delegation’s view, not entirely satisfactory, since it did not express the real feelings of the overwhelming majority of the members of this Assembly. We should have liked to see some

provisions of the draft resolution altered or amended in order to make it more effective and unmistakably clear concerning the serious aspect of the issue created by the actions of the United Kingdom and France. I agree with the remarks made on this point by the representative of Ecuador. However, my delegation, wishing to co-operate fully in this Assembly's efforts to decide upon a course of action as quickly as possible, voted in favour of the draft resolution in order to make it possible for the necessary first steps to be enacted immediately—that is, this very night. We are thankful to the United States delegation for the initiative it has taken in submitting the draft resolution which has now, happily, been adopted.

349. The condemnation of the aggressive action against Egypt which has been expressed both in the Security Council and, tonight, in the General Assembly will, I hope, give added moral strength to the resolution.

350. In this moment of trial for the Egyptian people, we have the deepest sympathy for the courageous stand of the Egyptian Government and people in defence of their sovereign rights, their independence, their freedom, the very life of their nation; and, indeed, at the same time, in defence of the very principles and purposes of this Organization. The Asian-African group at the United Nations has already expressed in unmistakable terms the sentiments of our countries and peoples, in conformity with the principles and purposes of the Bandung Conference. I believe that this will give the Egyptian people moral strength in their fight to ensure the very principles enunciated at Bandung.

351. I should not like to conclude this brief statement without making the following observations.

352. The issues at stake in this grave situation indeed go beyond the fact of military aggression. Nor is it simply a question of the flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter. It is much more than that. What is happening now should, I believe, be regarded as a turning point in history. We of Asia and Africa have experienced the cruelty and senselessness of colonial imposition and *diktat*. The aggressive actions of the three Governments—and in particular of the Western colonial Powers—confirms once again for our people the righteousness of our struggle and our continuing fight for freedom everywhere. The action of the aggressors has, in fact, again taught us a lesson. It is painful to note that Powers such as the United Kingdom and France, which are reputed to represent Western civilization, have acted here in this incredible manner, carrying out the very policies against which all Asia and Africa have fought in recent times. The recent history of my own country is a vivid memory of the expression of this kind of policy and behaviour. This action does a disservice to the cause of Western civilization, indeed, to civilization as a whole.

353. I feel, however, that this action opens the eyes of those who, up to now, have believed in and supported the actual policies and behaviour of these aggressors. Moreover—and this is very important—it may also mean a turning point, a move in the direction of a new political orientation in the world, the benefits of which these Powers have apparently not yet quite recognized.

354. The Egyptian people's fight against these aggressors has, therefore, this deeper meaning, namely, that it is a fight not only for the freedom and life of the Egyptian nation and people, but also for a new and

better foundation for the political relationship among nations. It is heartening that this fight has the full support of the United Nations.

355. We have never doubted the eventual outcome of this struggle. At this crucial time, we feel the deepest sympathy for the great sufferings being endured by the gallant Egyptian people. This futile action of the aggressors will only hasten the arrival of the victory in the human struggle for freedom and equality. This is our belief: that from the sufferings of Egypt today, from the present dangerous and crucial situation, and from this momentous decision of the Assembly tonight, there may arise the new hope of mankind—a real United Nations world practising freedom and equality and bringing about a better order and a new evaluation among nations.

356. Mr. DULLES (United States of America): I want first to express the gratification felt by my delegation that it was possible for it to formulate a resolution which gave expression to what seems to have been the overwhelming wishes of this Assembly, a resolution which I think will have historic significance. I know that the resolution was far from perfect and far from satisfactory to all of us, including, perhaps, myself. I felt that it was a situation where the importance of acting promptly was very great.

357. In my opening remarks, I spoke of the importance of a constructive and positive development of this situation, and not merely attempting to turn the clock back. Mr. Pearson, the representative of Canada, also spoke rather fully upon that point, and I want to emphasize my complete agreement with what he said, and not only my personal agreement, but the feeling of President Eisenhower, with whom I talked a few hours ago about this aspect of the matter. It is a phase of the situation which we deem of the utmost importance, and the United States delegation would be very happy indeed if the Canadian delegation would formulate and introduce as part of these proceedings a concrete suggestion along the lines that Mr. Pearson outlined.

358. Before leaving this rostrum, I want to express my endorsement of the intervention made by the representative of Italy with reference to the Hungarian situation. I think we must not allow our preoccupation with what is going on in the Middle East to keep us from also observing with equal intensity what goes on in that part of the world. We have had encouraging reports of the withdrawal of foreign forces from Hungary, but there have also come in tonight disturbing reports about the reintroduction of foreign forces into Hungary, in face of the fact that we have before us the declaration of the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of Hungary that they have declared their neutrality and no longer invite the presence of foreign forces.

359. I hope that this matter, which is on the agenda of the Security Council, will be kept urgently before it and that we shall not be preoccupied with the Middle East to the exclusion of assisting the State of Hungary to regain its independence.

360. Mr. ALABIDIYAH (Libya): On 17 October 1956, at the request of the Security Council, I submitted the Libyan Government's view on the Suez Canal dispute for the consideration of the members of the Council [S/3684]. I should like now to read out some paragraphs from that statement of my Government's view:

"The Government of Libya . . . watched with deep regret the economic measures taken by France and the United Kingdom against Egypt, and the movements of certain navy, army and air force units of the French and British armed forces to the Eastern Mediterranean sea, as well as the possibilities of military action taken by France and the United Kingdom against Egypt, which are opposed to the Charter of the United Nations . . . and which may endanger to a great extent the peace in the Middle East and in the whole world.

"There is no doubt that colonialism, which is responsible to a large measure for poverty in the Middle East and for the bloodshed and daily loss of life in Algeria, as well as Zionism which created the problem of Palestine, put the Arab States in a very difficult situation which requires justice and wisdom to be overcome. Any measures which may be taken and which neglect this fact, and fail to respect the dignity and sovereignty of Egypt or any of the Arab States, may be the cause of many unseen troubles . . .

"The Government of the United Kingdom of Libya supports the resolution adopted unanimously by the Security Council at its 743rd meeting stating the six basic principles on which Egypt, the United Kingdom and France, through their Foreign Ministers, agreed.

"It is the view of the Libyan Government that, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, the Suez Canal dispute must be settled by peaceful means through negotiations which will respect the sovereignty of Egypt and the interests of the users of the Canal."

Let us now see what has taken place since.

361. Five days ago, the Israel army invaded Egypt and penetrated deep into Egyptian territory, aiming at occupying the Suez Canal. The Israel Government falsely alleged that it was doing this as a defence measure against the Egyptian commandos. At the same time, both the British and French Governments took this opportunity to send their strange ultimatum to Egypt, asking permission for the Israel, British and French troops to invade Egypt. As a matter of fact, two days ago those troops began invading Egypt by air and by sea, thus challenging United Nations resolutions and the Charter.

362. All this happened in delicate international circumstances, with which we are all familiar. The United Kingdom, France and Israel took advantage of this delicate international situation and agreed among themselves on the unwarranted invasion of Egyptian territory. This action shows clearly the aggressive attitude which Zionist Israel and colonialist Britain and France have towards that area. It is now clear that the real reason which made Israel insist on buying arms was to fulfil its imperialist ambitions at the expense of the neighbouring Arab countries. That was why the Arab States continuously warned the world of Israel's imperialist ambitions for the expansion of its State at the expense of Arab territory. Moreover, it is now obvious why the United Kingdom and France raised such an outcry at the nationalization of the Suez Canal. This was their opportunity for a last attempt to restore their colonial policy in the Arab world, oblivious to the changing times and the determination of the world to wipe out colonialism.

363. The Security Council convened several times recently in an attempt to reach a fair decision with

respect to the withdrawal of Israel troops from Egypt and to ensure the non-recurrence of such invasions. But the use of the veto by the United Kingdom and France made such a decision impossible, and the matter was put before the General Assembly for appropriate measures.

364. Similar acts of aggression occurred during the time of the League of Nations, when the fascist troops invaded Ethiopia in 1936 and when Nazi troops invaded Eastern Europe in 1938. This, as we all know, led in turn to the Second World War, for the simple reason that the League of Nations was too weak to stop the aggressors. The Prime Ministers of Israel, the United Kingdom and France are now repeating the same tragedy, threatening world peace and paving the way for a third world war, which may destroy the whole world.

365. The world at large now looks to this Organization, which represents world opinion, and asks what it will do to defend the victims of this aggression and what measures it will take to stop the aggressors.

366. The Libyan Government affirms its complete support of Egypt in its defence against the aggressors by all means that are in accordance with the United Nations Charter, and holds the United Kingdom, France and Israel entirely responsible for the bloodshed, loss of life, damage and destruction committed as a result of their aggression.

367. With respect to the resolution adopted some minutes ago, which was supported by my delegation and the delegations of the other Arab States, I should like to make the following reservations on behalf of my Government.

368. It was neither fair nor just to treat equally the aggressors and the victim. Israel, which has been condemned again and again by the United Nations for breaking the armistice agreements of 1949, now plays with the Charter of the United Nations, commits the biggest aggression and slays thousands of peace-loving people. The allies, France and the United Kingdom, which, in 1950, declared with the United States that they would guarantee the borders between the Arab States and Israel, and pledged their honour to combat the aggressor, whoever it might be, are now invading Egypt, a Member State of this world Organization, and bombing the peaceful cities of Cairo, Alexandria and the three big cities of the Suez Canal, killing thousands of innocent people just for the victory and the enjoyment of Mr. Ben Gurion, Sir Anthony Eden and Mr. Mollet.

369. This equality of treatment between the aggressors and the victim was noticeable in the spirit of the resolution, as well as in its provisions. My country believes that the aggressors—Israel, France and the United Kingdom—are entirely responsible for the murders, damage and destruction they have already committed against Egypt, and for the bad seeds of hostility which they have sowed against the Arab States in particular and the whole world in general by this new and dangerous way of dealing with international matters.

370. Mr. ESKELUND (Denmark): I wish to raise a point of order. I just want to have a point clarified. We have decided to remain in emergency session. In the President's opinion, does that mean that we will have to stay here without any interruption or adjournment for two, three or four days?

371. Mr. JOJA (Romania) (*translated from French*): It was with profound emotion and apprehension that

the Romanian people learned of the invasion of Egyptian territory by Israel, French and British troops.

372. Using as a pretext the unjustified attack launched by Israel armed forces, the United Kingdom and French Governments served upon the victim of Israel aggression an ultimatum imposing upon Egypt conditions which no independent State could accept without losing the essential attributes of its sovereignty and national honour.

373. As might have been expected, Egypt refused to bow to the unacceptable demands of the Franco-British ultimatum, and at 6 p.m. on 30 October 1956 heavy bombers of the United Kingdom and French forces dropped bombs upon Egyptian cities. As we deliberate here, in this chamber, the planes of the aggressors are sowing death and destruction in the towns and villages of Egypt, that cradle of civilization. A French journalist at Nicosia reports the following statement by a British flyer returning from his mission of destruction:

"We were over Egyptian territory by exactly 5 minutes and 5 seconds past 6 p.m. It was already dark. We dropped all our bombs. It was all over in thirty seconds."

These words, tragic in their military simplicity, reveal the suffering inflicted on the Egyptian population.

374. It is obvious that the aggression against Egypt is only another phase of the Suez Canal affair, a bloody military sequel to the economic and political pressure phase. Because Egypt insists that its sovereignty and national independence must be respected in the question of the Suez Canal, the United Kingdom and French Governments decided to use force to break the heroic will of the Egyptian people.

375. The events leading to the unwarranted aggression against Egypt are too well known to require mention here. It is also common knowledge that, in order to achieve their designs, the two Western Governments found a docile and willing cat's-paw in the Israel Government, which furnished a pretext for their joint intervention. No one has any doubts about the true motives and aims of the British-French action, or the nature and purpose of the aggression by Israel.

376. The aggression against Egypt is a threat to world peace. Since peace is indivisible and there can be no international security when war is ravaging part of the globe, and since, too, the Middle East is of tremendous economic, military and political importance, the hostilities in Egypt are of concern to all States and are clearly a threat to all.

377. Since the tripartite aggression may well shake the very foundations of our Organization and, what is more serious, the very principles of the United Nations, as the Secretary-General pointed out, it is only natural that this question should greatly disturb the conscience of the world. This resort to force has abruptly ended the possibility of a solution under the auspices of the United Nations, which provided for continued negotiations on the Suez problem.

378. My country is a firm supporter of the cause of peace, and, owing to its position on the Black Sea, is situated close to the Mediterranean. It is therefore natural that it should be profoundly concerned at the situation in the Middle East, and declare solemnly here and now that the tripartite action constitutes unjustified aggression which it is the duty of the United Nations to stop by all the means at its disposal.

379. The preamble of the Charter proclaims equality of nations, large and small. It stipulates that armed

force shall not be used save in the common interest. I am sure that the representatives here are far more familiar with this text than I am, and if I venture to mention it it is because at this grave hour of historic responsibilities it is imperative that these provisions should be borne in mind. We are bound under the Charter to settle disputes in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. In condemning the tripartite aggression against Egypt we shall, at the same time, be paying tribute to the principles of justice and international law; for what Egypt wants is respect for its rights, honour, independence and liberty.

380. The General Assembly of the United Nations, convened in emergency special session after the significant and eloquent vote of the Security Council, is in duty bound to proclaim the principles of the Charter, to bring effective assistance to the Egyptian people, and to declare unequivocally that, in invading the ancient land of Egypt, the tripartite forces have committed unjustified and unprovoked aggression.

381. We do not identify the noble French and British nations with those who launched the aggression against Egypt. Many voices in the United Kingdom and France have been raised against these acts of aggression and have demanded that the attack against Egypt be stopped.

382. The General Assembly of the United Nations has therefore clearly and firmly condemned the acts of aggression and has taken the necessary measures to put an end to the bloodshed in the Middle East. The era of colonialism has ended, but some Governments have not yet realized this. They must be told that we are living in the era of the Charter of the United Nations.

383. Since the draft resolution presented by Mr. Dulles noted that the armed forces of France and the United Kingdom were engaged in military operations against Egypt, and called for an immediate cessation of hostilities followed by immediate measures to put an end to the bloodshed in Egypt, I voted in favour of it.

384. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): This is a sad and grave moment in the history of the United Nations. Two great nations which hold permanent seats in the Security Council, and Israel, have launched armed attacks against the territorial integrity of Egypt. The armed forces of Israel have penetrated deeply into the territory of the victim. Egyptian cities are subject to bombardment by the air forces of the United Kingdom and France.

385. Such are the deplorable circumstances in which the resolution we have just adopted was presented to this Assembly by the delegation of the United States. These are facts and, in our view, they are very deplorable facts.

386. We listened to the statements by the delegations of the three Powers which are engaged in hostile acts against Egypt. The whole world knows that all these three countries have grievances against Egypt. It may also be that there are many other nations that have grievances against one or more States. Does such resentment against a State justify the use of force by the parties which claim to be injured? The answer to the question is set out clearly in the United Nations Charter, which prohibits the use of force as a means of settling international differences, or grievances for that matter.

387. We have been told that the military action undertaken by Israel against Egypt is in self-defence. Ac-

cording to the Charter of the United Nations, self-defence is permissible only when it is exercised in accordance with the principles laid down in the Charter. Such is not the case in the present instance.

388. We are told also that the British and French actions were undertaken against the people of Egypt in order to separate the two hostile parties, that is, Israel and Egypt. My delegation, among others, finds it difficult to see why it was necessary to bombard Egyptian cities in order to separate the two parties. We can hardly acquiesce in this type of argument. The plain fact is that a clear case of a breach of the peace has taken place, and this Assembly is duty bound to act with speed and determination.

389. This Assembly cannot accept the claim of France and the United Kingdom that they are acting as international police. We do not think that in all honesty they themselves believe in this theory.

390. My country has a long tradition of opposition to aggression and to the use of force in international relations. In 1935, Ethiopia sacrificed millions of its sons and daughters and lost its independence defying aggression and upholding the rule of law. Today, in this dark hour for the United Nations and for the people of Egypt, my delegation can do no less than to add its voice to others in support of the rule of law and in opposition to the use of force.

391. We believe that the present resolution does accomplish the required job, and that is why my delegation voted for it. We hope that the three countries involved in hostile acts against Egypt will find it possible to comply with the provisions of the resolution. To do so, I believe, will increase their prestige and will be in accordance with their long-standing tradition of compliance with the rule of law. Not to comply with the resolution, in my opinion, could certainly injure not only the prestige of those countries, but also their long-term interests.

392. Mr. ULLRICH (Czechoslovakia): The present development of events in the Middle East, which has culminated in an armed attack against a Member country of the United Nations, Egypt, has created a most serious situation which may entail far-reaching consequences for all mankind and the United Nations.

393. In this situation, this emergency special session of the General Assembly has been convened, for the first time since its existence, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Security Council. International peace and the system of security created by the United Nations are still facing an imminent crisis caused by forces and interests hostile to peace, which have inspired and launched an unprovoked armed attack against Egypt, thus committing a flagrant breach of the peace within the meaning of Article 39 of the Charter. Such a breach of the peace is bound to receive a proper answer from the United Nations by the efficient measures provided under the Charter.

394. The aggression against Egypt has been denounced with indignation by all peace-loving nations as an attack against peace and security. It is well known today to the international public that what has occurred is an action deliberately prepared behind the backs of United Nations Members and directed against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of a Member State.

395. Such an action on the part of Israel, the United Kingdom and France, which places their interests and selfish goals above the basic principles of the Charter, calls for a resolute denunciation by all other Member countries. What is particularly alarming is the fact that

a serious situation in the Near East has been caused, apart from Israel's initial invasion of Egyptian territory, by the joint actions of two great Powers.

396. The Charter lays down clearly that all Members of the United Nations shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means and that all Members of the United Nations shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force. The aggressive actions against Egypt constitute a gross violation of the particular obligations assumed by both the United Kingdom and France, two great Powers which, under the Charter, are permanent members of the Security Council, bearing special responsibility for the maintenance of peace and international security.

397. The Czechoslovak people emphatically condemn these acts of aggression directed against Egypt and express their sympathy with the just and sacred struggle of the Egyptian people for their freedom and independence. The Czechoslovak Government issued a declaration yesterday in which it condemned the aggression committed against Egypt by the Governments of the United Kingdom and France, which have made the Government of Israel their tool. In its declaration, the Czechoslovak Government states that the aggressors bear full responsibility before the whole world for this breach of peace and for all possible consequences.

398. On behalf of its Government, the Czechoslovak delegation associates itself with those who have demanded the condemnation and immediate cessation of the aggression unleashed against Egypt and the peaceful solution of the Suez question, a solution that will respect the sovereignty and national interests of Egypt. We are convinced that measures taken by the General Assembly to that effect will receive the whole-hearted support of peace-loving nations.

399. With this main consideration in mind, we voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation.

400. Mr. VITETTI (Italy): I have a few brief remarks to make. The delegation of Italy voted in favour of the draft resolution presented by the delegation of the United States. We share the views and ideas which are behind this resolution.

401. It is not necessary for me to state how much the Italian Government and the Italian people have been worried about the situation which has developed in the Middle East. We have watched with the greatest concern the chain of events which has led to this alarming situation.

402. I shall not go into an examination of all the facts. The problems that we are facing are not new in their origin. They have been accumulating over a period of time, and during the past two months have moved at such speed and with such intensity that we are now facing conditions which are fraught with the gravest dangers. It is not my intention to reconstruct the chain of those events. The important thing now is not to have discussions to establish the origin and cause of these events; we must see how to break this chain of events, and how to put an end to the fighting.

403. I was very much interested in what was said by the representative of Canada. There are problems which have to be considered and settlements and solutions which have to be found. Those views are, I think, shared by my Government. The Cabinet, which met in Rome yesterday, has addressed an earnest appeal to the countries of the Near East and to the allied and friendly countries in order that an effort be made to reach an

agreement rapidly which might put an end to military action. We consider that negotiations must be started as soon as possible to obtain a peaceful solution, not only to the present controversy, but also to all the questions which have for too long a time been disturbing peace in that area. Naturally, first of all, we affirm that our first duty, the duty of every country, is the observance of international treaties and obligations deriving from membership in the United Nations, which obligations must be respected in order that they may represent a warranty of international lawfulness.

404. I am not saying these words to minimize the situation in any sense. What I wish to emphasize is that we are convinced that we have to act in a direction which will lead us to affirm the fundamental rules of international conduct, the obligation of every State under the United Nations Charter, and which will at the same time also lead—and this is by far more important—to putting an end to the conflict which is taking place and bring hostilities to a close.

405. U WIN (Burma): As there was an overwhelming desire on the part of the great majority of members here to proceed with the voting on the United States draft resolution in view of the extreme urgency of the situation, my delegation refrained from taking part in the debate. However, we feel it necessary to state the very strong views of my Government in this Assembly and explain why my delegation voted for the resolution.

406. At the conclusion of the Second World War, which brought the Nazi and fascist dictatorships to an end and helped to liberate the 600 million people in what has here been called the arc of free Asia, the major allies, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States, pooled their energies to help create the United Nations.

407. A war-weary world gave thanks once again. It was hoped that international peace and order would be maintained by the international Organization. The purpose of the United Nations, carefully written into the Charter, was to abjure force as an instrument of national policy. It is true that the United Nations has not yet been able to agree on a definition of aggression, but it is also true that the Charter, in Article 2, explicitly denies to its Members any sanction for "the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State".

408. Today we are once again meeting because international peace and order have been gravely disturbed by the actions of some Members of the United Nations. My Government firmly believes, on the face of the immediate evidence—which all the world knows—that the United Kingdom, France and Israel have not discharged their obligations under the terms of the Charter which they solemnly and democratically approved. Such dubious international morality cannot be condoned, nor is it to be expected from its perpetrators. The perils and evils of war—the big war, the little war, the hot war or the cold war—which have afflicted the peoples of the world for so many years of this half century, once again loom ominously on the Middle East horizon. Therefore, my delegation strongly supported the resolution of this Assembly which brings its moral suasion to bear on the participants. Let us once and for all time put an end to "gunboat diplomacy".

409. To support this resolution, however, is not enough, for, as I have just indicated, we are today dealing only with the immediate situation. We must be aware of causes and provocations on all sides antecedent to the events of this week. We feel that incon-

clusive armistice arrangements lasting eight years do not make for peace. We feel that armistice and inspection commissions which are not allowed to function freely, or even to function, do not make for peace.

410. When associated nations are continuing raids and reprisals across boundaries, that does not make for peace. When nations associated with one or another of the so-called East and West blocs aid and abet an armament race in which small countries spend precious currency, better used for upgrading their levels of living, that does not make for peace. Freely uttered threats by one nation to annihilate another, in a crusade, do not make for peace either. Nor does a truculent response which leads to so-called "preventive war" or self-appointed police action make for peace. Nationalization of vital property is obviously within the competence of any sovereign nation. But, with equal obviousness, when the use of such property vitally affects the economic health of many nations, prompt and effective negotiations on its use, for all users, seems to be indicated.

411. In short, the passage of this resolution is not enough. It may stop the shooting—and that will be a great boon—but unless the United Nations is able to use its abilities to eliminate or adjudicate or compromise or otherwise remove the antecedent causes for the shooting, unless, in other words, it helps to bring solutions of peace to the turmoil of the Middle East, it will not have done its most important work.

412. When Burma was admitted as the fifty-eighth Member of the United Nations, a few months after it had reattained its independence, Burma decided then, and has never deviated from it, to subscribe unconditionally to the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter.

413. To this end Burma has always voted to support non-partisan resolutions and actions which would advance the cause of peace through all legitimate means. From time to time my Government and our people have expressed their disappointment at the results. But, in the words of our former Prime Minister, U Nu, on the occasion of his United Nations visit in July 1955:

"The United Nations has survived the first ten years of its existence. I venture to suggest that these formative years are the most precarious and that we may expect from now onward that this youngster will rapidly gather in stature and strength and begin to assume for itself the kind of role which was intended for it in the first place."

414. I suggest that the issue of peace in the Middle East—genuine peace, not just the absence of a shooting, undeclared war; not just the presence of an uncertain cease-fire and armistice—is a critical test of the survival potentiality of the United Nations. To ensure that the United Nations will "gather stature and strength and begin to assume for itself the kind of role which was intended for it in the first place", my Government will gladly and hopefully join the Member States in seeking a solution for our present problem and its antecedent causes, in seeking that genuine peace capable of preserving the sovereignty of all nations and the dignity of all peoples.

415. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): Naturally, in view of the late hour, I shall not detain the Assembly, but I should like very rapidly to explain why my delegation voted, whole-heartedly and without reservations, in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the representative of the United States.

416. We all thought that after the signing of the Charter at San Francisco the use of force in the old arbitrary way had become a thing of the past. We believed that, in accordance with the Charter, force could be used only in the common interest.

417. We voted for the United States draft resolution because, in the first place, it refers to the armed attacks which have been made against Egyptian territory and Egyptian sovereignty.

418. However, as the representative of Ecuador pointed out, we believe that, in considering aggression in the situation with which we are concerned, a distinction must be made between two completely different factors: the attack and penetration of Egyptian territory by the armed forces of Israel, and the action taken against Egypt by the United Kingdom and France after an ultimatum which gave Egypt a period of hours to comply with the demands it contained or suffer the acts of force that have led to the convening of this emergency special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

419. We believe that the problem of Israel and the Arab States must be viewed in its own context. Those of us who have taken part in the discussion of this distressing problem in United Nations bodies since 1947 have sought only the unity and progress of the Arab States and of Israel. We have sought not to destroy them but to ensure their peace and progress.

We have sought not strife between them but an identity of aims for the sake of future generations.

420. Therefore, if any fruit is borne of this first emergency special session of the General Assembly, which has decided to maintain unimpaired the principles of law embodied in the Charter, let it be a reaffirmation of our desire, not for an armistice, but for peace between the Arab States and the State of Israel.

421. As regards the other problem, it is not enough for any Member State to say that it can act as a policeman and resort to force in a police action of its own choosing. We do not believe that it is possible to take such action outside the framework of the United Nations and contrary to the provisions of the Charter. The democratic principles laid down in the Charter are the fruit of the immense sacrifice of the flower of mankind in the last world war, and, as we have supported the use of force in the common interest, in self-defence through the United Nations, we could not, tonight, do otherwise than vote in favour of the United States draft resolution, as the great majority of the Assembly has done.

422. May our vote tonight affirm, on behalf of those who believe in democracy, the principles of the Charter, which has become, and must for all time be, the new law of the world.

The meeting rose on Friday, 2 November, at 4.20 a.m.

Saturday, 3 November 1956,
at 8 p.m.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Official Records

JAN 18 1957
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
FIRST EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION



New York

CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 5:	
Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings held on 30 October 1956 (<i>continued</i>)	45

President: Mr. Rudecindo ORTEGA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 5

Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956 (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): This meeting has been called by the Secretary-General at my request in view of a communication from the delegation of Egypt [A/3270].
2. Mr. LOUTFI (Egypt) (*translated from French*): Before discussing the substance of the matter I should like to refer to the two draft resolutions presented today by the representative of the United States of America [A/3272, 3273]. I must confess that I hesitate to take any decision here and now concerning these draft resolutions since they have certain political implications which compel me to consult my Government.
3. Following the armed attack by Israel upon Egypt during the night of 30 October 1956, and the armed attacks of the British-French forces, the General Assembly, at its 562nd meeting held during the night of 1 to 2 November, adopted a draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation [A/3256], which became resolution 997 (ES-I). The Egyptian delegation voted for this resolution, although we should at this stage have liked at least an explicit denunciation of the attack and a statement that it was a violation of the United Nations Charter and inconsistent with its purposes and principles. An overwhelming majority of delegations, however, had stated that they were in favour of this draft resolution and we wished to follow the same course as the delegations supporting us in the struggle which has been forced upon us.
4. Paragraph 5 of the resolution requests the Secretary-General to observe and report promptly on the compliance with this resolution to the Security Council and to the General Assembly, for such further action as they may deem appropriate in accordance with the Charter. Paragraph 6 states that the General Assembly decides to remain in emergency session pending compliance with this resolution.
5. I received instructions from my Government yesterday, 2 November, to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations that the Egyptian Government agreed to implement the resolution adopted by the Assembly on condition that the armed forces attacking Egypt desisted from doing so; and to this end my Government requested me, in a communication which I have received from Cairo, to ask for a meeting of the

General Assembly today. Allow me to read you a few passages from this communication, which has been distributed under the symbol A/3270. On the first page we find the following passage:

"It was again clear that France and the United Kingdom encouraged the Israel attack to take it as a pretext to intervene in the area and to attack and try to occupy Egyptian territory. The plot was made clear by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom when he addressed an ultimatum to the Egyptian Government asking for the cessation of hostilities between Egypt and Israel, the withdrawal of military forces ten miles from the Suez Canal and, furthermore, asking the agreement of the Egyptian Government for the occupation of Port Said, Ismailia and Suez by French and British armed forces. The British ultimatum was calculated as not to be accepted by any sovereign State. The Egyptian Government used its right as a sovereign and independent State and refused the ultimatum. In spite of the indignation felt by world public opinion, the French and British Governments put their ultimatum in effect.

"On the night of 31 October, joint French and British forces began their attack on Egyptian people and territory. They launched systematic and barbarous attacks by air on all Egyptian airfields, destroying property and causing casualties among civilians without discrimination. So far casualties amount to 250 victims."

The letter further states:

"In spite of this resolution, which represents the deep conviction of the entire world, Anglo-French air attacks continued and even increased in intensity and frequency. Furthermore, it is also reported that Anglo-French armed forces are taking part in the fight against Egyptian troops on Egyptian territory in the Sinai peninsula.

"Faced with this continuous ruthless Anglo-French aggression, the Egyptian Government has decided to ask for an immediate meeting of the General Assembly in order to take the actions it pledged itself to undertake in order to uphold the principles of law and order and to stop the unprovoked attack to which Egypt is unlawfully subjected and to put an end to the deliberate massacre of peaceful civilians."

6. The Secretary-General's report [A/3267] states that, as I have already announced, Egypt has agreed to a cease-fire subject to a condition which I need not repeat. France and the United Kingdom, on the other hand, have sent the Secretary-General a negative reply, as can be seen in particular in sub-paragraphs (b) and (c) of paragraph 3 of his report, which read as follows:

"(b) The United Nations decides to constitute and maintain such a force until an Arab-Israel peace settlement is reached and until satisfactory arrangements have been agreed in regard to the Suez Canal,

both agreements to be guaranteed by the United Nations.

“(c) In the meantime, until the United Nations force is constituted, both combatants agree to accept forthwith limited detachments of Anglo-French troops to be stationed between the combatants.”

7. Thus the United Kingdom has not changed its attitude. The United Kingdom and France continue to claim the right to maintain forces in Egypt on the false pretext of separating the Egyptian and Israel armies until a solution has been found to the Suez Canal question. The United Kingdom and France are still determined to act on their own initiative without any authorization from the United Nations.

8. What I say is borne out by the fact that British-French forces continue to bomb Egypt and, according to our information, have even tried to land on its territory. The cablegram sent to the Secretary-General by the representatives of the United Nations in Cairo, which has been distributed by the Secretary-General [A/3267, annex], also confirms my statement. The cablegram says, and I quote:

“... British radio has announced an imminent switch to communication centres, railway stations and telephone exchanges, many of which are located in densely populated areas. In spite of warning to civilian population to keep clear of these areas, implementation of this policy will result in a terrific loss of life. We urge you to use every means available to you to restrain implementation of this policy”.

Thus the brutal intentions and bad faith of the aggressors remain clear.

9. Similarly Israel, continuing its armed attack, has occupied the town of Gaza in violation of the armistice conventions and the United Nations Charter.

10. It is clear from what I have said, and above all from the events which have occurred since the resolution was adopted, that General Assembly resolution 997 (ES-I) has not been implemented and has not stopped the armed attacks against Egypt.

11. This bloody, brutal, premeditated armed attack has aroused general indignation among world public opinion. Even in the United Kingdom, the Opposition is making more and more strenuous efforts to persuade Sir Anthony Eden to modify his attitude. Even the Archbishop of Canterbury has denounced this use of force.

“We cannot ignore the fact”, he said, “that the President of the United States thinks we have made a grave error, that world opinion on the whole is convinced we have made a grave error... The situation has produced a total political cleavage in this country... Christian opinion is terribly uneasy and unhappy. The point to which the Christian conscience must most acutely address itself is whether or not we are standing for the spirit of the United Nations Charter.”

Mr. Nutting, British Minister of State, is reported to have resigned to mark his disapproval of his Government's action.

12. Egypt is encouraged in its fight against aggression by the evidence of sympathy and denunciations of aggression which have come from all over the world.

13. In the face of the behaviour of Israel, France and the United Kingdom and their refusal to implement the Assembly resolution, which Egypt has accepted, it is

for the Assembly to take further steps to stop aggression, arrest the bloodshed and re-establish peace, humanity's greatest blessing.

14. Egypt, a peaceful country subjected to brutal armed attack, in violation of the United Nations Charter, by two great countries, permanent members of the Security Council, is defending itself and will continue to do so.

15. I shall not take up the arguments adduced by the United Kingdom and French delegations to justify this attack. All my colleagues have answered them, and I could not do better.

16. The situation is deteriorating; the war may flare up more violently at any moment. The peoples of the world have placed their hopes in the United Nations. Do not disappoint them.

17. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Before I call upon the next speaker on the list, the Secretary-General would like to report to the General Assembly.

18. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have just received information which I think I should bring to the attention of the General Assembly. I could, of course, have waited to circulate it in the normal way, but I believe that this is information of which the members of the Assembly would like to be seized.

19. It is a letter from the permanent representative of the United Kingdom¹ in which, on instructions from his Government, he refers to the communication from the representative of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Cairo which is annexed to my report that is before the Assembly [A/3267]. The statement he encloses is a statement from the Minister of Defence in London, issued at 11.45 p.m. today. It reads as follows:

“Reports have been circulated that Anglo-French forces now intend to attack centres of communication, including telephone exchanges and railway stations, where heavy civilian casualties would be inevitable. This is quite untrue. Anglo-French attacks are now being switched from air to army targets, and no such attacks are to be made where civilian casualties would be inevitable.”

20. This document will, of course, be immediately circulated to members of the Assembly.

21. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The position of the United States was made abundantly clear in the resolution adopted by the General Assembly the other night [997 (ES-I)], and so there is no need for me to repeat it now. The United States deeply regrets the fact that that resolution, which represented the views of such an overwhelming majority of the United Nations, has not yet brought about a cessation of hostilities. The United States earnestly hopes that all parties in the conflict will be guided by the conclusive evidence of world opinion which the very large vote the other night symbolized.

22. The United States is firmly convinced that the problems which gave rise to the present situation can and must be solved by peaceful and just means. A solution on any other basis would, at best, provide only a temporary respite: at worst, it would in all likelihood sow the seeds of even graver problems in the future. That is why the United States believes that, while we should continue our efforts to obtain quick compliance with the General Assembly's cease-fire reso-

¹ Subsequently reproduced as document A/3274.

lution, we must not lose sight of the problems and conditions which gave rise to the present situation.

23. As Secretary of State Dulles stated at the 561st meeting, the present situation has resulted from a long and sad history of irritations and provocations. The instability of the armistice agreements is too well known to require comment. They have been violated repeatedly by Israel and by its Arab neighbours. The armistice, which should have led to a peaceful settlement, has instead given rise to growing provocation and increasing tension, especially since the ominous rearmament of Egypt by the Soviet Union. The abrupt seizure by Egypt of the Universal Suez Canal Company, and the failure thus far of efforts to find a solution to this important problem, have created a situation of deep concern to many nations.

24. While the temptation is strong to place the whole blame on the States directly concerned, the fact is, as Secretary Dulles reminded us, that the United Nations must also share responsibility for what has happened. It is clear that we, the Members of the United Nations, have not done all that should have been done to bring about the settlement of these matters in accordance with the principles of justice and international law. That is why the United States today announced that it would introduce two draft resolutions dealing with the substance of the problems which gave rise to the present critical situation in the Middle East. These proposals are now before the General Assembly. With these draft resolutions we hope that we may begin now to lay the foundation for the constructive action which must follow the cessation of hostilities, and I should like to describe these two draft resolutions to the General Assembly.

25. The first draft resolution [A/3272] proposes a new approach to the settlement of the major problems outstanding between the Arab States and Israel with a view to establishing conditions of permanent peace and stability in that part of the world. We all know the history of the long, conscientious but painful efforts which have been made by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the subsidiary bodies. In the last few years the majority of the deliberations of the Security Council have been devoted to the Palestine question, and each session of the General Assembly has found us engaged in deliberations which we hoped might lead, however slowly, to better relations in the area. But the fact that we have hostilities there today indicates that those efforts have failed. For this reason we must frankly look now to some new means which, given the support of this body and the co-operation of the parties concerned, may at last achieve a final and a just peace in this part of the world.

26. The agency of this Assembly which has, since 1948, been charged with the responsibility of working out arrangements for a final solution of the problems outstanding between Israel and the Arab States is the Palestine Conciliation Commission. The United States was a member of that Commission, and, together with the other two members, strove to fulfill its assignment. During the eight years of its existence the Commission has achieved some few things. It has clarified a number of issues between the Arab States and Israel which stood in the way of a settlement. It has achieved the unconditional release of Arab accounts blocked in Israel. The Commission has also done a tremendous amount of slow and exact work in attempting to estimate and evaluate the amount of compensation due on Arab

property left in Israel by those who are now Arab refugees. But despite this work, in paragraph 2 of its fifteenth progress report [A/3199] dated 4 October of this year, the Commission stated:

"The Commission . . . must report again this year that, in view of the unchanged attitudes of the parties and their failure to avail themselves of the Commission's services, the Commission has had no opportunity to exercise its general function of conciliation with any prospect of success".

27. This, in the United States Government's view, must be the final chapter of the Conciliation Commission's efforts. We must try something new—something free of the technical and procedural problems which confronted the Commission—if we are to have any justifiable hope of progress towards a settlement of the major problems outstanding between the Arab States and Israel. We can say this because the United States is a member of the Commission. The Commission has failed, and, while we will keep what it has achieved or is achieving, we must try something new.

28. For this reason the United States is suggesting in its draft resolution the establishment of a new committee to be composed of five Members of this General Assembly who will prepare recommendations, after consultation with the parties to the General Armistice Agreements, regarding the settlement of the major problems outstanding between them with a view to establishing conditions of permanent peace and stability in that part of the world. We propose that that committee should submit its recommendations to the parties concerned and to the General Assembly. If necessary, or as appropriate, these proposals might be submitted to the Security Council. The purpose of this is to ensure that the parties themselves, the General Assembly, or, if necessary, the Security Council may have an opportunity to accept and act upon them. Alternatively, through the responses which the parties may make, the committee may continue to seek a settlement satisfactory and just to all, and thus solve this critical problem once and for all.

29. Two other matters are important in this connexion, and our draft resolution therefore addresses itself to them.

30. We think that there have been no more selfless and devoted international servants of justice and peace than the Chief of Staff and the members of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, as they have sought to enforce the General Armistice Agreements and to act as the agents of the Security Council. It is not for this body to give them further suggestions or guidance. It is, however, for this body to commend them for what they have done and for the diligence and the courage which they have shown in the face of many trying obstacles, and to urge that the parties directly concerned should co-operate fully with them as they carry out their presently imposed future tasks. I refer, of course, to General Burns and the staff working under him.

31. The second matter which warrants our concern is the plight of the Arab refugees. In the name of humanity, it is important that through these critical and battle-torn days those most directly concerned should be certain that the Arab refugees are cared for and safe. We make a recommendation to that end, and recommend further that all Members of the United Nations consider and furnish the additional assistance to those refugees that may be necessary.

32. That concludes my observations on the first draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation.

33. I shall now address myself to the second draft resolution [A/3273]. This draft resolution offers a means of finding a solution to the Suez Canal question. The Security Council has already made certain recommendations which could form the basis for a settlement. Recent events, however, have linked this question with the hostilities now being waged in that part of the world. The Security Council's resolution of 13 October [S/3675] emerged after many weeks of study of the Suez question and represented the efforts of many nations and many people. It sets forth the six basic principles which, it is believed, are necessary for a settlement of the Suez Canal question. We attach great importance to these principles. That is why the United States draft resolution endorses the 13 October resolution in its entirety.

34. The United States draft resolution then refers to the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November, which, *inter alia*, took note of the interruption of traffic in the Canal to the serious prejudice of many nations, and urged that steps should be taken to reopen the Canal and restore freedom of navigation, upon the conclusion of a cease-fire.

35. Recognizing that the permanent solution to the situation must be consistent with the principles of justice and international law, the sovereignty of Egypt and the rights of the users of the Canal, as guaranteed by the Convention of 1888,² the draft resolution would establish a committee composed of three Powers to assume the responsibility for, first, taking whatever measures were necessary for the immediate reopening of the Canal as a secure international waterway; secondly, drawing up a plan, in consultation with the three nations most directly involved in the present problem, for the purpose of operating and maintaining the Canal and freedom of passage through it, in accordance with the Convention of 1888 and the six requirements adopted by the Security Council on 13 October; and thirdly, adopting and putting this plan into effect.

36. Finally, the draft resolution requests the committee to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council, as appropriate; invites the committee to make recommendations for a just and permanent settlement of the Suez problem, consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations; and requests the Members of the United Nations to give the committee all appropriate assistance.

37. I urge the General Assembly to seize this opportunity to make a start toward a solution of two of the gravest issues threatening world peace. The time to act is now, while the awful consequences of previous failures and delays are so clear. Let us stop the futile process of patching up previous agreements and understandings, which but serves to provide new pretexts for further provocations. Let us face up to our responsibilities under the Charter. Let us work together for a lasting settlement of what has become a dangerous threat to the peace of the world.

38. Mr. JAWAD (Iraq): This is no time for either oratory or the expression of emotions. The situation is so grave that every minute must be measured by the extensive military destruction and the slaughter of innocent human beings. It is the paramount duty of this Assembly to arrest the aggressors, while there is still

time, and to save the peace, the world in general, and the Middle East in particular. Furthermore, it is the duty of this Assembly to assert its authority, since only through such action can it save the only existing international machinery which is in a position to operate. If it fails to do so, the tragic responsibility will fall on every one of us, and thus we shall have led the world back to the dark ages.

39. Everyone here and elsewhere is aware of the dangers involved in the refusal of the three aggressive Powers to abide by the decision adopted by this Assembly on 2 November. That decision, which was adopted by a majority of sixty-four votes, shows beyond any doubt that world public opinion was shocked by the premeditated acts of aggression against a small country—the more so when it was realized that two permanent members of the Security Council were responsible for engineering the conspiracy. The fact that, so far, a cease-fire has not been achieved in compliance with the resolution is a clear indication that the Powers in question have no respect either for the authority of the United Nations or for the law of nations. For these Powers—and here I refer particularly to the United Kingdom and France—there seems to exist no other binding factor than that of force. They have taken the law into their own hands, despite the advice and warning of large and small Powers. This is the law of the jungle, and the Powers in question are persistently applying that law by means of their land, sea and air forces.

40. What makes the position even worse is the insistence of these Powers on implementing a policy which has been condemned by this Assembly and world public opinion—and this includes public opinion in their own countries. What worse dictatorship can the world expect to find? When the Nazis and the Fascists plunged the world into a total war of murder and destruction, they defied the entire world, just as these Members of the United Nations are now doing. But the Nazis and the Fascists had never recognized the authority of the League of Nations, had never accepted the binding moral force of the law of nations. They never spoke of democracy; they despised it. And they stood alone in their defiance of the entire civilized world. Where do the Powers of whom I am now speaking stand in comparison with the Nazis and the Fascists?

41. It would be neither fair nor just to accuse all—I repeat: all—the British and French people of fascism. These two great peoples have carried the torch of civilization and democracy for centuries. The unfortunate fact, however, is that those in power have been motivated by imperialist policies—and imperialism in its decadent and rapidly declining stages. It is this decline which they strive to avert, but this is not in conformity with the historical laws of human progress. In fact, they want to put the clock back, as the Nazis tried to do at great expense. We are sure that the will of the peoples in the United Kingdom and France ultimately will bring to reason the imperialist ruling circles in those two countries. It is no longer a secret that the vested interests are in flagrant contradiction with the primary premises of international civilized existence. The last fifty years have witnessed the great awakening of peoples in under-developed parts of the world, a historical necessity that can never be averted. Imperialistic policies refuse to recognize this human evolution. On the contrary, policies in the imperialistic countries have always been directed to stopping this evolution at any price. Unfortunately, this price has been paid by the

² Convention respecting the free navigation of the Suez Maritime Canal, signed at Constantinople on 29 October 1888.

innocent people in those countries, and it is a price that is too high in terms of human life and progress; but, sooner or later, colonialism will pay its own price too.

42. With such a background, it is easy to realize that imperialism does not abide by international or moral considerations and decisions unless they suit its own purpose, and its own purpose is to plunge the world into a blood bath for profit or domination. Is there any proof needed other than the non-compliance of the United Kingdom and France with the resolution adopted by this Assembly? While those countries are still bombing towns and peoples in Egypt, they do not hide their real intentions. That is why they have suggested the constitution of a United Nations armed force, while their detachments occupy the territories of the victims of aggression. The conspiracy against Egypt and against peace is quite obvious. What is more obvious than the fact that the aggressors will not stop their acts of war unless their policy of war is carried to a conclusion?

43. The calling of this special session was the outcome of the abuse of the use of the veto in the Security Council. General Assembly resolution 377 (V), entitled "Uniting for peace", which was adopted in 1950, has provided a way of avoiding the misuse of the veto in the Security Council and enabled collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace to be undertaken. It calls, therefore, upon this Assembly to take in hand whatever powers the Charter has provided for such circumstances. It is time for this Assembly to consider the measures to be taken to remove the threat to the peace and the breach of the peace—I refer in particular to Chapter VII of the Charter—with the object of applying such sanctions as may be appropriate to meet the requirements of the situation.

44. Any other procedure would be an endeavour to divert the attention of this Assembly from the real problem. A diversion to other problems would be nothing but utter defeatism. When one cannot make an aggressor abide by the rule of law, then one accepts his interpretation of the law and his method of implementation. What more can an aggressor ask than to commit aggression and persist in carrying it out despite the decisions of a world assembly? The first draft resolution submitted this evening provides ample evidence to this effect. It ignores, or rather scraps, all that the United Nations has done and endeavoured to do in the past with regard to Palestine. That is because the aggressor persists in defying the decision of this Assembly in that part of the world. It is rather surprising that instead of recognizing the rights of the people of Palestine, it suggests, and then only *en passant*, that they should be treated in a humane way.

45. While we had hoped that the Members of this Organization would take a stand against the defiance by the aggressors of decisions of this Assembly, we find that all the elements of appeasement have been put together in the two draft resolutions before us. Appeasement has never been a successful policy; it has often led to disaster. If we gave way to the spirit of appeasement, aggression would become the policy of all; at such a moment, alas, there remains no *raison d'être* for this Organization.

46. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): The present dangerous situation in the Middle East is one which demands of the Members of the United Nations that they should act not in hot blood, but with calm, dignity, and, if possible, wisdom. That situation has come about as a result of the continuous and increasing threats of

the surrounding nations against the peace and territorial integrity and, even, against the very existence of Israel. It has been aggravated by the rash and indefensible action of Egypt in nationalizing the Universal Suez Canal Company and by the Soviet shipments of arms to that country. Finally, it has persisted through the inability of the United Nations as a whole to intervene and to restore peace and order in that area.

47. It is, therefore, nugatory to try to assess or to apportion the blame for the difficulties that confront us, because all of us, all Members of the United Nations, have to take some share in that blame. It would be particularly unjust to single out either Israel or France and the United Kingdom and to reproach the one for having taken the action which it considered necessary for its self-defence and survival and the others for having stepped in where the United Nations had failed to act.

48. What is necessary is that we should find some means of reasserting the jurisdiction of the United Nations over matters which plainly fall within its responsibility, and that we should do so in a manner that provides not only for an immediate cease-fire without a real settlement, for that would only perpetuate the chaos, but also for a just and equitable solution of the two main problems involved. Such a solution of the dispute between Israel and its neighbouring States and of the question of Suez Canal should not be merely a temporary expedient, but one that would give promise of some permanence.

49. In the view of the Netherlands Government, the proposals contained in the reply made by the representative of the United Kingdom to the inquiry of the Secretary-General, which are set forth in document A/3267, form the best possible step towards such a solution. These proposals, as I may remind my fellow representatives, are to the effect that, *inter alia*, both the Egyptian and the Israel Governments should agree to accept a United Nations force to keep the peace; and the United Nations should decide to constitute and to maintain such a force until an Arab-Israel peace settlement is reached and until satisfactory arrangements in regard to the Suez Canal have been agreed upon, both agreements to be guaranteed by the United Nations.

50. During the debate on 1 and 2 November [561st and 562nd meetings] both the United Kingdom and the French representatives stated emphatically that their Governments had no desire whatever that the military action which they had taken should be more than temporary in its duration. The proposals which they have now made prove that these Governments were sincere in these statements and that they are prepared to act in accordance with them. If these proposals are accepted by Israel and Egypt and if the United Nations force for which they call is formed and dispatched to the area, then the British-French intervention will cease, the United Nations will take charge of a situation where it is its plain duty to exercise its authority and the basis will have been laid for a settlement of the two questions which have for so long disturbed the peace.

51. As to the settlement of the Suez Canal question, the Netherlands Government remains convinced that that could be and should be governed by the six principles on which agreement was reached when the Security Council dealt with this matter [S/3675]; and that the proposals of the eighteen Powers [S/3665], in which these principles were embodied, provide a just basis for negotiation. One of these principles to which my Government

attaches great importance is that Egyptian sovereignty should be respected.

52. With regard to the draft resolutions which have been presented, in common, I think, with most of my fellow representatives, I have not yet had the time to secure instructions from my Government. I should therefore like to reserve the right to speak on these two draft resolutions separately later on.

53. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): When I received the notification this afternoon from the Secretary-General of the resumption of this emergency special session of the General Assembly at eight o'clock this evening I must confess that I did not know what would be discussed. However, since the adoption of the resolution by the General Assembly on the morning of 2 November calling for a cease-fire by the parties engaged in the conflict, I have watched the developments with almost breathless interest, and so far there has not seemed to be the slightest indication of compliance with that resolution.

54. In considering the nature of the action that this Assembly can take in the circumstances, it might perhaps be worthwhile to consider by what authority this emergency special session was called by the Security Council and, also, the immediate motivation for the resumption of the session this evening. It will be noted that this emergency special session was called to examine the question which had been considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956. If I recall correctly, what was considered at the 749th meeting of the Security Council was the United States draft resolution [S/3710], which was presented a few hours after the reported penetration of Egyptian territory by Israel forces. That draft resolution was designed to call for an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of the forces to the demarcation lines, and it asked the Member States to refrain from doing anything that might result in a breach of the peace. The draft resolution was vetoed by the United Kingdom and France at that meeting of the Security Council.

55. At the 750th meeting, if I also remember correctly, the subject that was dealt with was the letter from Egypt [S/3712] in connexion with the ultimatum which had been received by that Government from the Governments of France and the United Kingdom. It is therefore obvious that when the General Assembly met the day following those meetings, the question to be considered was the immediate hostilities, the actual breach of the peace. Or, as far as the legal relevancy of the issues is concerned, this emergency special session of the General Assembly was called to consider the military act of penetration of Egypt by Israel forces and the ultimatum that was issued by the United Kingdom and France. It was with a view to considering this breach of the peace that we adopted on 2 November the resolution in which we asked for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of the forces of the combatants from the area of hostilities, and for all Members to refrain from introducing military goods, and to halt military movements, into the area.

56. This evening we are asked to consider two draft resolutions presented by the United States delegation. Before commenting on these resolutions, I must reiterate emphatically the consistent position of my Government as far as this crisis is concerned, which is that its fundamental and primary aim is to help to seek the restoration of peace. Wherever possible, in order to avoid any aggravation of the situation, we will not

express our views on who is right and who is wrong in the controversy. We feel this is not the proper time to do so. Any attempt on our part, as I announced in my first intervention, to point to any particular combatant as being in the wrong now would only aggravate matters.

57. The first United States draft resolution, contained in document A/3272, seeks to deal with the Palestine question. It proposes in its operative paragraphs to secure "a just and lasting peace" by removing the underlying causes of tension in the area with a view to achieving a final settlement between the parties to the General Armistice Agreements. The reference is to Egypt and to Israel. The second draft resolution [A/3273] seeks to consider the Suez Canal question, also with a view to seeking a final and conclusive solution of the outstanding issues between the parties. At the outset I must say that I will not be in a position to express my views on the merits of these two proposals for lack of specific instructions from my Government. I shall only comment on these two draft resolutions as far as the practical and procedural aspects are concerned.

58. From a procedural point of view I have serious misgivings on these two proposals. First, with respect to the Suez Canal question, it will be remembered that the Security Council is actually seized of this issue. Egypt, the United Kingdom and France have agreed on six principles, and on the basis of those six principles they were in the process of continuing negotiations when the hostilities broke out. But the outbreak of hostilities did not remove this question from the Security Council, in which the issue is still pending. It is quite obvious from the relevant provisions of the Charter that the General Assembly cannot consider a question of which the Security Council is actually seized. That is rather elementary.

59. It may be argued, of course, that this emergency session was called in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 377 A (V). But the main basis of that resolution lies in paragraph 1 of part A, which I shall read in part:

"... that if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in any case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or active aggression, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to Members for collective measures, including in the case of a breach of the peace or act of aggression the use of armed force when necessary, to maintain or restore international peace and security".

60. It is thus obvious that resolution 377 A (V), which was the enabling authority for the calling of this emergency session, provides as a basis an actual breach of the peace, and that the General Assembly has to meet whenever it appears that the Security Council, for lack of unanimity, fails to exercise and discharge its responsibility to maintain international peace and security.

61. Did the question of the Suez Canal, when it was first raised in the Security Council, present an aspect such as would make it fall within the purview of General Assembly resolution 377 A (V)? Undoubtedly, it did not. And as the Security Council was actually seized of this issue, and there was no change in the status, as well as in the progress, of the negotiations

between the parties in the Security Council, I cannot understand how we can now competently consider the Suez Canal question with a view to the ultimate and final liquidation of its basic issues. Therefore, as far as the procedural aspect of this United States draft resolution is concerned, I have serious misgivings as to whether we can act on it at all.

62. Off hand I can say that I view with great sympathy the noble motivation of this draft resolution. No one can fail to share with the United States delegation the motive which lies behind its aims to liquidate a question that may be a source of continuing friction between the Egyptian Government and the French and United Kingdom Governments, a question that plagued the parties even before the outbreak of hostilities. But to the extent that the United States draft resolution seeks a final and conclusive settlement of the question, in the context of the actual hostilities now in progress, I doubt whether this special session of the General Assembly could validly deal with it.

63. These remarks apply with equal force to the other resolution of the United States delegation. This resolution refers to the Palestine question and, as I have stated, it also seeks to achieve a final settlement of the question. To achieve that end it seeks to create a committee of five which will first prepare recommendations with regard to the settlement of the major problems between the Arab States and Israel and then submit these recommendations to the parties concerned, to the General Assembly and to the Security Council. It will be remembered that the Palestine question presents many profound problems of outstanding character. Foremost among these is the question, for example, of the repatriation or resettlement of the refugees, which for many years has defied solution by our body. There are many intricate problems involved in the Palestine question which year after year it has been the task of the United Nations to consider. As I said, as this session was convoked only to meet the emergency arising from the hostilities as a result of the penetration of Egyptian territory by Israel forces and the military action of France and the United Kingdom, the proposal that it should consider the long-standing Palestine problem with a view to its ultimate and final settlement is open to serious question.

64. I wish to express again my deep sympathy for this draft resolution and for the noble motivation behind it. Perhaps at an appropriate time in the future we might favour its consideration. I believe, however, that this emergency session of the General Assembly should confine itself to the issues as they are now, the issues which were faced at the meeting on 2 November.

65. The General Assembly has already adopted a cease-fire resolution and should immediately concern itself with the question whether the parties to the conflict are disposed to comply with it. On the basis of the report by the Secretary-General [A/3267], who was requested in the resolution so to report, that the resolution has not been complied with, this emergency session should then consider how the resolution should be enforced or whether or not it could be implemented. That, in my view, should be the purpose of our meeting. To consider the United States draft resolutions now, without making any reference to the cease-fire resolution which this Assembly has adopted would be to create the impression throughout the world that we are evading the General Assembly resolution. The psychological impact of such an impression would be enormous. Nothing would contribute more to lowering

the prestige of this Organization than an apparent aversion to meeting the situation squarely.

66. Therefore, in co-operation with other delegations, we might submit within a few hours a draft resolution of our own which would fundamentally reaffirm the General Assembly resolution of 2 November. After eighteen or twenty-four hours—or whatever period of time we might agree upon—we might request the Secretary-General to report on the status of compliance or non-compliance with that resolution.

67. Allow me to summarize my views briefly. The Philippine delegation cannot now comment on the intrinsic merits of the United States draft resolutions as we have not as yet received our instructions. However, I commend those drafts for the noble motivation behind them and, in all likelihood, I may recommend to my Government that they be sympathetically considered at an appropriate time in the future. Procedurally, however, I entertain serious doubts as to whether this emergency session could consider the two draft resolutions. As they make no mention of the previous resolution of this emergency special session, I fear that they might be interpreted by the world as an act of evasion, to the great detriment to the prestige of this body.

68. Mr. ASHA (Syria): As I speak from this rostrum in addressing this august Assembly, British and French armed forces are setting upon Egypt, the victim of their aggression, with the furious frenzy of a monster unchained. It is highly significant that the United Kingdom Government submits war bulletins to the United Nations instead of informing it that it has complied with the request of this Assembly to cease fire and stop the aggression.

69. Despite the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November, despite the condemnation of the combined British-French-Israel aggression by an overwhelming majority of the Member States of the United Nations, despite the formal order for an immediate cease-fire addressed to these three aggressors, despite acceptance by Egypt, the victim of the aggression, of the order to cease fire in compliance with the resolution of the General Assembly—despite all this, the United Kingdom, France and Israel continue to subject Egypt to armed attack, without respite and without discrimination between military and civilian targets, in contempt of the United Nations and of all humanity.

70. The United Nations is witnessing the almost unbelievable spectacle of two of its most important Members lined up with Israel in deliberate and open subversion of it, in a move to undermine the very foundations of morality and peace in the world. Unashamedly the accomplices confront the General Assembly, as they confronted the Security Council, with defiance and obstinacy.

71. This combined armed attack is continuing and intensifying, and is bringing in its train an irreparable loss in human lives and material destruction of vast encompassment. It threatens to degenerate into a general conflagration, not only within the region of the Middle East but throughout the entire world, in the wake of those repercussions which will inevitably be produced. According to a message received from Cairo by the United Nations today, and annexed to the report of the Secretary-General [A/3267], the British radio announced:

“... an imminent switch to include communication centres, railway stations and telephone exchanges,

many of which are located in densely populated areas. In spite of warning to civilian population to keep clear of these areas, implementation of this policy will result in a terrific loss of life. We urge you to use every means available to you to restrain implementation of this policy”.

72. It is indeed a mockery, it is an insult, to be told by the United Kingdom and France that military operations in Egypt will be completed in one or two days and that the landing of their aggressive forces will mean Egypt's surrender. I feel assured that such claims are not accepted even for home consumption. The truth is that Egypt and the Egyptian army are strong, and will continue to be strong. The Egyptian army has not been destroyed, as the three aggressors claim. I know that the representatives of these three aggressors themselves do not believe that. Every Egyptian man, woman and child will fight the aggressors, not for one day, not for one week, not for one month, but for a year, perhaps for many years.

73. And Egypt is not alone. All the Arabs will take up their arms in defence of Egypt and of their own countries. Already a number of Arab Governments have taken action. There will be more news bulletins to read against the aggressors. Every Arab citizen is ready to sacrifice his or her life, to repel this uncivilized, savage triple aggression. This Arab participation, as legitimate and collective defence, becomes every day more inevitable in the face of the tripartite aggression which threatens to destroy the very foundations of the Arab world.

74. But this is far more than a conflict between Egypt and the three States which have attacked it. It is far more than an issue between the Arab States in general and those which have attacked one of their number. The issue is whether there is to be a double standard of morality in the world—one for the larger and one for the smaller States—or, to put it another way, whether hypocrisy is to become the way of international life. It is, to put it bluntly, the issue of the worth, the effectiveness, of the United Nations, and the confidence which peoples all over the world may have in it. If there is to remain any hope for peaceful existence in the world, we in this Assembly must make it clear beyond all doubt that an aggression is no less of an aggression, no less of an international crime, no less an object of international condemnation, because some, claiming to be great Powers, indulge in it.

75. The General Assembly is summoned anew today to decide upon the measures that must be taken immediately, in conformity with the United Nations Charter, to deal with the defiance cast at it by the United Kingdom, France and Israel. The General Assembly is bound, as much by the provisions of the Charter as by those of the relevant resolutions: 377 (V), entitled “Uniting for peace”; 378 (V), regarding the duties of States in the event of the outbreak of hostilities; and 380 (V), relative to peace through deeds. The General Assembly is bound to discharge its responsibilities in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and with those resolutions. It cannot divest itself of these responsibilities without dealing a mortal blow to the United Nations and to the peace of the world.

76. France, the United Kingdom and their stooge, Israel, have attempted, both before the Security Council and before this Assembly, to confuse the basic issue on which we are meeting tonight, namely, their aggression, by referring to the so-called provocations by Egypt and the other Arab countries. Mr. Eban ap-

peared to be on the verge of shedding crocodile tears for that tiny little State which, according to him, has been harassed for eight years by its neighbours.

77. I do not intend to take the time of this Assembly to reply to a monologue replete with lies and distortion of facts such as has been inflicted on our ears for many years by the representative of Israel. In fact, he stood unabashedly before this august body the other day to repeat a song which he had already sung, word for word, a day earlier—and which he has done again lately—before the Security Council.

78. One cannot remain silent at the sudden change of face by the United Kingdom and France. Is it not astounding that the very countries which have condemned Israel on several occasions in the Security Council, and which have always associated their Governments with the reports of the Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Commission—which invariably put the greatest blame on Israel's provocative attitude for the deterioration of the situation on the armistice lines—should now abjure their word and sell their conscience to the expediency of the moment and, in order to attain their selfish interests, turn to accuse the victim of aggression of having committed acts of provocation to justify their aggression? Those who seem to have the audacity to defy the whole world, which condemned their aggression, should at least have shown the courage to stand by their previous position like lions, rather than debase themselves by manoeuvring like foxes turning to their prey.

79. I do not wish to answer now the malicious accusations of these aggressors. The facts are already in the archives of the United Nations.

80. Let us now examine the conditions under which the United Kingdom and French Governments “would most willingly stop military action” [A/3268, 3269].

81. Among the conditions imposed by the French and United Kingdom Governments for the cessation of military action, undertaken by them in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, figures the unimaginable, the unbelievable condition of the stationing of French and British troops to separate the combatants. The stationing of such troops between the combatants can only signify the stationing of these troops on Egyptian territory. Such an occupation, if it came about—which is an incredible and inadmissible hypothesis—and if it were tolerated, would be a serious violation of the natural right of legitimate defence which Egypt is called upon to use by virtue of Article 51 of the Charter. Now, according to this same Article, no provision of the Charter may violate the natural right of legitimate defence, individual or collective, when a Member of the United Nations is the object of an armed aggression. The exercise by Egypt of this natural and sacred right of legitimate defence has been rendered necessary and inevitable by the aggression perpetrated against it by France, the United Kingdom and Israel. The exercise of this right has precedence, according to Article 51 of the Charter, and in the initial phase of the aggression still in progress, over any measures that the Security Council would be called upon to take in conformity with this Article of the Charter in order to maintain international peace and security.

82. To tolerate the stationing of French and British troops on Egyptian territory would be to permit the stationing of an aggressor on the territory of his victim, when what the victim needs is precisely the aid of the United Nations in order to face the aggression and to

make use of his natural right of legitimate defence in order to repulse the aggressor. The inadmissible course of tolerating the stationing of French and British troops would be, purely and simply, the acceptance of a *fait accompli*, a status brought about by the aggression. Toleration of such occupation would go even further than the aggression itself, for it would reduce to nullity the right of legitimate defence consecrated by the right of self-preservation of States in the Charter. It would be in the highest degree immoral, unjust, and in contradiction of the provisions of the Charter and of international law.

83. Furthermore, the United Kingdom and France cannot pretend to set themselves up as policemen acting on behalf of the United Nations, at the same time that they themselves have opposed every action that the Security Council attempted to take in order to put an end to the hostilities, and at a time when sixty-four Member States of the United Nations out of a total of sixty-nine countries—five of which are aggressors or accomplices of aggressors—have openly and publicly and vehemently condemned the infamous and cowardly aggression perpetrated by the two Powers with the complicity of Israel.

84. In these agonizing circumstances, what is the General Assembly to do? Its resolution has clearly been rejected by the aggressors, and today we assemble either to bury this great edifice of peace or to pull it out of the abyss dug by the aggressors to be its grave. I trust that Members will spare no effort and spare no sacrifice to save the United Nations from the fate of its predecessor, the League of Nations.

85. Is it not the irony of fate that Mr. Eden, who raised his voice high to condemn Mussolini's aggression on Ethiopia and who then asked the world to honour the Covenant of the League of Nations by meeting the aggression with appropriate sanctions, stands today as the master of a more serious aggression, the horrible consequences of which are hard to calculate? Tonight it is our duty to hearken to the voice of Mr. Eden in 1936 in order to atone for his crime on 31 October 1956.

86. The new situation which the General Assembly is called upon to meet, under its responsibilities for the maintenance of peace and security in the world, compels us to adopt new measures. Actually, the measures prescribed by the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November, which constitute provisional measures in accordance with Article 40 of the Charter, have not been implemented by France, the United Kingdom and Israel. By virtue of the same Article, the General Assembly is bound to take due account of this failure. The General Assembly must, in accordance with paragraph 5 of the resolution already adopted, take new measures to enforce its decisions.

87. These new measures are embodied in Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter. They may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations. Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockades and other operations by air, sea or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

88. The responsibility of Member States to impose such measures is stressed in the Charter and the previously mentioned resolution of the General Assembly. It would be inconsistent with the provisions of the Charter to have the Assembly discuss any measures other than those embodied in its last resolution, or deal with measures which do not aim at enforcing the resolution already voted upon by an overwhelming majority of this Assembly. This resolution requests the immediate cessation of the tripartite military action of the United Kingdom, France and Israel. The Assembly may at this stage, in so far as the cease-fire order has not been carried out by the aggressors, only impose new measures provided for in the Charter, namely, sanctions to enforce the preliminary measures mentioned.

89. As to the two draft resolutions submitted this evening by the representative of the United States, we feel that at this stage, pending instructions from our Government, we are unable to express any views.

90. Mr. LALL (India): Less than forty-eight hours ago in this very hall we adopted a resolution which was moderate in tone, which was restrained, which was constructive, and which attempted not to worsen the situation in any way but to do something to arrest the damage to human life and property and the repercussions of that damage which were then beginning. It is a matter of the gravest disappointment to us that that resolution, moderate though it was, statesmanlike though it was, and though it was introduced by the leading Western Power, has not been complied with by the Western Powers concerned. This is a matter of gravest concern because the result of non-compliance has led to a steady worsening of the situation.

91. Fighting has intensified. We note that there has been a cablegram from the United Nations representatives in Cairo informing us of the intensification of attacks [A/3267, annex]. We also note that the representative of the United Kingdom has published a contradiction [A/3274] of this particular report, but the statement he has given us in itself indicates that there has been an intensification of the fighting. It does not give my delegation much comfort to be told that there has been a switch from air to army targets. After all, are army targets always isolated from places of civilian habitation; and, after all, are not army persons only human beings in uniform? Is not human life concerned in this case also? We do not see that this contradiction brushes aside the main fact, which is that the situation is worse than it was two days ago, that there is an intensification of the evils which confronted us when we met here two days ago.

92. Furthermore, we are now faced definitely with just those events which we were told were the reason why certain Western Powers had embarked on their expedition in Egypt. The very situations have arisen which the Western Powers sought to avert by going into this operation in Egypt. I refer to the closing of the Canal and to the cutting of oil pipelines. This was just the sort of thing that we were told the Western Powers wished to avert, and here, as a result of their operations, just those things are taking place.

93. Though all this is happening, and though the picture is growing darker, at the same time I think it is also our duty to bring to the notice of this Assembly that efforts are being made behind the scenes to try to arrive at some settlement, at some arrangement which would bring to an end what is being perpetrated in Egypt. It is too early to say that those efforts will succeed. We hope they will succeed. We hope that the

good sense that was voiced here almost unanimously two nights ago will prevail and that practical arrangements can be devised in the very near future to put an end to the hostilities in Egypt.

94. We notice that the representative of the United States has brought two draft resolutions before this Assembly today [A/3272, 3273]. We realize on reading these documents that the United States is concerned with the causes which have led to the present situation in Egypt. This is a commendable concern and it certainly must engage our attention. However, these draft resolutions raise important questions which will have to be studied very carefully. Therefore it seems to my delegation that all we can do at the moment is to promise the most expeditious study of these draft resolutions and then meet again as soon as we are in a position to express the views of our Government on them.

95. But what of the immediate situation? What of the fighting that is going on? In the opinion of the delegation of India and in the opinion of the delegations of almost all the Asian and African countries represented here, something must be done immediately to try to arrest the situation that exists in Egypt today. In view of this extremely urgent fact, in view of the need to stop the hostilities in Egypt, nineteen delegations in this chamber have drawn up a draft resolution, which has been handed to the Secretariat and which will be circulated in the next few minutes. With your permission, I shall now read this brief draft resolution so that the delegations here assembled might see how acceptable it is and thus find themselves in a position speedily to support it, and thus intensify the efforts which this Assembly initiated two nights ago to stop the fighting in Egypt. This resolution reads as follows:³

"The General Assembly,

"Noting with regret that not all the parties concerned have yet agreed to comply with the provisions of its resolution of 2 November 1956,

"Noting the special priority given in the resolution to an immediate cease-fire and as part thereof to the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area,

"Noting further that the resolution urged the parties to the armistice agreements promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements,

"1. Reaffirms its resolution of 2 November 1956 and once again calls upon the parties immediately to comply with the provisions of the said resolution;

"2. Authorizes the Secretary-General immediately to arrange with the parties concerned for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area and requests him to report compliance forthwith and, in any case, not later than twelve hours from the time of adoption of this resolution;

"3. Requests the Secretary-General, with the assistance of the Chief of Staff and the members of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, to obtain compliance of the withdrawal of all forces behind the armistice lines;

"4. Decides to meet again on receipt of the Secretary-General's report referred to in operative paragraph 2 of this resolution."

96. As all delegations here will immediately recognize, this is an interim measure. This is an attempt to make an appeal to the parties which are engaged in hostilities immediately to cease those hostilities. This authorizes the Secretary-General to let us have an urgent report on his efforts, in conjunction with the parties concerned, to put an end to hostilities and to obtain withdrawal of troops from Egypt.

97. This, surely, is the least we can do tonight. Surely, this Assembly, which passed a resolution almost unanimously, not forty-eight hours ago, wishes to adhere to the terms of that resolution, wishes to call again on the parties to comply with that resolution and wishes to draw their attention, through our words here and through those of other speakers, to the worsening of the situation in Egypt, to its repercussions on the rest of the Arab world, to its reverberations in areas outside the Middle East.

98. If the situation is allowed to continue, it will soon not be one which can be met by resolutions affecting just those parties that are now on two sides of the Suez Canal. If we allow the situation to continue, we will soon be faced with a situation which will require resolutions dealing not with a few hundred square miles of territory but with many tens of thousands of square miles of territory. It is therefore imperative that we stop this situation, arrest it at once. We therefore call again upon the parties concerned to comply with the resolution which we adopted by so large a majority, on the initiative of the United States of America, not two days ago. It cannot be the intention of the sixty-four countries which voted for that resolution to allow the situation to remain in mid-air, because there is no mid-air in a situation like this: there is a terrible fall-out from a situation of this kind, and the area of contamination and war will spread rapidly.

99. It is for these reasons that we are asking for the interim measures included in this draft resolution.

100. We give the Secretary-General only twelve hours to report to us. That is a short period of time. But, first, the situation is extremely grave; secondly, certain Powers took it upon themselves to give Egypt a twelve-hour ultimatum, and certainly, if twelve hours were given in those circumstances, twelve hours are enough to stop the situation created by the end of that ultimatum.

101. We would therefore earnestly request this Assembly, including the parties concerned, to adopt immediately the draft resolution which I have just read, and which stands in the names of Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand and Yemen.

102. Mr. PEARSON (Canada): The immediate purpose of our meeting tonight is to bring about as soon as possible a cease-fire and a withdrawal of forces, in the area which we are considering, from contact and from conflict with each other. Our longer-range purpose, which has already been referred to tonight and which may ultimately, in its implications, be even more important, is to find solutions for the problems which, because we have left them unsolved over the years, have finally exploded into this fighting and conflict.

103. In regard to this longer-range purpose, important draft resolutions have been submitted this evening by the United States delegation. We value this initiative, and our delegation will give those draft resolutions the examination which their importance deserves, and will,

³ Subsequently reproduced as document A/3275.

I hope, make its own detailed comments concerning them later.

104. So far as the first and immediate purpose is concerned, a short time ago the Assembly passed, by a very large majority, a resolution which is now a recommendation of the United Nations General Assembly. And so we must ask ourselves how the United Nations can assist in securing compliance with the terms of that resolution from those who are most immediately concerned and whose compliance is essential if that resolution is to be carried out. How can we get from them the support and co-operation which is required, and how can we do this quickly?

105. The representative of India has just read to us, on behalf of a number of delegations, a very important draft resolution which deals with this matter. In operative paragraphs 2 and 3 of that text, certain specific proposals are made with a view to setting up machinery to facilitate compliance with the resolution already adopted by the Assembly. I ask myself the question whether that machinery is adequate for the complicated and difficult task which is before us. I am not in any way opposing the draft resolution we have just heard read. I appreciate its importance and the spirit in which it has been put forward. But I do suggest that the Secretary-General be given another and supplementary—not conflicting, but supplementary—responsibility: to work out at once a plan for an international force to bring about and supervise the cease-fire visualized in the Assembly resolution which has already been passed.

106. For that purpose my delegation would like to submit to the Assembly a very short draft resolution which I venture to read at this time. It is as follows:⁴

“*The General Assembly,*

“*Bearing in mind the urgent necessity of facilitating compliance with the resolution of 2 November 1956,*

“*Requests, as a matter of priority, the Secretary-General to submit to it within forty-eight hours, a plan for the setting up, with the consent of the nations concerned, of an emergency international United Nations force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with the terms of the aforementioned resolution.*”

107. I would assume that during this short period the Secretary-General would get into touch with the parties immediately concerned, and endeavour to secure their co-operation in the carrying out of the earlier resolution—their co-operation, I venture to repeat, is essential—as well as endeavour to secure help and co-operation from any others whom he thinks might assist him in his vitally important task.

108. The draft resolution which I have just read out and which will be circulated shortly has an added purpose of facilitating and making effective compliance with the resolution which we have already passed on the part of those whose compliance is absolutely essential. It has also the purpose of providing for international supervision of that compliance through the United Nations, and, finally, it has as its purpose the bringing to an end of the fighting and bloodshed at once, even while the Secretary-General is examining this question and reporting back in forty-eight hours.

109. If this draft resolution commended itself to the General Assembly—and I suggest that it is not in conflict with the draft resolution which has just been

read to us by the representative of India—and if it were accepted and accepted quickly, the Secretary-General could at once begin the important task which it gives him. I apologize for adding to his burdens in this way, because they have already been added to in the immediately preceding draft resolution, but we know that he can carry burdens of this kind both unselfishly and efficiently.

110. Meanwhile, during this period of forty-eight hours we can get on with our consideration of and decision on the United States draft resolutions and other draft resolutions before the General Assembly which deal with the grave and dangerous situation confronting us, both in relation to its immediate as well as its wider and perhaps even more far-reaching aspects.

111. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): With the permission of the representative of Uruguay, who is next on my list of speakers, I call on the representative of the United States.

112. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): Let me thank the representative of Uruguay for yielding to me for just a moment.

113. I want to say that the United States likes the Canadian draft resolution very much. We are looking for something that will meet the immediate crisis which is in front of us, as well as something that will go to the causes and into the more long-range subjects.

114. We have presented two draft resolutions dealing with the long-range questions; they obviously will require study and we are not pressing them to a vote tonight. We do think that the draft resolution submitted by the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs is one that should be acted on promptly, and we should like to see it given priority. We should like to see it acted on quickly this evening, because it contains a real hope of meeting the very grave emergency that confronts the world.

115. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): A few moments ago, from this rostrum, the representative of Canada told this General Assembly that compliance with the resolution it adopted two nights ago was absolutely essential. My delegation considers that regardless of either the acceptance or the regrettable rejection of that resolution, the very fact that this Assembly is meeting indicates that the principles of the United Nations Charter remain in effect. Nothing can diminish the force of those principles, which have come to represent the deepest expression of the human conscience.

116. When the free democratic peoples of the world met at San Francisco to draw up the Charter of the United Nations and begin the work of this international Organization, they laid down in the Charter the foundations of justice and freedom and decided that armed forces should be used only in defence of States and in the common interest. On those monumental foundations the Charter became, in response to the universal appeal, what it is today, the new law of the earth.

117. Tonight we have met to consider the documents which the President has circulated to the Assembly, and to deal first and foremost with the draft resolutions submitted by the representative of the United States [A/3272, 3273].

118. I must say at the outset that, just as events are occurring so dramatically and with bewildering speed far from here, so they are occurring swiftly for us. The result is that it is somewhat difficult to take a

⁴ Subsequently reproduced as document A/3276.

definite stand, not merely on the two draft resolutions submitted today by the representative of the United States but, and even more so, on the draft resolutions presented from this rostrum a few moments ago by the representatives of India and of Canada respectively.

119. Therefore, while noting that the specific points embodied in the resolution of two days ago are still in effect, and still constitute an appeal to all the parties in this question, while affirming and hoping that the first, the fundamental, the essential and inevitable measure will be a cease-fire, the cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of the conflicting forces, we note, I repeat, as I said at the previous meeting, that of all these problems there is one which has its own peculiar form and characteristics, that is, the problem of the state of war between Israel and the neighbouring Arab countries, which has now reached a tragic climax.

120. We welcome the United States draft resolutions, and, in particular, the draft resolution whose purpose is to establish peace between Israel and Egypt. In our opinion it represents an immense and powerful contribution and a step forward in the attempts of the United Nations to achieve, not truces to be broken and armistices to be ignored, but a state of permanent peace between the admirable peoples and communities of that wonderful region of the world—of Israel and the Arab countries.

121. At our previous meeting I maintained that the struggle between Israel and Egypt should be considered and decided upon by the Assembly in the light of its peculiarities and of the realities of the situation. This struggle has been going on, and this situation has existed, ever since Israel's fight for independence following the adoption of United Nations resolution 181 (II), which approved the so-called partition; and it can and should be regarded in the light of this fact. In itself, it has nothing to do with other present-day conflicts, with the ultimatum sent to Egypt or with the consequent outbreak of violence which essentially gave rise to the General Assembly resolution already referred to, adopted on 2 November [997 (ES-I)].

122. As I asserted at the previous meeting, after the armistice lines were fixed between Egypt and Israel and between the Arab countries and Israel, establishing a truce between those countries and peoples, there followed, sometimes in quick succession, violations of the bases and provisions of those armistice agreements. It is an undoubted fact that during the last few years the frontier between Israel and its neighbours has been the scene of a continual struggle, a struggle which has claimed victims in the communities on both sides of the frontier. There is no point now in apportioning the blame for that struggle or in indulging in recriminations; the only appropriate course of action for the United Nations General Assembly is to face the issue and, in the name of the unanimous desire of all the peoples of the world, to lay the groundwork for a peaceful solution.

123. When from this rostrum the United States Secretary of State, introducing the draft resolution which the General Assembly adopted on 2 November, issued a warning that to continue on the path of violence would mean the destruction of the Charter and of this Organization, and when President Eisenhower spoke of peace a few days ago and we all realized that his words were a clear call for peace and a message of hope, I am sure that at that moment the silent but heartfelt gratitude of all the mothers of the world went out to him. For since the Second World War, with the establishment

of the foundations of justice in the Charter of the United Nations and the various systems and methods for resolving differences between nations, the desire of the common man in every part of the world has been for peace, not hatred, in the name of his children, in other words, in the name of hope for the future.

124. The draft resolution submitted for this purpose by the United States delegation [A/3272] makes reference, in the first place, to the Palestine Conciliation Commission set up by this Assembly under General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948. It then notes the efforts made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations under the Security Council resolutions of 4 April 1956 and 4 June 1956 [S/3575, 3605]. All our fervent hopes went with the Secretary-General on that occasion, when as always he placed his great abilities at the service of this labour of peace and harmony on behalf of the Organization which appointed him.

125. The United States draft resolution then provides for the appointment of a new committee which will replace the Palestine Conciliation Commission. And here, on this point, I should like, with the President's permission, to address myself more specifically to the United States representative, so that we may reach a clear understanding of the terms of this draft resolution, with which my delegation is greatly in sympathy. The draft substitutes for the old Conciliation Commission—which Mr. Lodge very properly praised from this rostrum—a new committee, and assigns that committee the task of preparing recommendations, after consultation with the parties to the General Armistice Agreements, with a view to submitting its recommendations to the parties concerned and to the General Assembly or the Security Council.

126. I feel that it would perhaps be useful and necessary now to make this procedure more flexible. When we say that what are needed between Israel and the Arab States are not new formulae for an armistice or a truce but a formula for peace, what are we trying to say? What do we mean? To what specific principle are we referring? To what necessity and what appeal are we responding?

127. Peace negotiations, in our opinion—and this is the point of view I shall submit for consideration when we take up the draft resolution in detail—should not be pursued through intermediary procedures which may prolong the negotiations and delay solutions while the opinions of the contending parties are solicited. We must instead bring the parties together, into contact with each other. We must put the representatives of Israel, Egypt and the other Arab States together at the same council table. After all, on the one occasion when they did come together, the result of the meeting was the armistice. On the island of Rhodes in 1949, the representatives of Israel and the Arab countries met at the same table. They engaged upon a genuine discussion; they voiced their complaints, their claims, their hope and their faith. Out of that meeting the armistice agreements were born. We believe that on the present occasion we should seek a procedure which will bring the great tragic actors in this conflict into contact, so that out of their discussion may come the word of peace which both communities deserve and which the whole world is calling for.

128. My delegation would support any proposal, at any time, tending to that end, and offers its co-operation to the United States delegation, which is the sponsor of this draft resolution. We welcome this resolution

and we submit these views for consideration by the United States delegation in particular, as well as the whole Assembly.

129. We believe that the Arab peoples and the people of Israel must in the future constitute a social entity which will enable future generations to enjoy peace and progress. We know them; we have been in contact with them. We have visited the homeland of Israel, the home which Israel is fashioning day and night with its strength, and its faith, in the name of the ancient martyrs. We all know the glorious tradition of the Arab peoples; in the American continent it comes down to us from past centuries when, under the flags of Islam, Arabs and Jews in the Spanish peninsula created new ideals, new forms of culture and faith; and all this came to America in due course in Spanish ships, and was bequeathed to the peoples of America by the discoverers and those who foresaw America's present-day progress.

130. With all this in mind, I was anxious not only to support the general lines of the draft resolutions submitted by the United States delegation, but to outline our proposal concerning the draft resolution relating to the peace which must reign at long last between Israel and the Arab countries. This would be a great contribution to the progress of the world, since it would finally demonstrate that when the United Nations Charter, in the name of the martyrs of the great war of liberation against nazism, laid down the principles of solidarity and justice, it was speaking for our children, and in the sacred name of the future of the human race.

131. My delegation will examine any draft resolutions which are circulated, and reserves the right to speak later on the item under discussion.

132. Mr. CHAMANDI (Yemen): We meet again, this time with the full knowledge that the British and the French have defied the resolution adopted by an overwhelming majority of this Assembly, a resolution which, in another sense, represents the sentiments of more than 90 per cent of mankind. Two Members of this Assembly, permanent members of the Security Council, instead of responding to the manifest desires of all the peoples of the world that they put an end to their aggression, actually have intensified their savage attack upon Egypt, upon its schools, mosques, hospitals, innocent civilians and non-military institutions.

133. It is now abundantly clear to everyone that the so-called police action by the United Kingdom and France was directed against all Egypt, with a view to destroying the Egyptians and everything that Egypt has built in the last few years. Nothing could be more threatening to colonial Powers than a genuine sense of dignity and national pride among small peoples. Egypt, under President Nasser, the first truly Egyptian leader, who not only represents in sentiment the aspirations of the entire population of Egypt but who has become a symbol of Arab awakening and unity, has been the target of the British, French and Israel peoples. A blow against Egypt and against Nasser is a blow against the entire Arab world.

134. In recent years, Egypt, under the leadership of President Nasser, has been guilty of defending the legitimate and God-given rights which are embodied in our Charter, rights which are not merely for the Egyptians, but also for all those who are still experiencing a bitter struggle against France and the United Kingdom. Egypt has supported the right of self-determination of the people of Algeria and of the

people of Cyprus, and has raised its voice and given hope to all the people of Asia and Africa. Egypt is guilty of being a supporter of the freedom and equality of all nations. Therefore, Egypt must be crushed and severely punished for that support. The United Kingdom and France, still, and with little sense of shame, claiming to be the champions of freedom, having become certain that a major world war is now impossible because of the existence of the hydrogen bomb, saw the opportunity to resort to nineteenth-century gunpowder diplomacy and tactics. The Kingdom of Yemen warns the peoples of Asia and Africa of this trend in European diplomacy.

135. Mr. Dulles, to whom we wish a speedy recovery, warned us at the meeting of the Assembly on 1 November of the danger of a Power taking the law into its own hands. He said:

"If . . . we were to agree . . . that whenever a nation feels that it has been subjected to injustice it should have the right to resort to force in an attempt to correct that injustice, then I fear that we should be tearing this Charter into shreds." [561st meeting, para. 140.]

The United Kingdom and France remained heedless to this and many similar warnings from all quarters of the globe, even from their own public servants and citizens. Some of them, such as Mr. Nutting, Minister of State of the United Kingdom, have resigned in moral indignation.

136. We, the small nations, possess very little in the form of military security. Our security against the strong lies in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations. When the so-called big Powers—for bigness seems to refer only to military strength and to world-wide prestige—take this Organization so lightly, then our basic sense of security has been destroyed. No Member among the small nations doubts that unless we all immediately take appropriate measures to guarantee the continued effectiveness of the various organs of the United Nations the security and safety of his own country will become endangered. The issue is much more than aggression against Egypt; it is an attack against the security of the weak, and a return to colonialism.

137. This Assembly should not merely punish the aggressors, but should also make certain that what has taken place in Egypt will not be repeated. Words of condemnation are not a sufficient remedy. Member States should immediately take effective steps against the United Kingdom, France and Israel if they do not cease their aggressive acts. The lesson should be unmistakably clear. Otherwise the fate of this source of security and international co-operation—I mean the United Nations—would be that of the League of Nations.

138. Everyone has now realized that aggression against Egypt was planned and synchronized by Israel, the United Kingdom and France. The representative of Israel has tried to impress upon you that the Arabs were responsible for tension in the Middle East. He even claimed that the belligerency came from the Arabs alone. The records of the Security Council and the Mixed Armistice Commissions attest to the contrary. Israel alone was condemned many times by the Security Council. It has never surprised the Arabs that Israel has been continuously belligerent to them. All of us know that the cardinal doctrine of Zionism to which Israel owes its existence is to expand the present borders of Israel to what the Zionists consider the historical Israel. Unmindful of the rights of the indigenous people of Palestine, otherwise known as the Arabs

of Palestine, which rights have been consistently recognized by the United Nations, Israel has now deemed it opportune to plot with the United Kingdom and France, its allies, this expansionist policy.

139. Peace in the Middle East has to be established on the basis of justice. The Zionists have been successful in the last forty years or so in enlisting the assistance of the big Western Powers against the people of Palestine. Now the United Kingdom and France have even conspired with Israel in attaining the goals of Zionism. In turn, Israel furnished them with the pretext for destroying Egypt.

140. We have always said that peace in the Middle East cannot be attained without justice. But now, under the circumstances, we should add that peace in the Middle East cannot be attained until some big Powers refrain from making themselves the instrument of Zionist aims. Certainly peace cannot be attained at the point of a gun. The Arabs have always proved responsive to just solutions. Unless the settlement is just, there can be no peace.

141. Mr. RIZK (Lebanon): For the third time in less than one week, the United Nations has been defied by three Member States bent on aggression, expansion and the pursuit of selfish interests. In less than one week, the civilized world has been thrice challenged, its efforts to restore peace in the Middle East thrice blocked by three power-hungry States—by Israel, a so-called State born in aggression, reared in aggression and thriving on aggression; and by two great Powers: by France, in order perhaps to find a consolation for the failure of its frustrated militarists and colonialists in their war against the brave people of Algeria, whose sole crime was that of having asserted their inalienable right to freedom and dignity, nay, to existence itself; and by the United Kingdom, which was impatient perhaps to implement its long-cherished dream of hegemony and domination over the entire Middle East, which was constantly harassed by reactionary elements in its Parliament who still dream of empire and glory and who have never forgiven their Government for having abandoned its military base in the Suez Canal, and which was determined to extinguish the flame of nationalism that is burning hot in the Arab world—that Arab world which seeks sincere co-operation with all nations, big and small, and which refuses to be the obedient slave of colonial Powers.

142. The United Nations and the civilized world were challenged by Israel when, in flagrant violation of the armistice agreements, the resolutions of the Security Council, the provisions of the Charter and the most elementary principles of decency and propriety in international conduct, it launched its unprovoked war of aggression and conquest against Egypt. The United Nations was defied when Israel contemptuously rejected the cease-fire order given to it by the Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization.

143. The United Nations and the civilized world were challenged and defied for the second time when the United Kingdom and France betrayed the confidence placed in them at San Francisco and abused their privileged position as permanent members of the Security Council to thwart the efforts of the international community in its quest for peace, nay, to be assured of a free hand in their war of conquest and domination.

144. The United Nations and the civilized world were challenged and defied for the third time in one week when the three accomplices—the United Kingdom, France and their stooge, Israel—cynically refused to

comply with the request which the General Assembly, meeting in its first emergency special session, addressed to them to cease fire immediately, to halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area, to withdraw promptly all forces behind the armistice lines and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements.

145. It has been argued in this Assembly and outside that this is not the time for propaganda speeches and that propaganda is not the way to friendship. I entirely subscribe to this view. It has also been suggested that long tirades against the aggressors—France, the United Kingdom and Israel—are not welcome at a time when minutes count in our search for means to put an end to bloodshed and destruction. With that view I have no quarrel. However, brevity must not be at the expense of truth; the facts, the true facts and not the distorted version thereof which we have heard from the representatives of France, the United Kingdom and Israel, the true facts must be brought out before we can start on the right road leading to peace. The true facts must be revealed if our efforts here are to prove fruitful and effective.

146. One fact is that Israel has committed a hideous crime of aggression against Egypt in defiance of the Security Council, the Charter and the will of humanity. It has committed this aggression in the best traditions of Israel treachery and deceit at a time when its leaders were deafening our ears with protestations of peaceful intentions, at a time when Mr. Eban, its ambassador in Washington, was calling on Secretary of State Dulles to assure him that Israel sought peace with the Arabs. It has committed this heinous crime unprovoked, the lamentations and wailings of Mr. Eban notwithstanding. The pretext given by Israel for its invasion of Egypt, namely, that it was a measure of retaliation for so-called *fedayeen* activity inside Israel, is too flimsy to deserve any comment. It has been categorically rejected by the Security Council, the Truce Supervision Organization, the Secretary-General himself and public opinion in the civilized world.

147. Another fact is that the United Kingdom and France, two great Powers, have also committed aggression against Egypt. The excuses which these two Powers give for their brutal invasion of Egypt are so grotesque that one could chuckle heartily over them but for the tragedy of the hour, and the fact that thousands of innocent lives and homes are being destroyed in Egypt by the ruthless onslaught of the invaders.

148. At the 749th meeting of the Security Council, the representative of the United Kingdom said that the objectives which his Government pursued in invading Egypt were twofold. I quote the verbatim record:

“The first consideration is that the fighting between Israel and Egypt must stop. The second consideration is that, unless hostilities can quickly be stopped, free passage through the Suez Canal will be jeopardized—that free passage on which the economic life of so many nations depends.” [S/PV.749, para. 6.]

These objectives are noble, and I am sure that no one will quarrel with them. But how did the United Kingdom and French Governments go about attaining these praiseworthy objectives? This is how they did it.

149. As regards the first objective, namely, stopping hostilities, this is the action taken by the United Kingdom and France. They plotted with Israel, incited it to attack and gave it their blessing for its massive inva-

sion of the Sinai desert in Egypt. If there is still any doubt in the minds of any one about the veracity of this fact, a quick glance at the British and American Press of the last five days would, I am sure, be sufficient to dispel such doubts. Just read the reports of James Reston and Marguerite Higgins or listen to radio broadcasts from London, and all doubt will disappear. If indeed, as France and the United Kingdom indignantly maintain, there was no collusion between them and Israel, then one has the right to ask the following questions. First, why did the United Kingdom and France, as responsible permanent members of the Security Council, not join their ally, the United States, in taking speedy action within the Council to stop hostilities? Secondly, why did they take advantage of the fact that one of them was President of the Council to delay, by dilatory tactics, a vote on the draft resolution proposed by the United States delegation, whose object was precisely to put an end to the fighting by legal and internationally accepted methods—methods which the United Kingdom and France had solemnly pledged themselves at San Francisco to follow in the face of a serious breach of the peace? Thirdly, why did they resort to the veto to block the praiseworthy efforts of their United States ally to have adopted a resolution aiming at an immediate cease-fire? Fourthly, why did we hear from the mouths of the French and United Kingdom representatives only a mild and friendly rebuke of Israel, the aggressor, while the Security Council and the General Assembly echoed to their loud blasts against Egypt, the Arabs and the entire Moslem world? Why, we repeat, why? Because, as we said before, the British and the French were not interested in peace in the Middle East. They welcomed the opportunity provided by the Israel attack on Egypt to stab that country in the back; the facts, the irrefutable facts, prove that they indeed plotted with Israel to invade Egypt.

150. The British argument that Security Council procedure was too slow and that there exists no military arm for the Security Council does not hold water. It is given the lie by the dilatory procedures followed by the United Kingdom and French delegations to prevent, or at least retard, action by the Council. If the Security Council had not been betrayed by two of its permanent members, it would have been in a position to cope with the Israel aggression and it could have called on Member States which had the means to intervene swiftly and effectively to stop the fighting. First and foremost among those Member States would, of course, have been the United Kingdom and France.

151. Furthermore, if the United Kingdom and France were genuinely interested in stopping the fighting and if they preferred to act swiftly and not to wait for Security Council action, as they pretend, one would have expected that they would intervene against the aggressor, and not against the victim, Egypt. It is indeed a curious and novel conception of maintaining the peace by helping to knock out the victim rather than attempting to arrest and punish the aggressor. It was indeed a sad occasion to listen to the representative of the United Kingdom, a permanent member of the Security Council, which has a special responsibility in maintaining the peace. It was indeed sad, to say the least, to hear him argue before the Council, at its 751st meeting, and again before the emergency special session of the General Assembly [561st meeting], that what does and what does not constitute an act of aggression is a matter for debate.

152. That Israel has thrust its armed might into Egyptian territory, that the air forces and navies of France, the United Kingdom and Israel are pounding Egyptian cities, massacring innocent people, devastating Egyptian homes—that this tragedy should occur and that a Government should argue that it is debatable whether these acts constitute aggression, can only prove the aggressive designs of that Government.

153. As for the argument that the British-French armed invasion of Egypt is to protect the Suez Canal and ensure freedom of passage, the answer there too has been given in what I have said before. As a further refutation of this flimsy argument, one could ask this question: does anyone believe that the Suez Canal is going to remain open to shipping in the face of the brutal massacre of Egyptians? Does anyone believe that the thousands of tons of high explosives being dropped on Egyptian cities and positions bordering the Canal and on shipping in the Canal will keep the Canal open and contribute to the freedom of passage through that vital artery of international intercourse?

154. The sad truth of the matter is that freedom of passage through the Suez Canal and an immediate cessation of hostilities were far from the minds of United Kingdom and French leaders when they decided to join their accomplice, Israel, in its onslaught against Egypt. The tragedy of the matter is that the United Kingdom and France determined to crush a country in which they have found an obstacle to their imperialist aims in the Middle East, in Asia and in Africa, a country which has bravely and gloriously refused to yield to the ignominious demands of colonial Powers. The United Kingdom, along with its French ally, has stabbed the victim of aggression. The responsibility of the United Kingdom and France in this ugly affair is all the greater in view of the special responsibilities placed upon them as members of the Security Council, the organ charged with the maintenance of peace and security in the world. Their responsibility is rendered even heavier by virtue of the fact that the Charter has made of them permanent members of that Council, members endowed with special powers and privileges to enable them to discharge their duties more effectively.

155. It is true that the United Kingdom and France continue to call their war of conquest a police action. It is indeed a curious police action where the so-called policeman has joined in stabbing the victim in the back rather than remaining in the police force, the Security Council, and joining in the pursuit and punishment of the criminal; it is indeed a curious police action by a policeman turned outlaw who has turned his back on the police force and joined in aggression.

156. The smaller nations of the world are alarmed. They have every reason to be alarmed. Their alarm is justified when they witness two powerful States—States in which they had put their trust—blast the foundations of the system which was so laboriously built at San Francisco “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind”. They are alarmed because two of the permanent members which have a special responsibility in maintaining peace and security have gone astray and have embarked upon a war of aggression.

157. The world will never forget the noble stand which the President, the delegation and the people of the United States have taken in the face of aggression. President Eisenhower, in proclaiming that the United States will hasten to aid the victim of aggression who-

ever he may be, was putting into practice his high principles about human conduct. For did we not hear him tell the graduating class at Baylor University on 25 May 1956 that the test of lofty sentiment is "the readiness of individuals to cleave to principle even at the cost of narrower, more immediate gains"?

158. The human race stands in admiration before the gallant fight which the forces of freedom have waged both in the Security Council and at this emergency special session of the General Assembly against the forces of aggression and conquest. These forces—and they come from Asia, Europe, Africa, Latin America and North America—have earned the gratitude of the human race for the promptness and vigour with which they have acted to put an end to death and destruction. The fact that their efforts in the Security Council were blocked by an abuse of a right and a privileged position on the part of the United Kingdom and France, the fact that these two States along with their Israel protégé have defiantly refused to comply with the provisions of the resolution adopted by the emergency special session of the General Assembly, does not mean that Israel-British-French lawlessness is on the rampage, that nothing can be done to stop the carnage, the destruction and all the horrors of war which the aggressors have brought upon the brave people of Egypt.

159. There is still a lot that the United Nations and the civilized world can and must do. British-French colonialists may have paralysed the Security Council; they have not yet completely destroyed the United Nations. They have certainly not changed the principles of the Charter, which stand defiantly as a beacon to guide our actions in the days to come. The Charter, to which we have all acceded, has mapped out the course which we are obliged to follow. It has provided ways and means of attaining our goal. It is our earnest hope that Members will avail themselves of these means to rush to the aid of the victim of aggression, to drive out the aggressors, to save the rule of law and the world order we took such pains to elaborate at San Francisco. Fellow members, it is our sincere hope that you will stand up and be counted among those who still believe in human dignity.

160. Although we fully appreciate the spirit which has prompted the United States delegation in attempting to find a permanent solution to the problems which have plagued the Middle East for a long time, we consider that this emergency special session is not the occasion at which permanent solutions of the Palestine problem and the Suez Canal can and should be discussed. The two United States draft resolutions presented this evening would more appropriately find their place at one of the regular sessions of the General Assembly. In any case, no delegation and no Government is prepared to hold a view one way or the other with regard to these draft resolutions before undertaking a long and detailed study, as they involve far-reaching political consequences. That is why I shall not pronounce myself this evening on those two draft resolutions.

161. Mr. QUIROGA GALDO (Bolivia) (*translated from Spanish*): The aggression perpetrated by France and the United Kingdom against Egypt is a *fait accompli*, which, since yesterday, has been aggravated by the frigid, haughty indifference with which the aggressors have received the General Assembly's commendation to cease fire and withdraw from the territory they have invaded. Hundreds of women and children have been the victims of the relentless air

bombings launched by two Christian, democratic Powers. The world emerged from the Second World War in the belief that it had eliminated for all time the possibility of any repetition of the premeditated acts of aggression which had led to the Polish and Ethiopian incidents; and now it finds itself confronted once again with an act of violence on the part of two Governments which have alienated themselves completely from public opinion in their countries precisely as a result of their senseless behaviour.

162. The time has come to shun the euphemisms which many speakers have used on this rostrum in referring to the aggression perpetrated by two Members of the United Nations with responsibility for the preservation of world peace. There is only one fitting description of this stupendous *grand guignol* performance of colonial diplomacy: deceit and retrogression. Why deceit? Because an attempt was made to convince us that Paris and London had no knowledge whatsoever of Israel's invasion of Egyptian territory, and this in spite of the fact that the land, sea and air expedition with which France and the United Kingdom expect to seize the Suez Canal again had been prepared weeks ago. Why retrogression? Simply because such acts take mankind back to the dark days of colonialist expansion by the European Powers. Nothing could be more distressing and painful than to find that the Nürnberg trials have not taught us a lesson. Today as yesterday, as on that yesterday of blood and desolation, a rain of fire is descending upon defenceless towns and villages in an attempt to restore the military and colonial order which, it was hoped, the sacrifice of millions of persons had banished from the face of the earth.

163. Let us then speak the truth bluntly. Let us face the painful facts squarely and not half-heartedly. In these darkening days there is only one way to save the peace. The civilized world must raise its voice in unison to inform the aggressors that the destruction of the United Nations is a price that mankind is not prepared to pay in order to keep Algeria for France and the Suez Canal for the United Kingdom.

164. Much has been said here concerning the causes of the aggression but not always as clearly as might have been expected. In fact, the views upheld by the aggressors cannot be reconciled with those expressed by the United Nations in the historic resolution it adopted on 2 November. For the rulers of the United Kingdom and France the blow struck against Egypt is a means of solving many problems which threaten the very stability of the political régimes now in power in those countries. At the same time, it is a desperate attempt to salvage what is left of the French and British colonial empires. Now that Morocco and Tunisia have been lost, they want to maintain the rule of one million Frenchmen over nine million Algerians, or natives, as they are contemptuously called. They want to maintain their hold on Africa south of the Sahara, where cracks have already been observed which may lead to further eruptions in the cause of freedom.

165. How many thousands or millions of soldiers, one might ask, will be needed to destroy Egypt's sovereignty when an army of 400,000 to 500,000 men, fully armed and equipped, has not been able to drown in blood the yearning for freedom of little, unarmed, Algeria. Let us be frank—is there any logic in the decision by the United Kingdom to invade Egypt when they had already been compelled, under the pressure of Egyptian guerrillas, to evacuate the Canal after over sixty years of temporary occupation, and when they had to trans-

form the little island of Cyprus into a prison and a graveyard in order to keep it?

166. Many a proposal may be made from this rostrum in an attempt to end the conflict, but none can possibly have any effect so long as the Governments of the aggressor States persist in the delusion that the problems of Algeria, French West Africa, Cyprus, the Suez Canal, etc., can be solved by the destruction of an ancient and sovereign nation. As long as these countries are still governed by the men who forced them into this bloodthirsty adventure, the United Nations has no choice but to mobilize world public opinion, particularly public opinion in France and the United Kingdom, in order to besiege and conquer the crumbling fortress of a spent colonialism.

167. Many enlightened men both in France and in the United Kingdom stand with us. Evidence of this is provided by the following quotation from Mr. Gaitskell, the head of the Labour Party in the United Kingdom. As I remember, it went something like this: "We wanted to free the Canal but have only succeeded in blocking it. We wanted to protect British lives and so far have not succeeded in saving a single one. We wanted to thwart an aggression and have perpetrated a far more serious aggression."

168. In order to help achieve our objective of stopping aggression, the delegation of Bolivia—a small, so-called under-developed country, better described perhaps as a country in the early stages of industrial development—will vote in favour of any draft resolution which expresses the views and purposes which are essential in this critical moment of history.

169. We must firmly maintain the position taken by the General Assembly when, on 2 November, it adopted by an overwhelming majority the admirable draft resolution submitted by the United States [A/3256] on the initiative of that great guardian of the peace, President Eisenhower. This General Assembly cannot retreat a single step; if it were to do so it would betray the faith placed in the United Nations by the peoples of the world, and we should have to resign ourselves to the sad fate of the League of Nations, buried by the grave-diggers of peace, law and justice.

170. Mr. EBAN (Israel): In the resolution adopted on 2 November 1956 the General Assembly urged, as a matter of priority, that all parties now involved in hostilities in the area agree to an immediate cease-fire. My Government has given priority consideration to this recommendation and it now empowers me to announce that Israel agrees to an immediate cease-fire provided a similar answer is forthcoming from Egypt. My Government has also requested me to make a general observation on other aspects of the situation which now confronts the General Assembly.

171. Egypt, by its repeated assertions over the years that a state of war exists between it and Israel, has distorted the motive and purpose of the General Armistice Agreement, which, as stated in the agreement itself five times, is the restoration of permanent peace. Egypt has used this agreement, conceived as a transition to permanent peace, as a cover for murderous attacks against the population of Israel and for a relentless siege of the country by land, sea and air. Week after week and month after month, specially trained units of the Egyptian army known as *fedayeen* have entered Israel territory for murder and sabotage. Egypt has organized and directed similar gangs in other Arab countries for action against Israel. Egypt has closed

the Gulf of Elath and the Suez Canal to Israel shipping. Egypt maintains a complete economic boycott against Israel, and by threat and intimidation presses commercial interests throughout the world to abstain from legitimate trade with Israel.

172. Moreover, in preparation for an all-out attempt to eliminate Israel by force, Egypt has concluded military alliances with Israel's neighbours. Egypt has contravened her solemn obligation under the United Nations Charter, under the Constantinople Convention of 1888, and under the Security Council's resolutions of 1 September 1951 [S/2322] and 13 October 1956 [S/3675] with reference to the Suez Canal. By this and other hostile acts, Egypt has undermined the peace and deprived the armistice agreement of all its functions. The armistice agreement has, under this policy, become a fiction to which Egypt still pays lip-service in so far as it thinks this may serve a destructive design. Thus, a return to the armistice agreement would be a return to a system which has served as a cover for the victimization, the boycott and the blockade of Israel and for a policy aimed at Israel's ultimate annihilation. Moreover, Egypt interprets that agreement in terms of belligerency.

173. Egypt having thus destroyed the armistice agreement, the Government of Israel suggests that paragraph 2 of the General Assembly resolution adopted on 2 November [997 (ES-I)] does not serve the basic purpose of the United Nations as expressed in its Charter, to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations amongst nations and to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems. Moreover, Egypt interprets the armistice as a state of war, and it cannot be the function of the General Assembly to promote or to foster a system of war.

174. Accordingly, the Government of Israel feels that the only answer to this situation is the establishment of peace between Israel and Egypt by direct negotiations between the two countries, and it notifies the General Assembly that it would welcome the immediate opening of negotiations to that end, for which it is prepared forthwith to send representatives for discussions with Egypt. Israel would also welcome similar negotiations with the Governments of other Arab States.

175. The crucial question with which, in the interests of all the world's peoples, the Egyptian Government must be confronted is: does it want peace or war? Israel appeals to the United Nations to lend its entire authority to the establishment of a freely negotiated peace between the Governments and peoples of the Middle East.

176. Mr. AZIZ (Afghanistan) (*translated from French*): I come to this rostrum tonight with a feeling of deep emotion and great perplexity. As representative of the peace-loving people and Government of Afghanistan I have difficulty in understanding the bloody and unjustifiable events now taking place in the Middle East. We know what horrors an invasion involves. We know that the modern Genghis Khans armed with the infernal engines of war and massacre can inflict irreparable damage on peaceful and hard-working peoples whose only desire is to have an honourable place in the world.

177. The other evening we met in these sacred premises to discuss the unjustifiable armed attack on Egypt by Israel, the United Kingdom and France. That this was an invasion is now so clear to the whole world that no one can doubt it any longer. Besides, the vote

of sixty-four members of this Assembly was irrefutable proof of the indignation and horror felt by the entire world.

178. The resolution we adopted [997 (ES-I)] called for the withdrawal of the invaders from Egyptian soil and for an immediate cease-fire. The victim—Egypt—promptly accepted it. The others refused, and are still refusing, to let go. The law of the jungle—I choose the term advisedly—and of colonialism has ushered in a new reign of terror. The civilized world must not, and indeed cannot, accept the rule of brute force. In a world in which international law is not respected and the principles of ethics and decency lose their practical value, surely no one can feel secure.

179. The countries which are devoted to peace, international law and the principles of the Charter are watching the events in the Middle East with anguish and dread. For who can fail to feel shaken when the world becomes a jungle? One thing is sure: no one can be made to do anything by force for any length of time. That is why, as representative of a peace-loving country which has always opposed injustice and invasions, I can only appeal to the conscience and ethics of this Assembly and urge it to do its utmost to put an end to the unprovoked massacres in Egypt and the Middle East. Today, Egypt is the victim. Who will be the victim tomorrow? The answer to that question will depend on the decisive action of this Assembly.

180. My delegation, with eighteen other delegations, has proposed a draft resolution [A/3275] the purpose of which is to fill a gap in the recommendation adopted two days ago. This new draft resolution gives the Secretary-General the power to arrange a cease-fire. That is why my delegation will vote for it, and we urge the Assembly to adopt it unanimously. Thousands of innocent lives can be saved by our action. Let us act quickly.

181. As regards the draft resolutions proposed by the United States delegation [A/3272, 3273], we are unable to take a position until we have consulted our Government. At this solemn moment, I wish to express the deep sympathy and the fraternal feelings of the Afghans for the Egyptians.

182. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): At its 562nd meeting, the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution designed to restore peace and tranquillity in the Near East. Since that time, however, the situation has not improved; on the contrary, it has deteriorated further. The Governments of France and the United Kingdom rejected the recommendations of the General Assembly, which offered the possibility of a settlement in the Near and Middle East. They declared that they would continue their military operations against the Egyptian people and State. The bombing of Egyptian territory continues. United Kingdom and French forces are preparing for a landing on Egyptian soil with a view to its occupation.

183. In carrying out this intervention, the United Kingdom and French Governments have not only refused to respect the will of our Organization but have openly defied it. In defying the General Assembly resolution, which has met with the complete approval of all the peoples of the world, including those of the United Kingdom and France, those Governments are hurling a challenge at the United Nations, at the fundamental principles of international law and at the conscience and honour of peoples. By wilfully ignoring the General Assembly resolution the Governments of the United

Kingdom and France are dealing a fatal blow at the prestige of the United Nations, and have confronted our Organization with a serious crisis. Their actions since the adoption of the General Assembly resolution have torn away the last shreds of the mask under which they were attempting to conceal their aggression against the Egyptian people.

184. It must now be clear to all that in their aggressive action against Egypt, France and the United Kingdom were not guided, as their representatives have contended here, by a desire to defend free navigation through the Suez Canal and to put an end to hostilities in the Near East and restore peace and tranquillity in the area. Before aggressive operations were begun by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt, complete freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal had been guaranteed, thanks to the efforts of the Egyptian Government. Despite all efforts at sabotage on the part of British-French elements, the Canal was working without interruption. Now, as a result of the barbarous bombing raids carried out by the United Kingdom and French air forces, the Suez Canal has been put out of action for a considerable time.

185. The people of Europe and Asia, whose economies depend to an appreciable extent on the normal functioning of the Canal, will have to pay a heavy price for this sort of protection of freedom of navigation. Indeed, the effects of the interruption in the regular operation of the Canal are already being felt by the people of the United Kingdom, where it is reported that gasoline rationing is being introduced and other restrictions are being prepared.

186. As for the statements that have been made that the action undertaken by the United Kingdom and French Governments is designed to restore peace and tranquillity in the Near and Middle East, they are sheer hypocrisy, as the events now taking place in that area clearly reveal. The United Kingdom and French air forces are carrying out constant raids on Egyptian communications, ports, town and villages, destroying the fruits of the toil and sweat of the Egyptian people and sowing death among the peaceful inhabitants, among women and children.

187. The flames of war kindled by the aggression carried out against Egypt by France, the United Kingdom and Israel are threatening to engulf the entire Near East and are jeopardizing international peace and security. In the aggressive action undertaken against Egypt by the United Kingdom, France and Israel the other peoples of the Near and Middle East rightly see a threat to their own independence and existence as free nations. Syria, acting in accordance with its treaty of mutual defence against aggression concluded with Egypt, has placed its forces under united Syrian-Egyptian command. A state of emergency has been declared in Lebanon. A general mobilization has been proclaimed and martial law introduced in Iraq.

188. The accomplice of the United Kingdom and France in their aggression against Egypt—the Israel Government—is plotting acts of provocation against the neighbouring Arab States, as the American Press makes abundantly clear. A real danger has arisen that other countries of the Near and Middle East will be drawn into the conflict. The entire responsibility for this dangerous situation lies with the United Kingdom and French Governments, which have refused to accept the measures designed to bring about a settlement of the

situation that were recommended by resolution of this emergency special session of the General Assembly.

189. The Governments of the United Kingdom and France are attempting, by their aggression against the Egyptian people, to crush the Egyptian Republic, to seize part of its territory, and to reimpose the colonial yoke upon Egypt and the other peoples of the Near and Middle East. They are attempting by force of arms to restore their colonial domination in this part of the world. This policy of colonialist banditry is designed to crush the determination of the peoples of the East to achieve freedom and national independence.

190. The majority of the Members of the United Nations—sixty-four Members—have condemned the aggressive action undertaken by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt and have called for an immediate cease-fire and for a halt to the movement of military forces and arms into the area. The refusal of the United Kingdom and France to comply with this request of the General Assembly shows that they have not abandoned their plans for the destruction of the independent Egyptian State.

191. The General Assembly cannot permit the use of armed force against the Egyptian people. The Egyptian Government, though the victim of aggression, has accepted the General Assembly's recommendations and declared its willingness to carry them out. The fact that military operations in the area have not been halted is due solely to the refusal of the United Kingdom and France to heed the views of the sixty-four countries which voted in favour of the General Assembly resolution. In their replies [A/3268, 3269] to the General Assembly's decision for an immediate cease-fire, the United Kingdom and France have laid down a new ultimatum, the terms of which go even further than those of their original ultimatum to Egypt of 30 October. In substance, the United Kingdom and France are asking the United Nations itself to become an accomplice in their aggression against the Egyptian people. That, the saying goes, is the limit.

192. When the General Assembly adopted its resolution, many delegations commented on its inadequacy and weakness. In view of the necessity for immediate action to extinguish the flames of war, however, sixty-four delegations, including the delegation of the USSR, voted for the draft resolution. The General Assembly adopted this inadequate resolution, one which failed to give any true assessment of the aggressive action undertaken by the United Kingdom and France, and spared the prestige of the Governments of those countries in the expectation that they would comply with the demand of the peoples of the world to end their hostilities against Egypt. That adds still further to the weight of responsibility the Governments of the United Kingdom and France have taken upon themselves by rejecting the recommendation of the General Assembly and continuing to flout the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

193. The United States representative has presented two draft resolutions at this meeting [A/3272, 3273]. While I do not wish to go into the substance of these resolutions at the present stage of the debate, I should like to point out that an attempt is being made to smother the main issue, the question of halting aggression, in futile debate on the general Palestine question and the problem of navigation in the Suez Canal. We are convened today to consider the fact that three States—the United Kingdom, France and Israel—having launched an aggressive attack against Egypt, have re-

fused to comply with the General Assembly resolution of 2 November designed to end the aggression. This is the question which calls for discussion and for an immediate decision. The general Palestine question can be considered in the course of the coming eleventh session. In this respect we agree with the points put forward by the Philippine representative.

194. At a time when a challenge has been hurled at the United Nations by the Governments of the United Kingdom and France, the General Assembly cannot rest content with the decision it has adopted, which the aggressors have failed to respect, and it has no right to sit idly by and watch the United Kingdom, France, and Israel deal with their victim. No one with any concern for the future of the United Nations can permit such a course, which would be incompatible with the conscience of the peoples and with the prestige and honour of our Organization. The peoples of the entire world are looking with hope to the United Nations, and counting on it to take firm measures to check the aggressors. We cannot disregard this desire of the peoples of the world.

195. The Soviet Union delegation calls upon the General Assembly, firstly, to condemn the armed attack carried out upon Egypt by the United Kingdom, France and Israel as an act of aggression incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations; and secondly, to call upon the United Kingdom, France and Israel again to cease hostilities immediately and withdraw their armed forces from Egyptian territory and Egyptian territorial waters. The General Assembly should also consider other ways and means of helping to halt this aggression and prevent the crushing of Egypt.

196. As a result of the aggressive action undertaken by the United Kingdom and France the United Nations is undergoing a serious crisis. The Soviet delegation expresses its confidence that the United Nations will find the strength within itself to overcome this crisis and to restore peace and tranquillity in the Near and Middle East.

197. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Before calling on the next speaker I take the liberty of making an appeal to those representatives who have asked to take part in the discussion. I am convinced that I express the general feeling of the Assembly when I emphasize the responsibility which devolves upon all of us at the present grave moment, and when I point out the urgency of transforming the deliberations of this Assembly into positive and rapid action. For these reasons I should like to ask the representatives to be as brief as possible in their statements. I do not wish to suggest any time limit; that I leave to the discretion of the speakers.

198. I apologize to the representative of Costa Rica, who is the next speaker, for having been obliged to make a statement at this time; I would not have been able to do so once the list of speakers had been exhausted.

199. Mr. CAÑAS (Costa Rica) (*translated from Spanish*): At the memorable meeting which this Assembly held two nights ago [562nd meeting] my country voted in favour of the resolution that was adopted, despite the fact that we felt there was an important omission, in that there was no reference whatsoever to a circumstance which ought to have been borne in mind at that time and which my delegation did have in mind, although we did not wish to raise the issue here; we voted for the resolution in spite of its failure

to mention that the country attacked had for many years represented a threat to the territorial integrity of Israel. We did not express our opinion with regard to the omission at the time because we felt, as did all other representatives assembled here, that on that night events were moving so fast that our speeches could not keep pace with them. Nevertheless, my delegation feels it ought to state that fact for the record. In undertaking the military operations which are our principal concern and the cause for our meeting, Israel violated the terms of an armistice, but it did not commit aggression. The initial aggression occurred eight years ago, and peace has still not been established.

200. It is quite possible that the United Nations bears some responsibility for the fact that peace has not yet been achieved. The State of Israel is a creature of this Organization, but for eight years the United Nations has been powerless to guarantee its right to live in peace. Despite all this, it was the duty of the United Nations to go to Egypt's aid when blood began to flow on Egyptian territory. The United Nations did go to Egypt's aid; the delegation of Costa Rica voted in favour of the decision to do so and it stands by that vote.

201. The resolution adopted on 2 November called for a cease-fire, and the Assembly now has before it draft resolutions which reaffirm the provisions of that resolution. A cease-fire, however, is not sufficient. We must strive for something more permanent, something higher. Our duty does not consist only in securing compliance with an armistice. At our 561st meeting the representative of China said that what was needed was peace, not merely an armistice. The situation calls for neither a cease-fire nor an armistice, but for peace. In fact, the situation that has existed in the Middle East during the past eight years is one that, more than any other and more rightfully so, may be called a cold war, a state of war, not actually characterized by daily battles and constant clashes, but nevertheless in law a state of war. We must put an end to that state of war.

202. We therefore view the first draft resolution proposed by the United States delegation [A/3272] with great sympathy because it is a proposal aimed at securing peace and going beyond a cease-fire and an armistice. It calls for peace. My delegation offers, as did the delegation of Uruguay a few minutes ago, its assistance in whatever move may be considered desirable to attain that objective of peace.

203. The Assembly should also, however, deal with the immediate problem of a cease-fire. For this purpose it is appropriate, desirable, and even necessary, that we should adopt the Canadian draft resolution [A/3276]. That draft and the first United States draft resolution complement each other and form an organic whole. They lay the foundations upon which the United Nations may build the structure of peace in the Middle East, so necessary to the Middle East and to the world.

204. We also have before us a second draft resolution proposed by the United States [A/3273]. My delegation sympathizes with the points of view expressed in it but wonders whether this is the proper time for such a draft resolution. The present session of the General Assembly was not convened for the purpose of dealing with the Suez question. The representatives of the United Kingdom and France have stated from this rostrum that the immediate cause of the action of their countries was Israel's action, and not the Suez situation. This Assembly was convened for the purpose of

dealing with the specific question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, and not any other questions which, although relating to the same region, lie somewhat outside the terms of reference of this emergency special session.

205. I believe that, owing to the speed with which events are moving in the Middle East, we ought to give priority to draft resolutions dealing with the present emergency. The nineteen-Power draft resolution [A/3275] and the Canadian draft resolution are concerned with that emergency. I repeat, however, that the emergency should not cause us to forget the overriding interests of peace. It is of the highest importance that the United Nations should urgently guarantee—for the situation demands urgency—the territorial integrity, tranquillity and labour of the State which is the child of the United Nations, so that it may progress and work in peace. Israel needs peace, and we must give Israel peace. Because we have not been able to give it peace, Israel, as we have seen, resorted to acts of desperation. While condemning those acts, we should yet show that we understand them. We are therefore faced with a twofold situation. We must deal with the present emergency for which this meeting was called, but we also have the higher duty, the fulfilment of which we have delayed for eight years, to guarantee peace in the Middle East.

206. Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): According to the resolution adopted by the General Assembly in the early hours of 2 November, the Assembly should remain in emergency session pending compliance with that resolution. Today, therefore, we are met to discuss that subject—that is, whether or not there has been compliance with the resolution and, if not, how we can secure that compliance. It is not for us today to pass a verdict on the actions of the United Kingdom, France or Israel. That verdict has already been passed. The question before us is how we can get the United Kingdom, France and Israel to comply with the resolution that has already been adopted.

207. I am grateful that the representative of that great Government of Israel has come before this Assembly and stated that Israel is prepared to accept the cease-fire called for in the resolution. He did not, however, tell us that Israel was prepared to carry out the second part of the same resolution, which urges the parties to the armistice agreements: "promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements".

208. Therefore, the statement made by the representative of Israel only gives us an assurance of partial compliance with the resolution, while the representatives of the United Kingdom and France positively refuse, except on conditions. The position taken up by them is that of a person who enters property that does not belong to him and then refuses to leave until certain conditions are complied with. I cannot understand the legal or the moral basis for that position.

209. It is therefore a matter for regret that conditions are laid down, in spite of the moral judgement of the majority of the world, of sixty-four nations. The question before us is not whether it was justifiable invasion of the territory, whether it was police action or defensive action for the preservation of their own interests, because the verdict has been passed on that. The resolution states "armed forces of France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland are

conducting military operations against Egyptian territory". Those words "against Egyptian territory" are plain enough. That is what this Assembly accepted. If the objectives of the United Kingdom and France are against Egyptian territory, then the question of justification does not arise.

210. The only question, therefore, now before us, in view of the rejection, or, at least, in view of the conditions that are imposed on this Assembly for acceptance by the United Kingdom and France, is to decide what this august body should do in these circumstances. In other words, the attitude of the United Kingdom in that matter only forces us to the conclusion that their objective is the settlement of the Suez Canal problem. Their scheme was unacceptable to Egypt, and so many other nations were not prepared to go along with them. We are forced to the conclusion that this invasion of Egyptian territory was due to disappointment and frustration. I am not prepared to say categorically that it was meant for that purpose, but whatever the purpose may be, it is an invasion of Egyptian territory which, by the resolution we adopted, we are certainly not prepared to condone. France has taken up the same attitude; Israel is prepared for a partial compliance, and the United Kingdom and France are not prepared for even a partial compliance unless certain conditions are satisfied.

211. In those circumstances, we must now examine whether there are some ways and means by which compliance with this resolution can be secured from the United Kingdom, France and Israel. I think the draft resolutions before us give us some help in arriving at a conclusion about what we should do in these circumstances. We are truly grateful to the representative of the United States for his laudable objective in trying to secure an over-all settlement of the problem, but we do not normally think of the disposition of property when a patient is dying, is gasping for breath. Egypt is a patient gasping for breath, and we cannot ask Egypt to sign its last will before we are satisfied that Egypt is in a sound condition and able to take a reasonable course of action.

212. In the position in which Egypt is placed today, I say that our first duty is to see that Egypt is in a condition to exercise its sovereign rights. When that position has been created, then it will be time to consider how best the Suez Canal dispute should be decided and how best the Israel-Arab dispute should be disposed of. I freely grant that a solution may be found. This cannot go on for long, but at the same time the present moment certainly is not the occasion for the consideration of that problem. The problem before us is simply how we can secure a cease-fire, how we can secure a cessation of hostilities, and how we can put Egypt into a *status quo ante*. That is exactly the position in which we are placed.

213. The draft resolution introduced by the representative of India [A/3275], which Ceylon and other countries of the Asian group had the privilege and honour of co-sponsoring, gives the Secretary-General at least some time—it may be twelve hours, it may be eighteen hours, just as the Secretary-General would require—to see if something more can be achieved during that period to bring these nations to reason, at least reason as it is accepted by the rest of the world. Sometimes when people embark upon a course of action, they find it difficult to retreat, and obstinacy sometimes becomes a virtue. In the present circumstances, I think that these three nations should be guided by the weight

of world public opinion and by the moral judgement passed by this august body only the other day. The Secretary-General, who is well known for his tact, impartiality, ability and experience in handling this kind of intricate problem will perhaps find time, a little breathing space, to see whether other methods are possible.

214. I hope that this Assembly will find no difficulty in accepting the draft resolution sponsored by the nineteen countries. It merely requests the Secretary-General, with the assistance of the Chief of Staff and members of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, to obtain compliance with the request for the withdrawal of all forces behind the armistice lines. In other words, this Assembly would decide to give them a second chance to reconsider the position they have taken in the light of the discussions that are taking place this evening.

215. I see no difficulty in accepting at the same time the draft resolution submitted by the representative of Canada [A/3276]. One does not conflict with the other. Far from conflicting, this resolution would help the first resolution. The carrying out of the objectives of the draft resolution introduced by the Asian countries would be greatly helped by the draft resolution introduced by the representative of Canada. Therefore, I see no reason why this august Assembly should not also accept that draft resolution; in that case, there would be the machinery by which the three nations that have so far not complied with the resolution of 2 November could be compelled to comply with it. In other words, we would be creating machinery to produce the result which we are aiming at.

216. There is one remark I should like to make: I hope that this commission, this police force—I do not know how to describe it—will not include representatives from Israel or the United Kingdom or France. That goes without saying. Provided this task is undertaken by States which are not parties to the dispute, to this unfortunate situation, then I think that this august Assembly should also be able to accept the draft resolution introduced by the representative of Canada.

217. With regard to the draft resolutions introduced by the representative of the United States, for whom we have the greatest respect and regard, I think that they can wait for another day. We should first settle the point before us. We must bring peace and harmony and see that Egypt is again in a position to exercise its sovereign rights before we proceed to the next step.

218. I foresee no difficulty in achieving this objective. Israel has made an open declaration that it is prepared to observe a cease-fire. What further reason is there for the United Kingdom and France to intervene? They intervened because of hostilities on the part of Israel and Israel's intention to pounce on Egyptian territory. Israel now gives an undertaking that it will observe a cease-fire. What then is the answer of the United Kingdom and France now? If there are going to be hostilities, they must come from Israel; but Israel freely grants that it is prepared not to engage in hostilities. I ask therefore again: what then is the difficulty which prevents the United Kingdom and France from saying, "We shall declare a cease-fire"? Those are matters that I commend to you.

219. I have no doubt that the efforts of the Secretary-General will bring fruitful results, and the implementation of the draft resolution submitted by the Canadian representative will make it possible for us to see that the resolution of 2 November is complied with.

220. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): My delegation has seen the two draft resolutions submitted by the United States delegation at this meeting. In my delegation's view, this emergency meeting was not meant to be held to discuss the settlement of the two problems contemplated in these two draft resolutions. Our meeting should deal only with the state of emergency that was created as a result of the failure of France, the United Kingdom and Israel to comply with the General Assembly resolution of 2 November. These two draft resolutions involve a complete change of policy in respect to the Palestine question and the Suez Canal. The present emergency meeting of the General Assembly is not the place for such a new debate. In any event, my delegation must refer these two draft resolutions to my Government for consideration.

221. It was extremely dismaying to see the United Kingdom, French and Israel Governments refuse to comply with the resolution of the General Assembly. A short while ago, we heard the Israel representative declare on behalf of his Government that Israel agrees to a cease-fire provided Egypt agrees to it also. This declaration is incomplete because the General Assembly resolution of 2 November also calls for the withdrawal of armed forces behind the armistice line. Does his Government agree to that?

222. In view of this defiance and because of the universal ruling which demands an immediate cease-fire, the United Nations should not yield to the French-Israel-British challenge to its verdict. The United Nations was not established to encourage aggression, but to serve peace. More serious and dangerous for international relations and human doctrines is to subject peace to the desires of aggression, to suppress right and justice by the rule of force. If the United Nations is going to tolerate the principle of the superiority of aggression, then humanity should change the standards of life altogether. If the United Kingdom and France are given the opportunity to succeed in their policy of war, then peace and right will lose their merit in every case.

223. The immediate task of this emergency special session is to find means by which the General Assembly could honour its decision and by which we could go immediately to the aid of the victim if the aggressors continued their military operations against Egypt.

224. Egypt is suffering under the fire of merciless torture of a three-Power alliance. No human conscience would ever admit what is taking place there. What is equally horrible is the catastrophe which struck the 300,000 Arabs in the Gaza Strip by the march of Israel troops into the area. Are these people going to be condemned to death and destruction because there will be no room for them in Israel? Or are they going to be thrown out of the border areas as destitute refugees? Where can they go, and how? Is the United Nations going to add their number to their brethren, the 900,000 refugees who subsist on United Nations relief? And how and when?

225. After all, the Gaza Strip was the partial payment to Israel for its employment as a tool of aggression. In this respect, I wish to read to you a piece of news to show that the French forces have taken an active part in the Israel aggression. It is from today's issue of the New York *Daily Mirror*, and it reads as follows: "Mrs. Lorraine Suddath, formerly of 43-22 194th Street, Flushing, Queens, debarked from a plane at Idlewild and told of seeing battle-garbed French troops at Lydda Airport in Israel, on Sunday."

226. There is, I am afraid, a second payment which Israel wishes to demand. I shall read to you what the Israel Prime Minister, Mr. David Ben-Gurion, said to the Israel Parliament on 15 October of last month about this particular Israel aim. He said:

"I do not know whence came this doubtful initiative for a so-called peace settlement. Egypt still is occupying the Gaza Strip, which does not belong to it. Without any right, the Hashemite Jordan Government occupied extensive parts of Western Palestine."

There are now reports that the zero hour is approaching for an Israel attack on Jordan territory.

227. We in Jordan are aware of these Israel aggressive expansionist plans. But our homeland will not be easily usurped. We are there, and in every spot of the Arab countries, standing ready and firm. The battle of Egypt has not ended yet, and the battle of the Arabs has not yet begun. Egypt, throughout history, has repelled every invasion against its soil, and destroyed armies and empires and survived victorious. Palestine, throughout the foreign conquests and invasions that came upon it, invariably emerged as an Arab land. We shall defend our homeland to the last drop in our veins. This inspiration gives us the power not to yield to the logic of force, no matter how great the disaster and no matter how massive and cruel the aggression of Israel, France and the United Kingdom.

228. The only reason for the calling of this emergency special session was to take all measures possible under the "Uniting for peace" resolution to effect a cease-fire, in view of the failure of the Security Council to do so. A cease-fire resolution cannot be construed as a "recommendation" like any other resolution of the General Assembly which might be taken on any other matter because it is a resolution taken to meet an immediate need. There is a breach of the peace and an act of aggression that must stop immediately. It accepts no bargain. If the General Assembly scores another failure after that of the Security Council in arresting the aggression against Egypt immediately, then the fate of the United Nations Charter will be sealed.

229. My delegation feels that the draft resolution sponsored by nineteen Members, among which Jordan is numbered, and submitted to the consideration of the General Assembly, is the appropriate draft resolution for the present situation. We urge the Assembly to give it full support.

230. Mr. SUDJARWO (Indonesia): When at this emergency special session, two nights ago, we adopted in a dramatic manner and almost unanimously a resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire and for the withdrawal of the attacking forces of the United Kingdom, France and Israel from Egyptian soil, as the first immediate step for restoring peace in the Middle East, the world as a whole expected immediate compliance with the provisions of that resolution by the parties concerned. The resolution clearly stood as a moral condemnation of the acts of brutal aggression committed by three Member States against a fellow Member State of our Organization. It was felt here that it would, indeed, be intolerable to allow these acts of aggression to continue unchecked.

231. However, it is sad to note that the Governments of the United Kingdom, France and Israel have seen fit only to ignore that resolution, which has been endorsed by practically all the peoples of the world; to ignore a resolution based on the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, which they have

chosen to violate. They have continued their military aggression against Egypt, bringing about more destruction, more death, more hatred, more war—and all this, cynically in the name of peace. If this is the way they understand the making of peace—peace by armed aggression—then their conception of peace is obviously quite different from that envisaged in the United Nations Charter. This is tragic. What is more, by ignoring the resolution they have challenged the world moral force, which challenge, believe me, will do them no good, now or in the future. They can carry out such a policy because they have the armed might for it. They can now continue to maim and to kill, they can now continue to destroy because they possess the weapons for such acts. But I would remind them that they thus also continue to invite hatred and condemnation against what they dare commit, and this again will do them no good, now or in the future. They may be able to kill and to destroy material things, as they are doing now, but they never can kill and destroy the moral forces which have accumulated against them by these very acts of aggression and which led to the adoption of the resolution by this Assembly two nights ago.

232. They call their action a police action. My country and people, not long ago, knew only too well what this kind of "police action" really means. Some people in London and elsewhere have a strange conception of police indeed. Ironically, the London policeman himself—I mean, of course, the real policeman in London for whom I, who have lived in London, have the greatest regard, who carries out his duties unarmed and in the most gracious manner—will, I believe, be among the first to protest against the London Government's conception of police action. You cannot claim to be a policeman—recalling what the representative of the United Kingdom said the other night [*561st meeting*]*—with the duty to restore peace and separate the intruder in a home from the owner of the home by killing off the owner of that home. If you do, then you are either a bad—and indeed a very bad—policeman or this self-appointed policeman belongs in reality to the group of intruders. No, let us talk plain words. The present military action against Egypt is aggression, pure and simple. It has nothing to do with motives of peace. It is the selfish, narrow material interests of the United Kingdom and France, as was lucidly pointed out by the representative of Ecuador the other night [562nd meeting], which they attempt to impose by force, by their bombers and tanks, by guns and against the law, against the Security Council resolution of 13 October 1956 on the Suez Canal [S/3675] and now against the resolution of this General Assembly—and indeed against the decent conception of peace.*

233. We are willing to recognize interests—the legitimate interests of all the parties. But no one, merely because he happens to possess the means for destruction, the means for killing the other party, can be allowed to take the law into his own hands. This is in essence, as I see it, the real issue—you may call it the moral issue—at this grave moment. That is the reason why this Assembly should uphold strongly the resolution it has overwhelmingly adopted, and why it should not tolerate it to be challenged and ignored in such a brutal manner. If we allow naked force employed in cold blood by two permanent members of the Security Council, in collaboration with a third Member of our world Organization, to destroy the resolution, then I believe that this Assembly, and indeed the United Nations, stands at a moment of great crisis.

234. We should take strong measures and employ all possible means at our disposal to give effect to this resolution. By the very nature of this emergency session, called under the "Uniting for peace" resolution, the "recommendations", as our resolution may be called, are endowed with a special character. This emergency special session has the competence and the powers comparable to those of the Security Council, which in fact it replaces under the special circumstances which prevail on this question; indeed the question was referred to us by the Security Council. Therefore, we can take effective measures, apply sanctions—economic sanctions and other kinds of sanctions if necessary—even go to the extent of dispatching forces to the troubled area with a view to securing the implementation of our resolution.

235. First of all, we must persist in our endeavours to check the aggression, to stop war and to restore peace in Egypt now, in a manner consistent with the sovereignty, integrity and dignity of the independent Egyptian State. Egypt has the right to demand this much from this Assembly, as a Member of our Organization. The prestige of the United Nations, the viability of our Organization has been shaken in its very foundations. We should secure the effective adherence of Member States to our resolution, and if necessary forcefully, in order to check aggression and restore peace and stability in the Middle East.

236. That is why my delegation, together with eighteen other delegations, has submitted the joint draft resolution which has been introduced by the representatives of the Philippines, India and others [*A/3275*]. This nineteen-Power draft resolution should therefore be adopted if we honestly meant to arrest the aggression when we adopted the resolution on 2 November.

237. My delegation was rather surprised to see the two draft resolutions submitted by the United States delegation [*A/3272, 3273*]. I fully share the view of the representative of the Philippines that these two draft resolutions do not meet exactly the immediate need of the present situation with which we are confronted, namely the non-compliance of the attacking parties with the resolution adopted two nights ago. These two United States draft resolutions, while dealing with two important issues which have a bearing on the present aggressive actions of the three Powers, in fact circumvent the issue for which we have gathered in this special meeting again tonight. The fact that the two United States draft resolutions, regardless of their own merits, do not even mention non-compliance and do not even express regret at the serious contempt of the General Assembly resolution is to me rather extraordinary. My delegation is therefore grateful to the representative of the United States that he will now not press his two draft resolutions to the vote at this meeting. My delegation believes that as long as the aggression is not checked, the war is not ended and the hostile forces are not withdrawn from the territory of Egypt, no favourable conditions for solutions of future problems in that area can be created.

238. As regards the draft resolution submitted by the representative of Canada [*A/3276*] I must say that it is an interesting proposal which may have its practical merits in conjunction with the nineteen-Power draft resolution, that is to say, to enforce the implementation not only of the cease-fire but also of the immediate withdrawal of the foreign forces. The Canadian draft resolution is not quite clear on this point. Pending further clarification, including the meaning of the

phrase "with the consent of the nations concerned" in setting up the plan as envisaged by the draft resolution, my delegation reserves the right to take a final stand upon it.

239. Mr. DE LA COLINA (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): The draft resolutions proposed by the United States representative are being studied by my delegation with the greatest care and interest, but I cannot give a final opinion until I receive instructions from my Government. Personally, I think that these drafts embody constructive features which might in the future contribute to the solution of the complex problems to which they refer. On the other hand, certain objections which have been raised on grounds of procedure seem at first glance to be well founded.

240. I fully agree with those representatives who think that a cease-fire and a withdrawal from Egyptian territory of the land, sea and air forces which have invaded it are matters of the utmost urgency. I think that the appeal made by the General Assembly to the Powers responsible for the actions censured by this august body will in practice have to be backed up by the dispatch of an international force under the United Nations flag, capable of physically separating the combatants in the Near East and composed of troops from countries acceptable to all the countries involved in the conflict. For that reason, such a force could not, in my opinion, consist of French and British units, as is suggested in sub-paragraph (c) of paragraph 2 of the United Kingdom letter [A/3269], at least not in so far as the Egyptian frontier is concerned.

241. The Canadian draft resolution proposed by that country's Secretary of State for External Affairs is, on the other hand, in keeping with the views of my delegation and with the extreme urgency of the situation in the Near East. We welcome it.

242. With regard to the draft resolution proposed by the representatives of nineteen Asian and African nations, which really amounts to a reaffirmation of the recommendations adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November, my delegation will vote for it.

243. The statements made by the Governments of Egypt and Israel, to which we have listened with deep feeling tonight, arouse in us a faint hope that we are perhaps not so far from conciliatory solution as we at first feared. In the meantime I take the liberty of repeating what I said at our previous meeting: "It is the inescapable duty of the United Nations to give effect to the first of the purposes set forth in the Charter, to maintain international peace and security." [562nd meeting, para. 317.]

244. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): The United Nations came into existence as an international authority in consequence of the events of the Second World War; its fundamental purpose, as has been repeated so often in this forum, is the maintenance of international peace and security. On two important occasions the United Nations has been confronted with difficult situations created by the violation of the principles set forth in the Charter: I refer to the Korean war and to the situation which constitutes the reason for this emergency session.

245. We are confronted with a situation created by three Member States, two of which are, what is more, permanent members of the Security Council and as such under a special duty to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security, since they enjoy certain privileges not enjoyed by the other Members of the United Nations.

246. It grieves us to have to recognize that, in addition to Israel, which might admittedly be said to have certain more or less justifiable or plausible reasons for making war on the Arab countries, two permanent members of the Security Council, two great Powers which have enjoyed the reputation of being representative of Western civilization, France and the United Kingdom, have joined in this military action. We listened carefully and, at the same time, with surprise, to what the representatives of the United Kingdom and France said in the Security Council and at this special session of the Assembly in order to justify, juridically rather than politically, the action which their countries have taken simultaneously with Israel. We cannot but state that we were greatly surprised that those Powers should try to justify, in the way they have done, their attack on a small country like Egypt, which is to a certain extent defenceless against aggression committed on such a scale and launched in a manner that is patently unjustified.

247. Though our legal training, like that of all Latin American countries, draws inspiration from Roman law and Roman sources, its fundamental sources are French, the enlightened jurisprudence of France, and we fail totally to understand how these civilized and cultured countries can hope to convince the world that what they are doing is something justifiable internationally under international law.

248. Two night ago this special session of the Assembly, in view of the Security Council's impotence as a result of the veto, adopted a resolution [997 (ES-I)], calling upon the three aggressor Powers, namely, Israel, France and the United Kingdom, to suspend hostilities, to withdraw their forces and to end this wrongful contest in Egypt. As we all know, the General Assembly's exhortation was not heeded but, on the contrary, defied. In other words, these three Member States of the United Nations continue to defy world public opinion, not only public opinion in the neutral countries but also public opinion in the countries actually involved in the situation. Repeated references have been heard here to the tone of the speeches made, for example, in Parliament in London. We all know how the United Kingdom action has been received and we all know the repercussion that its action has caused in the United States and in the world at large. Yet the military action, the attack, is continuing.

249. Tonight two draft resolutions have been presented to the Assembly by the United States [A/3272, 3273]; I do not think it necessary to refer to them, because the United States delegation itself has stated that it will not press for consideration of them now. In fact, from the point of view of my delegation, these drafts are irrelevant at this juncture. They are interesting and of potential usefulness; they may be used in the future for the purpose of solving the Palestine problem in general and the Suez Canal problem in particular, but, I repeat, they are irrelevant to the solution of the urgent problem for which this special session of the Assembly was convened.

250. Consequently I wish to refer only to the two drafts which, in our opinion, are relevant at this moment, at this time of the night, when the tragedy on the battlefield is continuing and the Assembly must take some form of action that may succeed. There are two draft resolutions which ought to be discussed and, if possible, adopted immediately: the nineteen-Power draft [A/3275] and the Canadian draft [A/3276]. These two draft resolutions are of primary importance

and should receive the immediate and exclusive attention of this meeting.

251. Some very brilliant speeches have been made this evening; but, if my colleagues will allow me, we would say that this is not the time for very long speeches, but for action, for adopting resolutions which can lead to some result. For this reason, my delegation takes the liberty of proposing that we should vote on these two draft resolutions without delay. My delegation does not consider them to be contradictory; on the contrary, it finds that they are complementary and that both can be adopted.

252. One delegation—I do not know whether I am mistaken in thinking that it was the United States delegation—proposed that the Canadian draft resolution should be voted on first. We would agree to that procedure, but on the condition that the other proposal should be voted on afterwards. In fact, we should prefer the nineteen-Power draft resolution to be voted on first. We find more useful elements which would contribute towards an immediate settlement of the problem in the nineteen-Power draft resolution than in the Canadian text. Accordingly, we would propose that the Assembly should vote first on the nineteen-Power draft and then on the Canadian draft.

253. In the Canadian draft resolution, we find a phrase which causes us great concern, namely, “with the consent of the nations governed”. Perhaps it is due to our own legal training that we fail to understand how the States which have placed themselves beyond the pale of international law, which have violated the United Nations Charter, which are offending against the principles adopted at San Francisco, can be consulted and asked for their consent to an international police action by the United Nations.

254. We have often heard, in this Assembly and in the Security Council, the argument of some delegations—I am thinking of the French and United Kingdom delegations—that they are carrying out an international police action. It has already been said here that this is simply ironical. It is inadmissible that one or two States should claim the right to carry out an international police action when the only organ which can do this is precisely the Security Council or, if it fails to act, the General Assembly itself by virtue of the “Uniting for peace” resolution.

255. I therefore think that it is not acceptable in law, that for the purpose of the establishment of a body or force which is to carry out a police action, one should consult the parties against which this action is to be carried out. The only country which might be consulted, precisely because its territory is the scene of the warlike acts, is Egypt; but we fail to see how Israel, which has invaded Egyptian territory, and France and the United Kingdom which are co-operating in the attack, can be consulted in this matter.

256. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Australian representative has the floor on a point of order.

257. Mr. WALKER (Australia): On a point of order, I desire to inform the Assembly of the action that I am taking, arising from very important reports that have just come into my hands. I wish to read the following bulletin from Reuters, datelined Vienna, 4 November:

“Premier Imre Nagy of Hungary declared over Budapest Radio today that the Russian Army was

attacking the Hungarian capital and the Hungarians were fighting back.

“Nagy, speaking in English, announced: ‘This is Imre Nagy speaking. In the early hours of this morning, Soviet troops started to attack the Hungarian capital with the apparent purpose of overthrowing the democratic Government of the Hungarian People’s Republic.’

“‘Our troops are in battle with Soviet forces,’ he continued. ‘The Hungarian army is in position. This is my message to the Hungarian people and the whole world.’”

258. The Security Council adjourned this afternoon with the intention of meeting again on Monday morning. Before the adjournment it was made clear from my questions and the statements of the President of the Council that the Council could be called at any time. In view of this news, I am now asking the President of the Security Council to invite the members of the Council to meet with him within half an hour in his office for a consultation regarding the next steps—and the immediate steps, I trust—to be taken by the Security Council.

259. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Chair takes note of the statement made by the representative of Australia.

260. Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON (Thailand): The delegation of Thailand cordially supported the draft resolution submitted by the United States in document A/3256, which was adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November, because we consider it appropriate to the requirements of the present situation.

261. Thailand is a firm supporter of the United Nations, for it sees in this world Organization the only hope for peace and the best guarantee for the territorial integrity and independence of free nations. The United Nations must not in any way be frustrated in its task of maintaining international peace and security. Hence the “Uniting for peace” resolution, which now finds its appropriate application in the present case. My delegation whole-heartedly supported the convening of this emergency special session of the General Assembly.

262. Because this is an emergency special session, however, it cannot be expected to settle the deep-rooted conflict between Israel and Egypt or to settle the thorny problem of the Suez Canal but it should overcome the emergency so tragically created by the invasion of Egypt by Israel and the so-called police action by France and the United Kingdom against Egypt, acts unwarranted under the Charter of the United Nations. Egypt, the victim of such aggressive acts, must be saved from further armed attack. Conditions of peace should, therefore, be restored forthwith, so that peaceful solutions may be further pursued.

263. Thus, there are two problems before the General Assembly: one, the immediate problem of measures to be taken forthwith for the restoration of international peace; the other, the definitive problem of settling the deep-rooted conflict between Israel and the Arab States and settling the thorny problem of the Suez Canal.

264. With regard to the first problem, inasmuch as only an incomplete response has so far been received from the parties concerned, my delegation shares the view of the other co-sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/3275 that the General Assembly should reaffirm its resolution of 2 November 1956 so that an immediate cease-fire may be brought

about. In supporting such reaffirmation, my delegation is desirous of making a pressing appeal to the United Kingdom, France and Israel in the interests of international peace.

265. When once conditions of peace have been restored, the atmosphere will be favourable for a real search for definitive and peaceful solutions. This, however, does not mean that the search should not be started now, because it is not likely that final solutions will be rapidly forthcoming. Committees of study entrusted with the task of submitting recommendations could be set up. This, in the opinion of my delegation, applies to the draft resolution submitted by the United States in document A/3272.

266. With regard to the United States draft resolution contained in document A/3273, however, it would appear that the committee on the Suez Canal problem would be vested with greater powers than those of recommendation, and my delegation would therefore need further time to consider it.

267. The delegation of Thailand supports the Canadian draft resolution [A/3276] as a constructive proposal to implement the cease fire.

268. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of Denmark has the floor on a point of order.

269. Mr. ESKELUND (Denmark): We have had a very comprehensive discussion on the two draft resolutions which are most immediate, that is, the Canadian and the nineteen-Power drafts. Since time is going fast, and matters are very urgent, may I suggest that we take a vote immediately on those two draft resolutions. I feel sure that my suggestion will have very wide support. I think there must be some possibility within the rules of procedure, not to close the debate, but to adjourn the debate until we have voted.

270. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Chair considers that rule 76 of the rules of procedure should be applied on the understanding that, after the vote, the debate will continue so that the representatives previously on the list of speakers can make their statements. I shall put the motion of the representative of Denmark to the vote without calling on two speakers in favour and two against.

That motion was adopted by 53 votes to 1, with 9 abstentions.

271. I give the floor to the representative of India on a point of order.

272. Mr. LALL (*India*): We have before us two draft resolutions, one submitted by nineteen countries in document A/3275, and the other the Canadian draft resolution which appears in document A/3276. These two draft resolutions are very closely interlinked, and in my personal view it does not matter which is voted on first. We have had discussions about this matter informally with various delegations, and I understand that it would assist the acceptance of both these draft resolutions if that contained in document A/3275, which would normally be voted on first under the terms of rule 93 of the rules of procedure, were voted on after the Canadian draft resolution.

273. We would be willing to agree to a vote on the Canadian draft resolution before the vote on the nineteen-Power draft resolution, provided that the vote on the latter was taken immediately after the vote on the Canadian draft resolution. We agree to this in order to expedite our proceedings and in order to get the

maximum vote in favour of both draft resolutions. It is in that spirit that we agree to this procedure.

274. While I am here, may I, with great respect to the representative of Canada, say a few things about his draft resolution, because I do not propose to come to this rostrum again tonight if I can help it. What I wish to say about the Canadian draft resolution is that we will understand the words "with the consent of the nations concerned" to mean with the consent of the nations which will contribute to an emergency international United Nations force. It will be the understanding of the delegation of India that countries which are engaged in hostilities will not be members of the emergency force.

275. We also understand the words "cessation of hostilities" to be governed by two phrases in this draft resolution. One is in the preamble, which speaks of "compliance with the resolution of 2 November 1956", and the second is the last phrase of this draft resolution, "in accordance with the terms of the aforementioned resolution". "In accordance with the terms" must mean in accordance with all the terms of the aforementioned resolution, and we would be grateful if the representative of Canada would kindly introduce the word "all" into that phrase between the words "with" and "the terms". If that were done, it would be quite clear that the operative part—that is the supervision of the cessation of hostilities—will refer to all the contents of the resolution which we adopted on 2 November. It is on that understanding that my delegation will be prepared to vote for the Canadian draft resolution.

276. I would only add that a vote for that draft resolution at this stage does not commit us to the plan which the Secretary-General will submit to us within forty-eight hours. I am not suggesting that we will not accept the plan the Secretary-General will draw up, but I would point out that obviously we are not committed at this stage of the plan. All we are asking for and voting for is the request that the Secretary-General should submit such a plan within forty-eight hours.

277. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): There seems to be general agreement that the Canadian resolution should be put to the vote first. After that we would vote upon the draft resolutions submitted by the nineteen Powers.

278. I should like to ask the representative of Canada his opinion of the interpretation which has been placed on his draft resolution.

279. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation completely agrees that we should vote immediately upon the Canadian draft resolution but for the reasons which I set forth at the end of my brief statement just now I would request a separate vote on the phrase "with the consent of the nations concerned." I make this request because my delegation does not agree with that phrase, and wishes to vote against it. We would support the remainder of the draft resolution.

280. Mr. PEARSON (Canada): As the draft resolution standing in the name of my delegation is about to be voted on, and as some question has been raised with regard to the interpretation of two phrases in it, perhaps I might just say a word as to what we had in mind in respect of these particular words which have been mentioned.

281. In the case of the first phrase, which has been referred to by the representative of El Salvador, namely, the phrase "with the consent of the nations

concerned", our interpretation of that is exactly the same as the interpretation of the representative of India. What we had in mind was that the Secretary-General, in submitting a plan to the United Nations, should not include in that plan for an international force the name of any country without the consent of that particular country. That may seem an obvious point, but our own experience in the past has shown that it is just as well to make it quite clear, because it has happened that on armistice commissions Governments have been named at international meetings not only before they had agreed but even before they were consulted on the subject, and these words are intended to make it doubly sure that will not happen on this occasion.

282. So far as the last few words of the draft resolution are concerned—"in accordance with the terms of the aforementioned resolution"—our interpretation again is that of the representative of India, namely, that it should read "in accordance with all the terms of the aforementioned resolution".

283. I hope that with this clarification there will be no doubt in any representative's mind as to what he is voting for.

284. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): In view of the interpretation given by the representative of India and the explanation just provided by the representative of Canada as sponsor of the draft resolution, my delegation will not insist on a separate vote, because if we are to understand that the "nations concerned" means those which will be requested to participate in the formation of this international police force, or whatever it may be, that will try to contribute to a settlement of the problem, then there is no need for a separate vote, and we shall have no objection to supporting the draft resolution.

285. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I now put to the vote the draft resolution which has been submitted by the delegation of Canada and which is contained in document A/3276. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Canada, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia.

Abstaining: Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Hungary, Israel, Laos, New Zealand, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Albania, Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The draft resolution was adopted by 57 votes to none, with 19 abstentions.

286. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution

which has been submitted by nineteen Powers and which is contained in document A/3275. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Argentina, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Republic, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mexico, Nepal, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania.

Against: Australia, France, Israel, New Zealand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Abstaining: Belgium, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, Iceland, Laos, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Union of South Africa.

The draft resolution was adopted by 59 votes to 5, with 12 abstentions.

287. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call upon the representative of the United States on a point of order.

288. Mr. Lodge (United States of America): I asked to be recognized on a point of order to say that we have just received word from our legation in Budapest that Budapest is under heavy bombardment, so much so that the staff of our own legation has had to take refuge in the cellar of the building. Prior to that, I saw some of the Press dispatches, notably one from the Associated Press, which said: "Russian gangsters have betrayed us. They are opening fire on all of Budapest."

289. And I sat here and heard the remark of the representative of the Soviet Union about stopping bloodshed in Egypt. Heaven knows I want to stop bloodshed in Egypt, but I think there is a cynicism about the Soviet Union representative talking about it at the very moment when they were shedding blood in Budapest. This will horrify everybody who knows about it.

290. When I saw the first Press dispatches I immediately asked for a meeting of the Security Council, and I was very glad to learn that it will be called soon. I simply wish to say in this great General Assembly of the United Nations how much our hearts go out to the people of Hungary and with how much warmth and feeling we think of them and wish for them a happy issue out of their trials and a future of independence.

291. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): My fellow representatives will have read and studied the communication in document A/3269 which I made to the Secretary-General this morning and which contained the response of my Government to the resolution adopted in this Assembly forty-eight hours ago. I was obliged to oppose that resolution at the time for reasons well known to the Assembly, and my Government's response to it sets out briefly but, I think, clearly the kind of action which it thinks can best meet the critical emergency of the moment and pave the way for a

settlement as soon as possible hereafter of the two most harassing and difficult problems of the Middle East.

292. I can add very little at this time to what I said in my letter this morning, and I can only say this: we believe that police action of the most urgent kind is called for, and that is why we, with the French, have stepped in. As I have said many times, we have done so on a purely temporary basis, and the sooner the United Nations can take over from us the more we shall welcome that, particularly since our action has been so much misunderstood and criticized, even by our friends.

293. I repeat that we believed that police action was absolutely necessary, and at once, and is still necessary, but we are anxious and eager that the United Nations should take over this task as soon as it can possibly be arranged. This idea is reflected in the draft resolution, which has just been adopted and which was advanced by the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada. I found the central idea in that resolution of great interest, but, as Mr. Pearson knows, my delegation did not see the text of his draft resolution before he read it out. I have not had the time to give it a full and complete study, nor have I been able to refer it to my Government. Indeed, at first sight it does seem to me that in some respects the resolution goes too far, and in others not far enough. It was for that reason that I was not able to vote for the resolution, but, equally, I was able to abstain.

294. With regard to the draft resolution submitted by the nineteen Powers, which has been just adopted, I was obliged to vote against it simply because it sets out in a more emphatic form the resolution adopted by the General Assembly forty-eight hours ago and, in our view, does not go to the root of the problem, as my Government sees it. In our view, if we followed the course of that resolution it would only lead us back to the unhappy and increasingly dangerous state of affairs that has already prevailed for far too long in that part of the world and that has caused the recent tragic outburst of violence by Israel against Egypt.

295. We have not been asked to vote tonight on the two draft resolutions submitted by the representative of the United States [A/3272, 3273]. They address themselves to what are undoubtedly the two basic problems of the area, and I think it is valuable to have this formulation of the thoughts of the Government of the United States upon them. I have merely studied them this evening, naturally with the greatest interest, and they will be carefully studied by my Government.

296. Mr. WALKER (Australia): I take this opportunity to explain the vote of the Australian delegation on the two draft resolutions on which we have just voted. The best explanation I can give of the position of my delegation is to read out to you the following statement made by the Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Menzies, on 3 November, Mr. Menzies said:

"As I pointed out in my statement to Parliament, the action taken by the United Kingdom and France was and is police action, the only quick and practical means of separating the belligerents and protecting the Canal. Without such police action, the Israel-Egypt position might by now have become completely out of hand, with spreading consequences. If the United Nations Assembly accepts the idea of a United Nations police force on and around the Canal, and the Security Council adopts it and acts upon it, the object of protection of the Canal will have been achieved. Meanwhile it is clear that the

United Kingdom and France cannot withdraw. Police action, to be effective, must be continuous while the danger exists.

"I fear there is much confusion about the position of Egypt. That the author of the Suez Canal confiscation and the promoter of anti-British and anti-Israel activities in the Middle East should now be represented as the innocent victim of unprovoked aggression is, of course, both wrong and absurd."

Mr. Menzies concluded his statement by saying:

"We will await the concrete development of Mr. Pearson's helpful proposal for an international police force with most sympathetic interest."

297. As Australia voted against the resolution which was adopted on 2 November we could not this evening do other than vote against the resolution proposed by India and other delegations, which in its operative paragraph reaffirms that previous resolution. As regards the Canadian draft resolution, I would like to say clearly that we support, as a matter of principle, the proposal that the Secretary-General should submit as soon as possible—within forty-eight hours if possible—a plan for the setting up, with the consent of the nations concerned, of an emergency international United Nations force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities. We are in favour of that proposal. But as this proposal is embodied in a resolution which is directed primarily towards facilitating compliance with the resolution of two days ago, against which we voted in accordance with the views of my Government, it was not possible for me to support the Canadian resolution, and I therefore abstained.

298. Nevertheless, the Australian Government does support in principle the suggestion that the United Nations should study the establishment, as soon as possible, of an international emergency force of this kind, and it is our view that if it is practical to establish such a force, that will on the one hand remove the need for the sort of police action which has been undertaken on this occasion by the United Kingdom and France and it may make a very important contribution to the solution of the problems of the Middle East.

299. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*translated from French*): I shall explain the vote of my delegation briefly.

300. During our previous meeting, I explained at length, and I believe clearly, the policy of my Government in the matter with which the Assembly is now concerned. Some speakers said tonight that the French and United Kingdom Governments failed to take any account of the recommendations in the resolution adopted by the Assembly on 2 November. I wish to say that, on the contrary, my Government examined those recommendations with the greatest attention, as may be seen from its letter to the Secretary-General, the text of which is given in document A/3268.

301. The French Government, like the United Kingdom Government, considers that it is essential to halt the hostilities threatening the Suez Canal as soon as possible and to interpose between the combatants a force which will prevent the resumption of hostilities. The two Governments are of the opinion that the time has come, by taking the measures in question, to create the necessary conditions for a definitive settlement of the Israel-Arab war, which threatens the legitimate interests of so many countries.

302. The two Governments urgently request the Governments of Israel and Egypt to agree to the sta-

tioning between their armies of a United Nations force whose mission would be to keep the peace. They ask the United Nations to take the necessary steps to organize and maintain such a force until Israel and the Arab States have agreed on peace conditions and until satisfactory arrangements have been made with regard to the Suez Canal. When these agreements have been concluded, they will have to be guaranteed by the United Nations.

303. Finally, the Governments of France and the United Kingdom ask that pending the constitution of the United Nations force the Governments of Israel and Egypt should agree to the immediate stationing between their respective armed forces of small detachments of British-French troops, acting, as it were, on behalf of the United Nations.

304. The British-French military operations will be brought to an end as soon as the requests which I have stated are fulfilled.

305. Which of these requests can be said to be motivated by selfish ambition or national interest? Their acceptance would cause no prejudice to the sovereignty of any State. The parties would merely place their fate in the hands of the international Organization, convinced at least that the Organization is determined to find a definitive solution for the problems which have occasioned their sufferings. The Governments of France and the United Kingdom have stated more than once and repeat today that the intervention of their joint forces in the beginning and of the United Nations forces as soon as possible is merely temporary.

306. In conclusion, I wish to say that the French Government's objective is a final settlement, and that it regards its intervention as merely a temporary stage and hopes that the United Nations will as soon as possible take over the responsibility which, owing to the urgency of the situation, my Government was obliged at first to assume, along with the United Kingdom Government.

307. These remarks should suffice to explain my vote. I could not vote for the draft resolution proposed by the nineteen Powers [A/3275] because it conflicted utterly with the purposes I have just defined. I abstained in the vote on the draft resolution proposed by the Canadian delegation [A/3276] chiefly because of its reference to the resolution adopted by this Assembly which we did not accept.

308. I would not wish to leave this rostrum without associating myself with the remarks just made by Mr. Lodge on the situation in Hungary. A few hours ago, in the Security Council [753rd meeting], I questioned the Soviet assurances and I asked whether the massed forces of the Red Army were not getting ready to stage another "Prague" *coup* at Budapest. I hope that events will not prove me right, and that the Hungarian patriots, with the support of the United Nations, will be able to protect their independence.

309. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (*translated from French*): The resolution adopted by the Security Council on 31 October 1956 convening an emergency special session of the General Assembly to discuss the attack on Egypt [S/3721] and the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November [997 (ES-I)] are great steps forward on the road to international peace and the strengthening of the United Nations Charter and will tend to reinforce the Organization's authority.

310. It is unfortunate that the General Assembly's decision has been rejected by the United Kingdom and

France and that those countries have failed to modify their views and to realize the importance of that decision. The action of the Governments of the United Kingdom, France and Israel in launching a military attack against Egypt must be described as a violation of the United Nations Charter. In the name of its people and its Government, the delegation of the Albanian People's Republic expresses the warmest sympathy for the Egyptian people in its sore trial and at the same time affirms its admiration for the determination of this people in its righteous struggle for the liberty and independence of its country.

311. The British and French Governments urged Israel to attack Egypt and, after a brutal ultimatum, which is inconsistent with the rules of international law, ostensibly for the purpose of freedom of navigation in the Suez Canal, started a military action against a sovereign State, a Member of the United Nations. Are the United Kingdom and France the only countries concerned with navigation in the Canal? Certainly not. This attack is nothing but a demonstration of the familiar policy of force. The representatives of the United Kingdom and France have many times uttered fine sentiments concerning the sovereignty of peoples. They have frequently stated that their Governments had no intention of intervening in the domestic affairs of other countries. Their speeches have been full of such words as liberty, equality, human dignity, non-intervention, and so forth. All these statements, however, are in flagrant contradiction with the actions of the United Kingdom and France.

312. We must put an end to this attack and make sure that the people of Egypt have the right to live in freedom on their own soil. In our time, those who try to tamper with the destinies of other peoples merit universal censure. Times have changed. It is madness to think that a people can be crushed by force. All the peoples of the world desire lasting peace on earth. It is not long since the Second World War, which brought to humanity terrible losses and incalculable ruin. The miseries and the calamities caused by that war are still vivid in men's minds. Can we allow the world to be dragged into a fresh catastrophe? The reply is clear. The peoples want no more of blood and disasters. The peoples of the whole world, and in particular the small countries, of which Albania is one, have always considered that the great Powers had the decisive role in safeguarding the peace of the world. The United Kingdom and France, which are among those Powers, have not fulfilled the hopes of the peoples. They have taken a dangerous road which may well lead to disastrous consequences.

313. At this time we are faced with a glaring violation of the United Nations Charter. In view of the dangerous situation created in the Middle East, it is the duty of the General Assembly, the supreme organ of the United Nations, to take effective steps to halt the attack against Egypt.

314. In the hope that peace would be re-established in the Middle East, the delegation of the Albanian People's Republic voted, on 2 November, for the draft resolution proposed by the United States representative [A/3256] and supported by the majority of the members of the General Assembly. I must regretfully say, however, that it is clear already that the United Kingdom and France have no respect for the authority of the United Nations. It is time to stop making speeches and to take practical measures to end the bombing of the Egyptian people. To save the peace, the General

Assembly should denounce the aggressors and obtain the withdrawal of their armed forces from Egypt.

315. My delegation voted for the nineteen-Power draft resolution which the Assembly has just adopted, in the hope that it would lead to a positive solution of the problem in the interests of the maintenance of peace in the world.

316. Mr. SAPOZHNIKOV (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (*translated from Russian*)): The Ukrainian delegation welcomes this meeting of the emergency special session of the General Assembly convened to consider the extremely serious situation which has arisen in the Near East. The United Kingdom, France and Israel have refused to comply with the General Assembly resolution adopted at the previous meeting by an overwhelming majority, and have failed to halt their aggressive action against Egypt, which has been condemned by the peoples of the entire world. The letters sent by the permanent representatives of the United Kingdom and France in response to the General Assembly resolution indicate that both Governments maintain their stand and that regardless of consequences they will continue their military action, which they call "police action".

317. Thus, armed aggression in the Near East continues. Egyptian towns and villages are being subjected to brutal bombardment. Preparations are being made for an invasion by United Kingdom and French armed forces in the Suez Canal zone, and hour by hour we receive further news of the loss of human lives and the destruction of property.

318. The United Nations cannot pass over all these facts. We must take immediate action to give effect to the General Assembly resolution, with a view to achieving an immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from Egyptian territory. The peace-loving peoples of the world demand protection for Egypt, a victim of completely unwarranted aggression; they demand a halt to the activities of the colonialists, which are incompatible with the honour and conscience of mankind.

319. The Ukrainian delegation adds its voice to those raised in emphatic protest against the criminal actions of the aggressors, and takes this opportunity to express its deep sympathy for the heroic Egyptian people, who are fighting for the freedom and independence of their country.

320. In an attempt to justify the acts of aggression committed by the British-French armed forces, the United Kingdom and French representatives have repeatedly stated that their purpose is to bring about a settlement of the conflict between Egypt and Israel and to restore peace in the Near East. They also affirm that they are acting to ensure freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal. Such assertions will not deceive anyone, for the actual result of the British-French intervention has been to broaden the theatre of hostilities and thus to prevent freedom of navigation through the Canal.

321. It is common knowledge that United Kingdom and French preparations for the attack on Egypt began long before the conflict arose between Israel and Egypt. The concentration of United Kingdom and French armed forces in the Mediterranean area, in particular in Cyprus and Malta, began several months ago. How, then, can it be asserted today that the aggressive acts carried out by the United Kingdom and France have been caused by the armed clash between Israel and

Egypt? It is perfectly obvious that Israel's attack on Egypt was used as a pretext to cover up the military seizure of the Suez Canal, and that Israel's aggression was itself inspired by those who were seeking such a pretext.

322. If the United Kingdom and France had been genuinely impelled by a desire to restore peace in the Near East in accordance with the requirements of the United Nations Charter, then they would have condemned the aggressor, when the armed conflict broke out, and would have supported the proposal for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of Israel armed forces behind the armistice lines, a proposal supported by an overwhelming majority of this Assembly. Instead, however, the United Kingdom and France struck at the victim of aggression by launching a flagrant armed attack against Egypt.

323. The aggressive actions undertaken by the United Kingdom, France and Israel in the Near East have given rise to an extremely dangerous situation. Any extension of the armed conflict could deal a fatal blow to international peace and undermine the very foundations of the United Nations, which is now facing its most serious challenge. Accordingly, the duty of the United Nations is to prevent any further spreading of the conflict and to restore peace in the Near East.

324. We hope that the nineteen-Power draft resolution adopted by the General Assembly at this meeting by an overwhelming majority will contribute to the achievement of this goal. For that reason the Ukrainian delegation voted in favour of the resolution.

325. Mr. OLIVIERI (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): We voted for the Canadian draft resolution and for that proposed by India and eighteen other Powers because the situation is so critical as to brook no delay. Urgent and effective measures must be adopted.

326. On 2 November, this Assembly adopted by a significant majority a draft resolution proposed by the United States in which first priority was given to a cease-fire and the withdrawal of troops. Despite that fact the conflict continues and, what is more, is growing more serious minute by minute. That being the case, the Assembly must try another approach so that a settlement may be reached in the face of this breach of the peace which has occurred.

327. My delegation is of the opinion that until peace has been restored, the action taken must be taken without delay. My delegation has always believed that the United Nations should find within itself the solution to all the problems which may arise in connexion with the maintenance of international peace and security. The creation of the United Nations Force, as proposed by Canada, will mean, or at least we hope it will mean, that a final settlement has been found for the present belligerent actions in the Middle East and that, by constituting an effective means of implementing the resolutions of this august body, the United Nations will most surely be strengthened and its prestige in the world enhanced at this truly crucial time when it seems that an attempt is being made to reimpose the reign over injustice, freedom and right.

328. Mr. VOUTOV (Bulgaria): We have been called to this first emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly to discuss the extremely alarming situation in the Middle East created by the aggressive actions of Israel, the United Kingdom and France against Egypt.

329. After a long eleven-hour discussion, we adopted by a great majority a resolution [997 (*ES-I*)] by which the General Assembly appealed for a cease-fire by the belligerent parties and for the withdrawal of the invading troops on all frontiers. The resolution was not satisfactory to our delegation, as well as to many other delegations, but we voted for it so that the military operations of the three aggressors against Egypt would be stopped immediately. But unfortunately only the victim of the attack, Egypt, accepted the resolution. The aggressors refused to pay heed to the appeal of the General Assembly and continued to conduct military operations against the Egyptian people. This has once again exposed the United Kingdom, France and Israel as aggressors.

330. It is more clear now to all the people of the world that the Israel aggression has two aims. The first is to seize, with the aid of the United Kingdom and France, Egyptian territory. The second aim of Israel aggression is to help in the fulfilment of the British-French imperialist plans to seize the Suez Canal. In the pursuit of these two aims the Israel people have been placed in the disgraceful position of being cannon fodder of their own and foreign aggressive circles.

331. On the other hand, in these last three or four days the attempt of the aggressors to put on a peace-loving and noble mask has been laid bare. The British and French aggressors, against the will of the United Nations and without any right to do so whatever, declared themselves to be so-called protectors of peace, mediators between the two fighting sides, stating that they wanted, as Sir Pierson Dixon said, through a so-called police action to separate Israel from Egypt by means of a so-called temporary occupation of the Suez Canal. Is it possible that there are people in the world, including those who make this allegation, who believe this clumsy patched-up invention?

332. By their actions the United Kingdom and France aim to seize again the Suez Canal which they possessed for nearly ninety years, the Suez Canal was built by the blood and sweat of tens of thousands of Egyptians. These are the true aims of the British-French-Israel military operations. It is precisely in the name of these rapacious aims that they are today murdering the Egyptian people; they are destroying all cultural monuments; they are sinking Egyptian ships and stopping navigation along the Suez Canal, which is an important international waterway. They have increased international tension and have created the conditions for expanding and not for curbing war in that part of the world.

333. The United Kingdom and French Governments have alleged that they have invaded Egypt to prevent the spread of hostilities between Egypt and Israel. Reports, however, show that the hostilities are spreading. The military action that was being waged by Israel and Egyptian troops was far from the Suez Canal, whereas now the British-French troops have brought them to the Canal. Instead of ensuring, as they alleged, that they would free navigation along the Canal, the Canal has already been closed.

334. Despite the military operations of Israel on the Egyptian frontier during the first day of the Israel invasion, fifty to sixty ships, according to information submitted in the Security Council, used the Canal and were well serviced by the Egyptian administration. According to reports now coming from Egypt, some ships were sunk in the Canal itself.

335. Therefore, all the masked and hypocritical justification of the British-French aggressors has been completely laid bare by the events which are now taking place.

336. The Bulgarian delegation considers that by their aggressive actions, the United Kingdom, France and Israel are endangering world peace, are acting contrary to the provisions of the United Nations Charter, are hindering the United Nations in the taking of swift measures for ending the spread of the conflagration in the Near East, and are undermining the foundation of the United Nations. Indeed, the British-French actions and demonstrations are an expression of a desire to undermine the prestige and foundations of the United Nations.

337. But what is taking place here in the United Nations encourages all of us and is a warning to those who would use the old methods of intimidation. It is very encouraging here that two days ago almost seventy countries voted against the aggression. The Bulgarian delegation considers that it is still not too late to take measures to stop the conflict in the Near East by forcing the aggressors to withdraw from the territory of Egypt and to fulfil their obligations under the United Nations Charter. The Bulgarian delegation considers that all the conditions exist for the restoration of world peace. What is needed is the speedy and effective action of the United Nations.

338. In conclusion, permit me to read an excerpt from the declaration of my Government on the armed aggression against the Egyptian Republic:

"The Bulgarian people, together with all peace-loving people, express their full sympathies with the Egyptian Government and the Egyptian people who are heroically defending their country and the national independence of their homeland.

"Proceeding from its consistent policy of peace and the peaceful settlement of international questions, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria resolutely condemns the aggression against Egypt. The responsibility for all the dangerous complications and consequences stemming from this aggressive action rests entirely with the Governments which trampled upon the United Nations Charter and took the path of aggression and war.

"The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria insists that the United Nations and the Security Council should take all the necessary measures for the immediate cessation of hostilities and for the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Egyptian territory."

339. In accordance with this declaration, the Bulgarian delegation voted for the resolution which the General Assembly adopted on 2 November and for the resolutions which it adopted today.

340. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): The Philippine delegation voted for the Canadian draft resolution because it is consonant with the basic position of my Government, which is that there should be immediate cessation of hostilities in that troubled area. We voted for this resolution, however, on the assumption that its logical implications are as follows: first, that the international force envisaged in the resolution will exercise its functions not only with respect to the British-French and Egyptian forces but also with respect to the hostilities between the Egyptian and Israel forces, as well as to other hostilities which may take place either in Egypt or in related territories when this body begins to

perform its functions; secondly, that this international police force will not include the forces of the combatants; and thirdly, that this police force will perform its functions of supervision in strict accordance with the terms of the resolution adopted by this Assembly on 2 November.

341. I should like to conclude with a word of deep appreciation for the attitude of the United States delegation. Even though it submitted two draft resolutions which were designed to take a constructive approach to the basic difficulties of this situation, it nevertheless gladly yielded to the Canadian draft resolution as a matter of priority and urgency. We can assure the United States delegation that at the appropriate time the Philippine delegation will give the two draft resolutions its utmost sympathetic consideration.

342. Mr. JOJA (Romania) (*translated from French*): This is not a time for long speeches. It is a time for facts and for action. I shall therefore be very brief.

343. What is the situation? What must we do? In my delegation's opinion, we must, first of all, note that the resolution adopted by the General Assembly sitting in emergency special session has evoked two different reactions, two different attitudes. On the one hand, the Egyptian Government tells us that it will accept the resolution of the General Assembly if the attacking armies stop their aggressive operations. On the other hand, the Governments of the United Kingdom and France inform us that they maintain their point of view. They also specify what they consider to be the essential conditions which have to be fulfilled before military operations can cease. Now, to stipulate these conditions means, in fact, to reply *non possumus* to the United Nations resolution.

344. We see before us two diametrically opposed attitudes. One party defers to the will of the United Nations General Assembly, the other meets it with a categorical refusal. The General Assembly, convened in an emergency special session, has called for an immediate cease-fire. The Egyptian Government accepts this, with only one condition, which stems from the right of self-defence—that the attackers shall cease their military operations. The Governments of France and the United Kingdom stipulate conditions which have nothing to do with the interests of international peace and security. And in meantime the war, for this is a war, continues, with growing severity, in Egyptian territory, against the Egyptian people, which invokes its rights and calls to the United Nations for help. The bombardment of cities and of the countryside continues. Human lives are lost. Railway and other installations are demolished. These are the facts.

345. As regards the question of international law and the rule of law, sixty-four Governments represented in the United Nations have declared through their votes that they are on the side of Egypt.

346. What must we do? First of all, it is proper to note that the United Nations has done itself honour and has upheld the law by adopting the resolution of 2 November. If the United Nations continues in this attitude and accepts its consequences, the aggressor will be disarmed. The Charter provides for sanctions in cases in which aggressor States flout the recommendations of the United Nations. The General Assembly should authorize the Secretary-General to communicate immediately with the belligerents and to bid them to cease fire, to withdraw their troops and to respect the will of the United Nations. The General Assembly should

without delay take note of the fact that the Governments of the two Western countries and Israel refuse to respect the resolution of the United Nations.

347. The Assembly has come to a decision. The time has come to act, and to act quickly, because human lives are in danger, because the sovereignty and independence of a Member State of our Organization have been attacked. Millions of people throughout the world look to us for a solution, and the United Nations and the principles for which it stands will be discredited if we fail to act in conformity with law and justice.

348. Since the nineteen-Power draft resolution meets, in essence, the needs of the moment, I voted for it.

349. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): In explaining my vote, I should like to say that the situation no longer calls for speeches; it calls for action, action in accordance with the two resolutions just adopted by this Assembly, action in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

350. We were dismayed earlier this evening to see two other draft resolutions which, with all the genuine intentions behind them, if adopted, would have paralysed the provisions spelled out in the resolution approved by sixty-four Members of the United Nations in the early hours of 2 November 1956. Our suspicions about the attempts to save the face of the aggressor have been dissipated by the Canadian draft resolution, which we supported, together with the one which we co-sponsored with eighteen other Powers.

351. It is heartening that the United States has not pressed for its complex draft resolutions. It is also heartening that Mr. Lodge sensed the negative attitude manifested by the Assembly towards the dilatory tactics which those two draft resolutions might have afforded to certain Powers describing themselves as policemen directing the traffic in the Suez Canal. They are no longer needed to direct the traffic there in the guise of policemen, first, because the Canal does not need such policemen, and also because the Canal is already blocked. The services of the self-appointed policemen are no longer required, so they had better go home. And we had better go home at this early hour, hoping and praying for peace.

352. Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand): My delegation welcomes the initiative of the Canadian delegation. It was with great regret that I was unable fully to support the form in which its draft resolution was put forward.

353. My delegation, for reasons which I stated at the 562nd meeting of this Assembly, was obliged to vote against the resolution which was then adopted. Clearly, we were, as a result, unable to support a text which referred to the urgent necessity for complying with that resolution, namely, the resolution which we had already voted against. Accordingly, also, we were unable to support a text which referred to the cessation of hostilities in accordance with the terms of the aforementioned resolution—namely the one which we had previously voted against.

354. Nevertheless, I am authorized to state that the New Zealand Government is prepared to support the establishment of a United Nations force, on acceptable terms, to assist in the establishment of peace and order in the Middle East. Not only that; I have been specifically authorized tonight to state that New Zealand is prepared to contribute to a force of the nature envisaged.

355. New Zealand's negative vote on the draft resolution of the nineteen Powers is, I think, self-explanatory

in terms of its opposition to the resolution adopted on 2 November.

356. Mr. ESKELUND (Denmark): Denmark has been a participant in the debates on the Suez Canal ever since they began after the nationalization of the Canal by Egypt. From the very first day, it has been the view of our Government that the Suez question must, in no circumstances, be solved by force or threat of force, and that a peaceful solution should be sought through the United Nations.

357. After military actions have been initiated, without authorization from the United Nations and in violation of its Charter, and after non-compliance with the resolution adopted by sixty-four nations on 2 November has been announced, it is more than ever true that the Suez Canal question can be solved only through and by the United Nations.

358. One more thing is true and should be said. Earlier this evening the representative of India struck a warning note. It was not, in my opinion, sufficiently strong. He said that if we did not stop this now, we should soon not be able to stop it by resolutions. I am very much afraid that the position is even worse, and that it is worsening rapidly. We may very soon, within days, if not hours, from now—and this I feel I have to say to all concerned, including every Member State of the United Nations—reach a position where this situation will be completely out of hand. War is indeed a dangerous monster, and it has of late grown more dangerous and more unmanageable. Moreover, the community of nations is indivisible, in that anything happening anywhere may at any time let loose events elsewhere. That most certainly should always be kept in mind.

359. May I add just one more consideration: even if the fire is apparently stamped out, it may still smoulder. Such fires are sometimes the most fierce.

360. Finally, I should like to express with all my heart my sympathy to the victims of aggression, whether in Hungary or in Egypt.

361. Mr. ASHA (Syria): I should like to explain the vote of my delegation with regard to the Canadian draft resolution. We understand by the words "with the consent of the nations concerned" the consent of the contributing nations, as was explained by the author of draft resolution, the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada. We also understand the "cessation of hostilities" to include the withdrawal of United Kingdom and French forces in the event that they have landed before or after the adoption of this draft resolution. We equally understand that the draft resolution means the withdrawal of Israel armed forces behind the armistice lines.

362. We voted in favour of this draft resolution also because of our honest desire to secure an effective and immediate halt to the aggression of France, the United Kingdom and Israel.

363. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): I should like to say just a few words to explain our vote on the Canadian draft resolution. The Portuguese delegation abstained from voting on the Canadian draft resolution because we had no time to refer it to the Portuguese Government. My delegation has, however, every reason to believe that the Portuguese Government favours the principle that is embodied in the resolution.

364. Mr. ULLRICH (Czechoslovakia): By the adoption of the resolution [997 (ES-I)] at the second meeting of the emergency special session of the General Assembly, an overwhelming majority of sixty-four

Members of the United Nations expressed the common view and fervent wish that the aggressive actions committed by Israel, the United Kingdom and France cease immediately. This resolution was received by the public opinion of the world whole-heartedly in the hope that it would be respected by those to whom the appeal was made. This hope was strengthened by the declaration of the Government of Egypt announcing the readiness of the Egyptian Government to accept the resolution and to comply with it. The greater was the indignation of world public opinion—and, I am convinced, of the majority of the delegations at this session of the General Assembly—when an announcement was received from the Governments of France and the United Kingdom that they were not ready to comply with the resolution of the General Assembly calling for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of all the forces involved in hostilities in the area to behind the armistice lines. They insist on continuing what they call police action and what is actually a large-scale aggression against an independent State. In fact, the conditions they stipulate are of such a nature that they would frustrate the effective application of the General Assembly resolution and thus be equal to the complete rejection of the most urgent appeal by the General Assembly.

365. This attitude on the part of the Governments of the United Kingdom and France further aggravates the situation in the Middle East and calls for further immediate steps by the General Assembly that would help to restore peace in this area.

366. According to the report of the Secretary-General [A/3267] and other communications, large-scale military operations causing irreparable loss of life and property to the people of Egypt, which has fallen victim to aggression, are continued without interruption. According to a declaration made by the Commander-in-Chief of the British and French forces attacking Egypt: "Aerial bombing will continue until Egypt sees reason. Length of the operation depends on how quickly Egypt accepts our terms."

367. It is obvious from these facts that it is not a concern of the Governments of the United Kingdom and France to cease hostilities, but on the contrary to continue war actions until they achieve their main objective, that is, seizure of the Suez Canal and occupation of a large part of Egyptian territory.

368. It is most regrettable indeed that the Governments of the United Kingdom and France, using Israel as their tool, forcibly frustrated the possibility of a peaceful solution of the Suez Canal issue, for which there were all the prerequisites as agreed in the Security Council on 3 October 1956 and confirmed by the exchange of correspondence between the Secretary-General and the Foreign Minister of Egypt.

369. By condemning most emphatically the attitude and the actions of the aggressors, who disregarded the decision of the General Assembly aimed at the restoration of peace and who most seriously violate their obligations under the Charter, the Czechoslovak delegation supports steps which could help to put an end to an act of aggression against Egypt.

370. We voted in favour of the draft resolution presented by nineteen Asian and African nations, which reaffirms the resolution adopted by this Assembly on 2 November 1956 and which contains a new, urgent appeal for a cessation of the aggression and implementation of the cease-fire. We fully support the provision of paragraph 2 of the operative part, requesting the

Secretary-General to report compliance forthwith and not later than twelve hours from the time of adoption of the draft resolution. This should be our ultimatum for peace—the demand of the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations.

371. We abstained from voting on the Canadian draft resolution because we have serious doubts as to its possible implications and effectiveness.

372. As to the other draft resolutions presented at this meeting, the Czechoslovak delegation reserves its right to state its position at a later stage after having consulted its Government.

373. Mr. SHAHA (Nepal): I should like to explain the reasons why my delegation co-sponsored and supported the draft resolution which has now been adopted by the Assembly [A/3275].

374. Draft resolutions concerning solutions of the Suez and Palestine problems were submitted by the United States delegation. Those draft resolutions had their own merits. There is no question but that we should strive for a lasting and just peace in the Middle East—but only after a cease-fire has been effected.

375. I think that it has become abundantly clear during the course of the debate that a grave injustice has been done to Egypt in the present circumstances. Egypt's

territory has been invaded by the forces of Israel, the United Kingdom and France. Egypt is suffering death and devastation on a very wide scale. The invasion of Egyptian territory by Israel, the United Kingdom and France, on the pretext of protecting the Suez Canal and ensuring free passage through it, can be justified neither on the grounds of expediency nor on the basis of international law, morality and justice.

376. In my opinion, attempts by nations to confront the United Nations with *faits accomplis* in order to gain the objectives of diplomacy by the active use or the threat of force must be discouraged at all costs. The cause of suffering humanity in Egypt must receive the primary consideration of this Assembly. Steps must be taken to arrest the march of aggression and to secure justice for the people of Egypt. Once that has been done, we can think of a lasting solution of the Suez and Palestine problems.

377. Our heart reaches out to Egypt in sympathy in this grave hour of its suffering and trial. My delegation fervently hopes that the General Assembly support of the draft resolution it co-sponsored will bring effective help and relief to the Egyptian people in this hour of their trial.

The meeting rose on Sunday, 4 November, at 3.5 a.m.

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

Official Records

FIRST EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

New York

CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 5:

Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th
and 750th meetings held on 30 October 1956 (*con-*
tinued) 79

President: Mr. Rudecindo ORTEGA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 5

**Question considered by the Security Council at
its 749th and 750th meetings held on 30 Octo-
ber 1956 (*continued*)***

1. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): At the 563rd meeting, after the vote on the Canadian draft resolution, [A/3276], I stated that my delegation had abstained because it had had no time to refer the matter to the Portuguese Government. I added, however, that my delegation had every reason to believe that the Portuguese Government would favour the principle embodied in the second paragraph of the draft resolution. I have since been in contact with my Government and am now in a position to state that the Portuguese Government agrees with the fundamental idea of the resolution for an emergency international force to be set up for the purpose mentioned therein. I would be thankful if this statement of mine appeared in the record.

2. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Chair will take note of the statement by the Portuguese representative. I call upon the Secretary-General.

3. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have put before the Assembly three reports concerning the question under consideration at the first emergency special session.

4. One report [A/3284] is the second report concerning the day-to-day developments relevant to the decisions covered by the resolution of the Assembly on 2 November 1956, [997 (ES-I)]. I do not believe that the Members of the Assembly will find anything in this report which requires immediate consideration.

5. A second report [A/3287] deals with the cease-fire on which the Assembly urged the parties to agree. The report presents the state of affairs as at four o'clock this afternoon, 4 November, and indicates that communications received later will be circulated as documents. So far, no such communications have been received by me. However, at an earlier stage, I was approached by the Governments of France and the United Kingdom. One of the four Governments approached, the Government of Israel, has thus far in no way reacted to the *démarche* undertaken by me under the resolution of the General Assembly. We are now less than two hours from the time set for an agreed

cease-fire. Without commitments from the three Governments, which so far have not indicated their acceptance, the time left is scarcely sufficient for the further contacts necessary if we are to meet the target. The Assembly may wish to consider this situation.

6. The third report [A/3289] is my first report in reply to the request of the Assembly that, within forty-eight hours, the Secretary-General present a plan for the establishment of a United Nations force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities. In this report, I put before the Assembly certain preliminary proposals which I recommend for its serious consideration. I believe that the report is self-explanatory and therefore I do not wish to take up the time of the Assembly with any special comments.

7. Mr. SAPOZHNIKOV (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (*translated from Russian*)): I have asked for the floor to read an important document received by my delegation. It is an appeal from two Egyptian associations, the Association of Egyptian Civil Servants and the Association of Political Sciences and of Rectors and Teachers of Egyptian Universities. A similar appeal has also been received by the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, which has asked me to speak on its behalf. I will read out the document, which, in my view, is very important:

"The Egyptian people is undergoing prolonged attack and the continuous bombardment of its cities, homes and public buildings, including churches, schools and hospitals. If these indiscriminate bombings and criminal acts are not immediately ended, thousands of innocent civilians will be killed and public and private property will be destroyed. Can world public opinion allow such crimes to continue, and are the countries of the world going to stand by and look on while a completely innocent and peace-loving people is being destroyed, while the freedom it won with such toil is being violated and while its means of subsistence are being turned into ruins? We ask you to refer to the statements made by eye-witnesses, who are telling the truth about the terror reigning among innocent, peaceful people in cities and villages, and to expose the malicious Franco-British fabrications to the effect that military objectives alone are being bombed. The areas which are being subjected to indiscriminate bombardment contain water pumping stations, electric power stations, private undertakings, telephone exchanges and radio stations; all these are situated in densely populated areas, and the bombing must inevitably cause heavy losses among innocent women and children. The Egyptian people asks your Government to do everything possible to ensure the adoption of speedy and effective measures to put an immediate end to the criminal and senseless acts which are being committed by aggressive politicians, acts which are leading the world to a major war which will destroy all civilization.

* Resumed from 563rd meeting.

“(Signed) Association of Egyptian Civil Servants, Association of Political Sciences and of Rectors and Teachers of Egyptian Universities.”

8. I am not going to comment on this appeal; it needs no comment. I have merely read it in order to give the General Assembly, which has been convened to consider the question of the aggressive action undertaken in the Middle East, some picture of the real situation obtaining in the area.

9. Mr. LOUTFI (Egypt) (*translated from French*): I have asked to speak today for the sole purpose of giving the Assembly some information. I consider it completely pointless to repeat what I have already told the Assembly and to answer once again the arguments which have been used in an attempt to justify this aggression. The delegations which have supported Egypt in condemning it have so well answered the aggressors' arguments that there is surely no need to go over the same ground again.

10. In the first resolution [997 (ES-I)] adopted in the night of 1 to 2 November the Assembly urged that “all parties now involved in hostilities in the area should agree to an immediate cease-fire and as part thereof, halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area;” and urged “the parties to the armistice agreements promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring territory and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements”.

11. In the resolution adopted in the night of 3 to 4 November, the Assembly repeated the resolution of 2 November [999 (ES-I)] and again appealed to the parties to abide by its provisions. These two resolutions have not been acted upon by the French and United Kingdom Governments even though my Government agreed to abide by them, as is clear from the communication of the Egyptian Foreign Minister addressed to the Secretary-General, which I now propose to read to you:

“With reference to your communication dated 4 November 1956 and, in light of your explanations therein, I wish to inform you that the Government of Egypt:

“1. Accepts the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its meeting of 4 November 1956 as mentioned in your communication.

“2. Is ready to bring to a halt all hostile military actions in the area by 2000 GMT.

“3. Takes note of paragraph 5 of your communication in connexion with operative paragraph 2 of the resolution of the General Assembly of 2 November 1956 and operative paragraph 3 of its resolution of 4 November 1956 relating to the withdrawal of all Israeli forces behind the armistice lines.”¹

12. Today the forces of the aggressors have continued to bomb Egyptian towns. Suez, Port Said and Alexandria, in particular, have undergone very heavy bombardment. Egyptian airfields, radio stations, railways, factories, hospitals and places of worship did not escape this barbarous onslaught, which has caused considerable damage and taken a heavy toll of victims. The troops of the aggressors attempted to land in Egypt today and were engaged.

13. We had hoped that the General Assembly's two resolutions would be implemented. It must not be forgotten that they were adopted by an overwhelming

majority. The first obtained the approval of sixty-four delegations, a rare event in the United Nations; the second received fifty-nine votes. We hoped that the voice of world opinion would be heard and that peace would be restored.

14. Demonstrations supporting Egypt and condemning the invaders' brutal aggression have taken place in many countries. There have been such demonstrations even in the United Kingdom. You will certainly have heard this news from the Press and the radio. In particular, you have heard of the resignation of the United Kingdom Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Nutting, and of the reasons he gave for resigning.

15. Unfortunately, France and the United Kingdom have continued to use brutal colonialist methods which we had hoped were completely outdated since the United Nations Charter. How can premeditated armed attack be justified when the United Nations Charter exists?

16. I also wish to draw the Assembly's attention to the Secretary-General's report of 4 November in which there is a report concerning the attitude of Israel towards General Burns and the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization. Paragraph 3 reads in part:

“The Secretary-General was informed by General E. L. M. Burns, Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Israel, in a communication of 4 November said ‘Israel representative stated in the Assembly last night the Government's position that the General Armistice Agreement had become a fiction and no longer had validity. The Government did not intend to return to the General Armistice Agreement with Egypt. United Nations Truce Supervision Organization personnel had no function to perform in Gaza or Beersheba and I was asked to give orders for their withdrawal’. In his reply dated 4 November, General Burns referred to the instructions of the Secretary-General (see paragraph 7 of A/3267), and stated that in view of his instructions he was unable to accede to the demand for withdrawal. General Burns added that if the Government of Israel disagreed with his decision, their representative might be instructed to take up the matter with the Secretary-General.” [A/3284.]

17. This Israel statement requires no comment. It is only too cynical. It once again demonstrates the aggressive and expansionist intentions of Israel, which respects neither the armistice agreements nor the decisions of the United Nations, which is responsible for its existence. But we are no longer astonished at anything coming out of Israel.

18. Today, in a communication addressed to the President of the General Assembly and to the Secretary-General, and shortly to be distributed to the Assembly, the Egyptian Government has stated:

“Egypt is resisting aggression and will continue to uphold the rule of law and to defend its independence and sovereignty. We are confident in the outcome of the struggle because we feel strong by our determination to fight for the restoration of peace. We are confident that our case will continue to be the case of all peace-loving peoples and nations.” [A/3288.]

The solution of the problem is in your hands. The eyes of the world are upon you. Yours is a great responsibility. The fate of our Organization is at stake. It is for you to uphold its prestige and to ensure that the principles and purposes of the United Nations prevail.

¹ Text reproduced in document A/3287, annex 6.

I have just received the draft resolution [A/3290] which has been circulated. Unfortunately I am not at the moment in a position to give my views on this text.

19. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call upon the representative of the United Kingdom on a point of order.

20. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): As the Secretary-General has recalled, the Assembly early this morning adopted a draft resolution [A/3275] which had been submitted by nineteen delegations and which authorized Mr. Hammarskjöld immediately to arrange with the parties concerned for the implementation of the cease fire called for under the Assembly's earlier resolution [997 (ES-I)] dated 2 November 1956. Mr. Hammarskjöld has also mentioned that, in accordance with this authority, he addressed messages to the Governments of the United Kingdom, France, Israel and Egypt on the subject. These messages have now been circulated to us [A/3287, annex 1 to 4].

21. I thought that I should inform the Assembly that I am still awaiting the reply of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to the Secretary-General's message. Her Majesty's Government has throughout the day been giving most careful consideration to that message. I have, in fact, in the course of the day sent an interim reply to Mr. Hammarskjöld from the United Kingdom Government [A/3282]. There has, of course, been close consultation with the Government of France. When the Secretary-General's message was received, the Foreign Minister of France decided to fly to London for consultations with members of the United Kingdom Government. There are, however, considerable differences of time and geography involved, and, owing to those differences, it has not been possible for me to receive the reply of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in time for the opening of this evening's meeting. I hope—in fact, I expect—to be in a position in the course of tonight to inform the Assembly of the nature of the reply.

22. Mr. MIR KHAN (Pakistan): On 1 November, the Assembly met in emergency special session under a dark cloud, the effects of which on the international political climate were beyond calculation. We adopted a resolution calling upon the combatants on Egyptian soil to cease fire and retire from Egyptian territory. That resolution was adopted with unprecedented speed and support. It has so far not been heeded, as may be seen from the reports which we have just heard. This is also true of the resolution adopted by the Assembly less than twenty-four hours ago. It therefore seems to me that the cloud which cast its shadow on this Assembly on Thursday still hangs over us tonight. Pakistan is against colonialism and imperialism of all kinds and condemns aggression wherever it takes place. That must be evident from the vote we cast in the Assembly earlier this evening.

23. The sequence of events which commenced with the invasion of Egyptian territory has caused profound shock and grief to the people of Pakistan. The reaction in my country cannot be described better than in the words of my Prime Minister, whom I shall quote:

"Not only have these events incited and helped Israel in her aggressive designs on Egyptian territory, but the violation by these two Powers of Egyptian sovereignty and territory by the use of force in disregard of the appeals of other Members of the United Nations has shocked world opinion and placed the very concept of that world Organization in jeopardy. So far as Pakistan is concerned, the fact

that the Moslem country towards which Pakistan has always entertained fraternal feelings should be the victim of such aggression has further exercised public opinion. What is happening in Egypt today constitutes a threat to the entire Moslem world. The Government of Pakistan unreservedly condemn this aggressive action. They will continue to endeavour by every means within their power to bring about an early peaceful settlement of the conflict.

"With that in view, I personally have been in almost constant touch with the principal Powers concerned. At our insistence, a meeting of the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan will shortly take place in Teheran, where this question will further be considered with a view to appropriate action to bring about a peaceful solution to the dispute."

The Prime Minister further said:

"... if the efforts we are making should unfortunately fail, we shall certainly proceed to consider whatever further measures may be possible to bring about a settlement which would ensure that Egyptian sovereignty and territorial integrity are fully respected".

24. My Prime Minister has also arranged a meeting with the Prime Ministers of the other Colombo Powers to discuss the situation existing in the Middle East and any possible action that these Powers can take to assist in bringing about a speedy solution.

25. As I stand on this rostrum, I do so more in sorrow than in indignation because the time for indignation has passed. There was indignation when Israel marched its troops into Egyptian territory. It was a blow not only against the Egyptian people and Egyptian sovereignty, but it was also a blow against peace in the Middle East and possibly in the whole world. That what the United Nations created by mandate as a small state should so far forget itself as to strike a blow at the very basic purposes and foundations of that Organization was an occasion for indignation, but unfortunately the people of the world were not allowed much time to remain indignant. There came to the assistance of Israel two of the world's big Powers, and they starting a pounding of Egypt from the air for which Egypt's defences were no match.

26. Today, as I stand before this Assembly, I feel in my heart black, profound and engulfing sorrow. Sorrow for the Egyptian people, their dream of progress and their dream of a better future. Sorrow for the nations which, by their action, have given a setback to humanity's efforts to evolve a peaceful method and machinery for solving disputes and disagreements. Above all, I feel sorrow for the world Organization. If the disregard for its edicts, of which we have seen evidence during the last three days, continues, I am afraid I cannot beguile myself about what the future of this Organization is going to be.

27. The only silver lining which I see in the cloud of which I spoke at the outset is that the position is not yet irretrievable. Even now there is time to undo the wrong that has been done if the invaders desist from their plan. Let there be an immediate cease-fire, and let there be a complete withdrawal of foreign forces from the soil of Egypt. This, alas, will not bring back the Egyptian dead, but the parties responsible for the despoliation of Egypt should make amends by fitting together the fragments of the dreams of the people of Egypt. The least they can do, and the least this

Assembly can do, is to see that Egypt, apart from the repair and restoration of damage, receives all necessary assistance in its long-term dream and plan for building a better future for its people.

28. Mr. ENGEN (Norway): I wish to address myself to two documents which have been distributed to the representatives in this Assembly. I refer to the report [A/3289] submitted by the Secretary-General on the Canadian-sponsored resolution 998 (ES-I) which the General Assembly adopted this morning. I wish to speak also on the draft resolution [A/3290], sponsored by the delegations of Canada, Colombia and Norway, which is now before the General Assembly.

29. On 2 November, this Assembly adopted a resolution [997 (ES-I)] calling upon the parties to cease hostilities. This morning, 4 November, the General Assembly, having seen no result from this appeal, adopted another resolution [998 (ES-I)] calling upon the Secretary-General to report within forty-eight hours on a plan for an emergency international United Nations force to be established for the purpose of securing and supervising the cessation of hostilities in accordance with the terms of the resolution which the General Assembly adopted on 2 November. The purpose, furthermore, of that resolution was to facilitate the compliance by the parties with the resolution of 2 November.

30. As I have said, we have before us the first report of the Secretary-General. I am sure that I express the feeling of those who voted for the resolution when I thank the Secretary-General for the speed with which he has taken action in response to the request of this Assembly. I am not going to say many words about this report, since the representatives will know what is in it.

31. It will be noted that the Secretary-General suggests certain steps to be taken immediately to facilitate the cessation of hostilities through the establishment of the emergency international force which I mentioned a moment ago. For this purpose, as a first step the Secretary-General suggests the establishment of a United Nations Command. This, to my mind, is the obvious first step in the establishment of such a force. Secondly, he proposes the appointment of Major General Burns, the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, as chief of this United Nations Command. Furthermore, in paragraph 4 of the Secretary-General's report will be found his suggestions for the directives for this chief of the Command.

32. My delegation, together with the delegations of Canada and Colombia, has thought it appropriate to draft a resolution (A/3290) embodying the suggestions which the Secretary-General has made in his report. This draft resolution is before the Assembly. It aims at laying down clear directives for the establishment of such a force which the Assembly decided this morning should be established. I do not think I need say much more. Both the draft resolution and the situation speak for themselves. I commend the draft resolution to the Assembly for its earnest and prompt consideration.

33. Mr. LALL (India): The Secretary-General has given us a large number of documents today. But this is not just a proliferation; they all record steps of some importance which he has taken and is trying to take in the interests of the resolutions adopted by this Assembly so that fighting may cease in Egypt and the foreign troops in that country may be withdrawn to their own frontiers. Therefore we are extremely grateful to the Secretary-General for these documents.

34. I wish first to draw the attention of the Assembly to the Secretary-General's report [A/3287]. This document is in effect a report on the nineteen-Power resolution which was adopted by fifty-nine positive votes [999 (ES-I)]. What is immediately apparent from this, is the fact recorded in paragraph 5 and annex 6, to the effect that Egypt has accepted the resolution which we adopted. Egypt has shown again that it pays attention to the decisions of this body.

35. It is a matter of regret that the Secretary-General has not been able to tell us that he has received equal acceptance, in fact any acceptance at all, by the other three Powers concerned. We hope that compliance will soon be forthcoming.

36. In this connexion, may I now turn to the interim reply received from the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom [3282]. The delegation of India was very glad to learn from our colleague of the United Kingdom that his Government is giving the closest study to the resolutions of the General Assembly regarding the cease fire, the withdrawal of troops and indeed the complete solution of the situation which has been created for Egypt by the aggression perpetrated against it. We were glad to learn of this close study, and we were moderately heartened by the words used by the Foreign Secretary. We feel we can entertain a modest hope now that the final reply will hearten us even further.

37. It is with considerable regret that I refer now to the second report of the Secretary-General concerning the day-to-day developments [A/3284]. I must say that I entirely agree with the comments of my colleague of Egypt. I regret very much to see this most unfortunate and unacceptable attitude of the Government of Israel toward the resolution of the General Assembly, and I trust that this state of affairs will soon be changed.

38. Then I should like to refer to the most important document, the first report [A/3289] of the Secretary-General on the plan for an emergency international United Nations force. May I join the representative of Norway in congratulating and thanking the Secretary-General for his remarkable expedition in producing a report in less than twenty-four hours of the adoption of our resolution 999 (ES-I) which takes us as far as this document does. As the result of this report, we are able now to take some steps to set up a machinery which will make available forces in Egypt to supplant the aggressors who have entered the country, and which will restore peace and the *status quo ante*, the least that can be done for Egypt as an immediate measure. At this stage we have some slight reservations regarding paragraph 6. The Secretary-General has helped us considerably, however, by changing the word "directly" in the second line of this paragraph to "immediately". Nevertheless we feel that we cannot express our views on this paragraph until we see the final report which the Secretary-General has promised to us.

39. I come now to the draft resolution [A/3290] sponsored by the delegations of Canada, Colombia and Norway, and which follows from the Secretary-General's report. Here again we are grateful for the inclusion of the word "all" in paragraph 1 of the operative part, so that it now reads, "in accordance with all the terms of the resolution of the General Assembly of 2 November 1956". It is a very significant word, which really introduces the thought that what we are dealing with now are all the provisions of the resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956—that the words "cessation of hostilities" are not a cease fire. I need not say anything more about this because this was

the interpretation which the representative of Canada gave to his own draft resolution [A/3276] when he introduced it. He told us that he was putting in this word "all" so that it should be clear beyond doubt that what it referred to was in fact the full implementation of the resolution of 2 November 1956. It is on that basis that we can accept this paragraph of the draft resolution before us now. Indeed, it is on this basis that the delegation of India will be able to support this draft resolution. We trust that it will be passed very early tonight so that we can complete the first step of our endeavour, which we set in motion two and one-half days ago—one is losing count of the time—so as to turn back the black tide which has swept over Egypt in the last week or so.

40. Mr. EBAN (Israel): The General Assembly has before it new documents, two of which I should like to refer to by way of preliminary observation. I have in mind the first report of the Secretary-General [A/3289] concerning the proposal for the establishment of an international force and the draft resolution [A/3290] submitted by the delegations of Canada, Colombia and Norway. The subject of this report and of this draft resolution closely affects the interests of Middle Eastern States, including Israel.

41. My Government and delegation have not so far been amongst those consulted in the preparation of the report or in the drafting of the resolution. We are convinced that this is because of the shortness of time that has elapsed and that there will be opportunities for the detailed observations of the Israel Government to be taken into account prior to any definitive action.

42. In the light of this observation, what I shall now say should be regarded as a preliminary comment on some of the problems raised by the report and the draft resolution. The first and crucial legal problem which arises is that of the sovereignty of States in the context of the consent required for the implementation of this project. The consent required is not merely or primarily the consent of the States invited to participate in the force, but chiefly the consent of those States upon the territory of which it is proposed to station these forces. It would seem to my delegation to be axiomatic under the law of the Charter that the stationing of any force in a territory under Israel's jurisdiction or control is not possible in law without the Israel Government's sovereign consent and that this principle would of course apply to the territory of any other State under whose jurisdictional control it was proposed to station these forces. Although this matter might be regarded as axiomatic, it would, I think, be helpful if the authors of the draft resolution would clarify this most important point of law. If this question of sovereign consent were not clarified, then a precedent would be created whereby a majority of the General Assembly could decide to station forces in the territory of any State irrespective of its prior consent. While convinced that this is not the intention of the report or of the draft resolution, it is, I think, one of the matters which does require clarification.

43. A second matter refers to the duties which it is proposed to bestow upon the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization and officers now under his jurisdiction. It must be pointed out that the functions of the Chairman of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization and of his officers are those defined in the General Armistice Agreements concluded bilaterally between Israel and each of its four contiguous neighbours. Thus a change

in their capacity would affect the existing capacity under which they now work in Israel and in the surrounding States. Thus, the proposed allocation of new functions to these officers would have legal and other effects not only in respect of the Israel-Egyptian General Armistice Agreement, but also of other agreements. This again is a complex juridical problem which arises in the context of this proposal. My delegation would similarly like to reserve its position pending further consideration on the powers which paragraph 3 of the joint draft resolution would seek to bestow upon one of the permanent principal organs of the United Nations.

44. The question of whether the capacity of military recruitment is within the spirit of the Charter, one of the functions of that principal organ, deserves further clarification and consideration. This does not exhaust everything that there is to be said on the very complex issues which arise in this context and which certainly demand mature consideration at governmental level.

45. The delegation of Israel will consult with its Government and reserve the opportunity of addressing the General Assembly in detail again on all the problems here involved. In the meantime, of course, it must reserve its position both on the draft resolution itself and on the question of its implementation.

46. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Spanish*): The Secretary-General has asked to speak on a point of order and I call upon him.

47. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I should like to take this opportunity to give two clarifications which may be useful for the Members of the Assembly. As a matter of course, the report issued as document A/3289 is based on the legal fact created by the vote taken this very morning by the Assembly. As to the question of the conflict of the functions of the Chief of Staff, it is a matter of course that if the Assembly were to give this new assignment to the Chief of Staff he would leave his present post. He would change his functions, and other arrangements would be made with the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization. Secondly, the recruitment of officers for the proposed group corresponds to the functions which the Chief of Staff already possesses in relation to the Observer Corps of the Truce Supervision Organization.

48. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation is in the same position as the United Kingdom delegation with regard to the point raised by Sir Pierson Dixon a moment ago. At about 11.30 this morning, New York time, the French Government received the Secretary-General's telegram [A/3287, annex 2] informing it of the resolutions adopted by the Assembly yesterday. When it is 11.30 a.m. in New York, it is 5.30 p.m. in Paris. The Secretary-General's note must of course be studied at the highest levels of the French Government and in consultation with the Government of the United Kingdom. Moreover, Mr. Pineau, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was in London and may still be there at this moment. I hope nevertheless that we shall be able to inform the Secretary-General of the French Government's reply with the minimum of delay.

49. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): My delegation has just read the reports issued by the Secretary-General this evening and the other documents circulated to the members. Aware of the short time Mr. Hammarskjöld had available to fulfil his mandate under the nineteen-Power resolution [999 (ES-I)] of 9 November, we feel very grateful that he executed his task in a very

prompt manner, which deserves our commendation. With the little time available to us to study the various reports, we can only bring to the attention of the delegations a few observations.

50. According to one report [A/3287] Israel for the second time did not respond positively to the terms of the resolution adopted by this Assembly on 4 November, 999 (ES-I), reaffirming the Assembly's previous resolution 997 (ES-I). Egypt, in contrast, accepted the appeal of the overwhelming majority of this Assembly for an immediate cease fire, as stated in Annex 6 of the Secretary-General's report.

51. Israel, according to another report of the Secretary-General [A/3284], has committed two defiances: one to the Secretary-General's mandate to obtain compliance for the withdrawal of the Israel forces behind the armistice lines, and the second to the Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization by preventing his personnel from performing their duties in Gaza and Beersheba. More serious still among the Israel defiances is the fact that Israel has denounced the General Armistice Agreement with Egypt as a fiction and stated that it was no longer valid.

52. In view of this drastic development on the part of Israel, my delegation's clear understanding will be that the new draft resolution submitted today [A/3290] should give particular importance to the prompt withdrawal of all the Israel forces behind the armistice lines. My delegation is concerned about this particular point and would appreciate hearing from the sponsors of the draft resolution their explanation of operative paragraph 1.

53. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): Before proceeding to express my remarks on the various documents now before the Assembly, may I be permitted to extend the appreciation of my delegation for the magnificent work performed by the Secretary-General under the mandates of the two resolutions adopted on 2 and 4 November and under the Canadian resolution, providing for the establishment of an international police force.

54. An examination of these documents reveals the following facts. As regards the cease-fire resolution which was adopted on 2 November and reaffirmed in another resolution of 4 November, it appeared from the communications first received by the Secretary-General from the Governments of France [A/3268] and the United Kingdom [A/3269] that they in effect rejected the cease-fire. If I correctly recall those communications, they maintained that their action undertaken in Egypt was a police action and, notwithstanding the resolution of the General Assembly, they felt obliged in the circumstances to continue it. They stated that they would agree—I suppose the effect of the communication was that it would be sometime in the future—to the withdrawal of their forces when the United Nations would be in a position to establish a force of its own to maintain stability in the area. Therefore, as regards the immediate problem of the cease-fire as provided in the two resolutions of the General Assembly from the standpoint of the Governments of the United Kingdom and France, the proposal was rejected.

55. We now have in our possession the communication addressed to the Secretary-General by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd [A/3282], which refers not only to the Canadian proposal for the establishment of an international police force but also to the nineteen-Power resolution, which affirmed the first resolution. To the extent

that the communication of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd speaks of these two resolutions as being under study—I do not know whether my interpretation is correct—there is the hope that the rejection by the United Kingdom of the cease-fire may yet be modified. On the other hand, the Government of Egypt accepted the cease-fire resolution subject, of course, to the condition that the Governments of the United Kingdom, France and Israel should desist from further military action.

56. That appears to be the position as disclosed by the report of the Secretary-General in the documents now before this Assembly. But there is more than meets the eye in the present difficulties confronting us. I should like to call the attention of the Assembly to the communication [A/3283] of the Director-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, dated 4 November 1956. Although this is not clearly within the purview of our present work, it is, however, inextricably intertwined with the difficulties involved in our task. It is a problem of great urgency because it is of a humanitarian character. The Secretary-General has also reported on the difficulties of implementing the two resolutions in view of the time limit that has been set.

57. In the light of the conclusions which we have gathered from the reports of the Secretary-General, I consider the following matters deserving of immediate action by this body. First, it would seem to be advisable and necessary that in view of the twelve-hour time limit in the nineteen-Power resolution which will expire at midnight tonight, we should consider a modification of the resolution by authorizing the Secretary-General to extend the hour of the cease-fire, subject to his discretion, but in no case beyond thirty-six hours after the approval of the amendatory resolution which this body may approve along that line. This is designed to enable the Secretary-General to extend the period without seeking prior authority from this body and to allow us to meet the realities of the situation.

58. I therefore recommend that a resolution be adopted by this Assembly authorizing the Secretary-General to extend the period of the cease-fire, which he had fixed in his communication [A/3287, annex 5] to the four Governments concerned, to a time which he may deem proper in the circumstances but, in no case, beyond thirty-six hours after the approval of such new resolution.

59. Secondly, it appears from the *aide-mémoire* [A/3279] of the Israel representative of 3 November that his Government agrees to an immediate cease-fire and "feels that the only answer to the situation is the establishment of peace between Israel and Egypt by direct negotiations between the parties". It accordingly notifies the Assembly that it would welcome the immediate opening of negotiations towards that end.

60. It appears, therefore, that as of 3 November, the Government of Israel would be agreeable to a cease-fire. This, however, should be taken in the context of the communication which was sent to the Secretary-General by General Burns, to the effect that according to Israel the "Armistice Agreement had become a fiction and no longer had validity". As it will no longer observe the Armistice Agreement, it has made an announcement that, with respect to the Gaza area, the observers of the United Nations would not be permitted to make an entry there. In the light of this situation, this Assembly would perhaps feel obliged to the representative of Israel if he could give some clarification of his Government's position. This clarification would enable

the Secretary-General to be guided more clearly in the implementation of the two resolutions which I have mentioned—the resolution of 2 November and the resolution of 4 November affirming the previous one.

61. Finally, I would refer to the cable received from the Director-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, from which I quote:

“In calling the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that the continuation of unrest and hostilities in the area will inevitably affect adversely the carrying out of the Agency’s mandate as given by the General Assembly, I wish to stress urgently that the majority of the refugees have no means of subsistence other than those provided for them by the United Nations.” [A/3283.]

62. In view of this report, it becomes absolutely necessary to find some way by which an appeal may be addressed to the Governments concerned to the effect that, notwithstanding the continuance of the hostilities, and pending their cessation, they should offer no obstruction whatsoever to the work of the Agency, wherever it may be performing its functions in the interests of humanity. This is absolutely essential in order that the humanitarian work of that body may be carried out, even during the progress of the hostilities and in the areas covered by such hostilities. Whether this Assembly should pass a resolution to this effect, or whether the Secretary-General may simply be asked to take the necessary steps in the premises is a matter upon which I am not now prepared to express my view.

63. These are my recommendations in the light of the Secretary-General’s reports. With respect to the three-Power draft resolution now before us [A/3290] seeking the establishment of a United Nations Command for an emergency international force, my delegation will find no difficulty in supporting it after we have had some clarification from the representative of Israel on the points I have raised.

64. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Despite the resolution [997 (ES-I)] adopted at the first emergency special session of the General Assembly, the situation in the Middle East remains threatening. The Governments of the United Kingdom and France, which are engaged in aggression against the Egyptian State, are still delaying their reply to the General Assembly’s recommendation of 2 November for a cease-fire. [*Resolution 997 (ES-I)*.] They are even disregarding the General Assembly resolution of 4 November [999 (ES-I)] in which the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations again asked them to halt military action.

65. In defiance of the wishes of all the peoples of the world, the Governments of the United Kingdom and France are continuing their military operations. Anglo-French air forces are systematically raiding cities and populated points, sowing death and destruction. Reports reaching us from Egypt indicate the barbarous nature of the Anglo-French air action. Heavy bombers have been used against Egypt’s civilian population.

66. On 3 November a report from the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organization was circulated [A/3267], quoting a communication from representatives of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, which draws attention to the danger that this action may cause terrific loss of life among

the civilian population. The Soviet delegation has received telegrams from social, scientific and cultural organizations in Egypt, indicating the extent of the casualties and destruction caused by the barbarous raids carried out by the Anglo-French air forces.

67. Let me cite just a few facts. The Association of Egyptian Civil Servants and the Association of Professors and Teachers of Egyptian Universities report that homes, public buildings, churches, schools and hospitals are being subjected to continuous heavy bombardment. The telegram says:

“The areas which are being subjected to indiscriminate bombardment contain water pumping stations, electric power stations, private undertakings, telephone exchanges and radio stations; all these are situated in densely populated areas, and the bombing must inevitably cause heavy losses among innocent women and children.”

A telegram dated 4 November from the Egyptian Society of International Law states: “This morning alone Cairo has been raided six times by the Anglo-French air forces.” Similar facts are reported in a telegram from the Egyptian Federation of Trade Unions.

68. These facts demonstrate that the United Kingdom and France are engaged in the relentless destruction of Egypt’s civilian population. The General Assembly cannot hold aloof in the face of such action by the Anglo-French air forces. It must take immediate steps to end such criminal activities. In view of the refusal by the United Kingdom, France and Israel to comply with the General Assembly’s recommendation for an immediate cessation of aggressive action against Egypt, the United Nations must make a new effort and call upon the Governments of the United Kingdom and France, as a first step, to comply with the General Assembly resolutions of 2 and 4 November, to halt immediately the bombardment of Egyptian territory and other military operations.

69. The Soviet delegation makes that proposal. The implementation of such a decision would not require any supervision machinery or any United Nations command. The whole world will be able to see at once whether or not the decision is being complied with.

70. Mr. SUDJARWO (Indonesia): My delegation wants to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for the speedy manner in which he has complied with the request made of him by this emergency session of the General Assembly to enforce the implementation of its resolution.

71. It is a matter of deep concern and regret, however, that this action by the Secretary-General, as requested by the General Assembly resolution, was not readily heeded by the parties, excepting Egypt, as may be seen from one report of the Secretary-General [A/3287]. The other report of the Secretary-General [A/3284] is even more ominous where it reports that the Government of Israel now views the General Armistice Agreement as only a fiction and no longer valid. The further explanation of the representative of Israel this evening was only a further violation of the United Nations Armistice Agreement. This absurd position can certainly not be accepted and should be dealt with determinedly by the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization and later by the emergency United Nations force to carry out the task envisaged in the resolution of this morning, 4 November.

72. It seems now more than clear that the attacking parties are determined to achieve their objectives by

brutal force in contempt of all the efforts made by this special session to stop the aggression and to end the war speedily. This will go down in history and will not be forgotten. The condemnation that was expressed overwhelmingly against their actions in this special session will equally stand in history, from which they will not escape.

73. The immediate need at this moment is still, of course, to try to save the situation. We still believe that this aggression should not only be stopped but also that such aggression should not be allowed to achieve any gains. Whatever the outcome of this war, we should see to it that the suffering it has caused to the Egyptian people will not have been in vain. The United Nations forces which will be despatched to the area should be given a task within the framework of our endeavours, which should not only be to create favourable conditions for ending the war and the withdrawal of forces according to the resolution of 2 November, but also to restore the integrity and the security of Egypt as a Member State of the United Nations.

74. I am grateful to the Secretary-General for his report [A/3289] on the question of the formation of this international United Nations force, the ideas in which find further expression in the draft resolution [A/3290] submitted by Canada, Colombia and Norway. In general, the outlines to be found there seem to my delegation helpful to facilitate and speed up the formation of the United Nations supervision force.

75. It is the earnest hope of my delegation, in this still grave hour, that the parties concerned, in the light of this present endeavour, will see the senselessness of their actions and will stop further military actions speedily in accordance with the call of the Assembly's resolutions. Should the war be stopped soon, the problem lying behind this conflict should then allow itself to be solved by peaceful negotiations, in which the United Nations as such will still have a great responsibility. If we seek the solution of the present situation in this frame of mind, then my delegation believes that the achievement of a constructive and peaceful settlement does not belong in the realm of the impossible as regards our future endeavours. Those who have now violated the United Nations Charter and spirit will, I hope, realize that only through the United Nations can they achieve a lasting peace and a settlement of all the problems involved.

76. Mr. RIZV (Lebanon): This evening, two reports of the utmost importance were made public by the Secretary-General. Both are addressed to the first emergency special session of the General Assembly.

77. In the one, the Secretary-General makes the following statement: "The Secretary-General was informed by General E. L. M. Burns, Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Israel, in a communication of 4 November said 'Israel representative stated in the Assembly last night the Government's position that the General Armistice Agreement had become a fiction and no longer had validity. The Government did not intend to return to the General Armistice Agreement with Egypt. United Nations Truce Supervision Organization personnel had no function to perform in Gaza or Beersheba and I was asked to give orders for their withdrawal.'" [A/3284, para. 3.]

78. In another report the Secretary-General informs us that he has addressed communications directly to the four Governments concerned—the United King-

dom, France, Israel and Egypt—pursuant to the resolution [999 (ES-I)] which this Assembly adopted in the early hours of this morning and by which it authorized the Secretary-General "immediately to arrange with the parties concerned for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area", as requested in its resolution of 2 November [997 (ES-I)]. The Secretary-General further reports that, of the four Governments contacted, only Egypt had replied [A/3287, para. 6]. These two reports by the Secretary-General are of the utmost significance and reveal the extent of the lawlessness of which the aggressor States of France, Israel and the United Kingdom are guilty. They reveal clearly the magnitude of their defiance—nay, their open rebellion—against international law, against this world Organization which was set up to end war for all time, against the will and wish of the civilized world.

79. The reluctance of the Governments of France and the United Kingdom—and we hope that it is only reluctance, and not outright refusal—to comply with the request addressed to them by the overwhelming majority of mankind to put an end to bloodshed and destruction is indicative of how far these two States are bent on aggression and how little consideration and respect they have for world public opinion, for the advice of their own allies and friendly governments, and for the overwhelming majority of the human race, which wants to live in peace.

80. It is indeed an encouraging sign that there are large numbers of peace-loving people in Britain itself who deplore and condemn the colonial war launched by their Government, an unprovoked war which their Government is waging against the people of Egypt, bringing death and destruction to that hapless land. Press despatches from London today carry reports about the riots which have been raging in London against the British Government, calling for its resignation. It is heartening to witness a people which has suffered so much in two world wars standing up against a policy which, if pursued further, risks plunging the world into a holocaust of unprecedented magnitude and unforeseen consequences to humanity as a whole.

81. As to the report [A/3284] from which the representative of Egypt has just read excerpts, this report unfolds the sad story of the crumbling of the forces of law and order and of the utter disregard which Israel has for the United Nations, to which it owes its very existence, and for the combined efforts of mankind to restore the rule of law which the brutal aggression of France, Israel and the United Kingdom has banished from international relations.

82. This defiant attitude which Israel adopts toward the United Nations and the world has been made possible only by the blessings and complicity of the United Kingdom and France in Israel's invasion of Egypt. For how else could one explain Israel's impudent rebuff to this Organization's representative, General Burns? Unilaterally and against the advice of General Burns, Israel decrees that the General Armistice Agreement with Egypt has become a fiction. This General Armistice Agreement has not become and should not be allowed to become a fiction. Israel's impudent assertion that the Agreement has become a fiction can have but one explanation, namely, that Israel considers that her armed invasion and conquest of the Gaza Strip and parts of the Sinai Peninsula give her a title to those territories, and that the General Armistice Agreement,

which was to maintain peace and security on the armistice lines, is no longer a reality and must therefore be scrapped. This is as patent an example as I have ever seen of the manner in which Israel, by her aggression against neighbouring territories, has confronted the world with the *fait accompli*—and, alas, got away with it. Finally, Israel's unilateral repudiation of the General Armistice Agreement brings yet another proof, if that be needed, of Israel's determined policy to torpedo the Armistice Agreements by her armed attacks against her neighbours and to force peace on them at the point of the gun.

83. Another fact which struck my delegation on reading this report was that Israel, far from complying with the request of this Assembly immediately to cease fire and withdraw its forces to the armistice lines—this Israel which has been branded an aggressor—is today ordering the withdrawal of the United Nations Truce Supervisors—yes, of the United Nations Truce Supervisors—whose mandate she considers terminated by her invasion of the territory in which these supervisors operated. This defiance, this impudent rebuff of the United Nations authority, on the part of a small State can be explained only by the conviction which that State must have acquired that law and order in international relations have broken down and that the opportunity is unique for invasion, conquest and rapine.

84. In contrast to this open rebellion on the part of Israel against the United Nations, in contrast to United Kingdom and French reluctance to accept the immediate cease-fire requested of them by this Assembly, the world stands in admiration before Egypt, the victim of aggression, and her prompt response to the plea of humanity to put an end to hostilities.

85. With regard to the report of the Secretary-General on the plan for an emergency international United Nations force [A/3289], the delegation of Lebanon wishes to join those other delegations which have commended the Secretary-General for the rapidity with which he has set out to implement the Assembly's resolution.

86. Finally, with regard to the draft resolution submitted by Canada, Colombia and Norway [A/3290], my delegation has not yet had time to study it carefully. However, our initial reaction to it is not unfavourable and we may not be opposed to it after we have had some time in which to clarify certain points with its sponsors.

87. Mr. URRUTIA (Colombia) (*translated from Spanish*): I should merely like to make a few observations because I believe that we must make no mistake as to what powers the Assembly has at this time and what intentions we can entertain. The Charter of the United Nations is very clear. It establishes two distinct procedures. One is the pacific settlement of disputes, the conciliation procedure provided for under Chapter VI, and the other is collective action, which is dealt with in Chapter VII, and is a function of the Security Council. If such action should fail because of a veto in the Security Council, then, under the resolution 377 (V), "Uniting for Peace", the matter passes to the General Assembly but is there subject to the conciliation procedure provided for in Chapter VI. Thus in such case we may authorize the use of force but only, as we stated at a previous meeting, in cases of individual or collective self-defence. Apart from those cases in which we can as a mere authorization permit a State to defend itself, we cannot take any decision or order any collective measure because under

Chapter VII of the Charter to do so is a function of the Security Council.

88. Having given this clarification with regard to the powers of the General Assembly, I wish to make an observation concerning the decision that we can take at this time if we wish to settle the conflict within the procedure provided for in Chapter VI of the Charter, that is, the procedure of conciliation.

89. In the first place, we have been asked for a clarification concerning paragraph 1 of the operative part of our draft resolution [A/3290]. It is quite obvious that reference is made to all the terms of the resolution 997 (ES-I), to the part where we urged the parties to agree to an immediate cease-fire and as part thereof halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area and to the part where we also urged that all forces should promptly be withdrawn behind the Armistice lines. In short, we refer to the entire resolution. It is quite clear that where the draft resolution under discussion states "in accordance with all the terms", the reference is to all the terms of the resolution without exception as will be obvious from a reading of that resolution.

90. I should now like to make an observation in connexion with what has been said here by the representative of Israel. He told us that in his opinion our draft resolution required clarification because under the Charter the consent of a State is necessary for the presence of United Nations troops in territory under its jurisdiction. On this point we are in complete agreement, but we shall no longer be in agreement when it comes to deciding what constitutes territory under jurisdiction. In our opinion, territory under jurisdiction is territory under lawful jurisdiction. We cannot admit that force creates rights, and all the Latin American States, for example, expressly condemn the acquisition of territory by force. Thus, if we really want to settle this conflict and bring about a conciliation, we must understand that we are prepared to attempt a conciliation, but we must also appeal to the State of Israel to take account of the General Assembly's view, which is perfectly clear. We have been among the first to realize that this, as we stated at the 563rd meeting, is a broad problem and that we must face this problem.

91. We believe that in order to re-examine this problem, to find a new approach to it and to arrive at a comprehensive solution, the first requirement is the restoration of peace; there can be no kind of conciliation and no kind of settlement while there is war. As means of restoring peace we have suggested two basic principles. The first is that we offer Israel a guarantee, the guarantee of an international force which will be able to forestall real or illusory dangers and at all events the dangers which according to Israel existed along its borders. Secondly, in return for this guarantee, we ask Israel that when the United Nations forces arrive it should withdraw its forces to the territory where it has lawful jurisdiction or, in other words, from territories which are outside Israel's jurisdiction and have, for one reason or another, been occupied by Israel's forces.

92. In giving this clarification I wish to point out that I am not, of course, in any way speaking on behalf of the other sponsors of this draft resolution. This is merely the personal view of my delegation, but I thought that it was urgent at least to make clear exactly what we had in mind in proposing the draft resolution.

93. Mr. PEARSON (Canada): I shall be very brief. We are considering the first report [A/3289] of the

Secretary-General on the plan for an emergency international United Nations force, and a draft resolution [A/3290] the sponsorship of which my delegation has the honour to share with the delegations of Colombia and Norway—a draft resolution which is designed to implement the first stage of this task of ours to bring about a cessation of hostilities. That, of course, is of primary and immediate importance, but as we consider it I think we should remind ourselves, as I ventured to say the other night, that we have an even greater collective responsibility than the responsibility to bring about a cease-fire. That is the responsibility to bring about a peace settlement, and we have failed up to the present in that—all of us at the United Nations—over the years. To find a way out of our present tragic dilemma—that is our immediate responsibility and our immediate task; but to seek a lasting settlement is our next and greater task.

94. So, as the Secretary-General has shown us how to proceed with energy and dispatch by producing a report within twenty-four hours of the passing of the resolution 998 (ES-I), I hope that we shall be able to proceed with equal energy and dispatch in our consideration of the draft resolutions that deal with the larger question and which have been submitted by the United States delegation.

95. In conclusion, may I just say that the Prime Minister of my country announced a few hours ago in Canada that the Canadian Government was ready to recommend Canadian participation in such a United Nations force as is visualized in this draft resolution if that force is to be established and if it is thought that Canada could play a useful role in it.

96. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): In the very early hours of 2 November 1956 the General Assembly issued a clear call to the States engaged in hostilities in the Near East to agree on an immediate cease-fire and to withdraw their forces forthwith behind the armistice lines. That resolution of the Assembly was adopted by the vote of an overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations. I regret to say that the General Assembly had to take note last night of the fact that there had not yet been compliance with the terms of its resolution. Some of the parties to the hostilities addressed communications to the Secretary-General concerning their attitude towards a cease-fire and stating conditions upon which they were willing to heed the General Assembly's call, but the parties had not taken any effective steps to carry out the General Assembly recommendations.

97. Knowing full well the urgency of the situation in the face of human suffering and casualties, and realizing the need for international assistance to the parties in arranging for a cease-fire, the General Assembly resolved by its resolution 999 (ES-I) adopted on the proposal of nineteen Powers, that the Secretary-General should try to bring about the carrying out of the cease-fire by the parties, and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into that part of the world. The Assembly asked the Secretary-General to report to it within twelve hours on the compliance achieved.

98. At the same time, the General Assembly adopted a resolution [998 (ES-I)] which had been submitted by the delegation of Canada and which requested the Secretary-General to try to arrange for the withdrawal of forces behind the armistice lines and to submit to the General Assembly within forty-eight hours a plan

for the setting up of an emergency international United Nations force to supervise the cessation of hostilities.

99. We have now heard the report requested of the Secretary-General on compliance by the parties with the United Nations call for a cease-fire. It is most discouraging that the parties have not yet agreed upon a cessation of hostilities, and that they have not yet given orders to their armed forces accordingly. The Secretary-General is to be greatly commended for his selfless and unflagging efforts, and we earnestly hope that within a short time he will be able to report compliance.

100. The Assembly's call for a cease-fire was unconditional. The States concerned—and, above all, those engaged in attack—must stop their military operations. There must be an immediate and unconditional cessation of the fighting. This was true when the Assembly first met in emergency special session: it is true now. Silencing of the guns is the necessary prelude to the solution of any—I repeat: any—of the problems which beset the Middle East. We appeal to the States engaged in hostilities—and particularly to Israel, France and the United Kingdom—to honour their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, and as loyal Members of the Organization, to heed the General Assembly's call to stop the fighting.

101. The Secretary-General has been asked to present to us by early Tuesday his full plan for setting up an emergency international force, as called for in the draft resolution which was submitted by Canada. We should do well to suspend our debate on this matter for the present and to adopt the draft resolution [A/3290] introduced by Canada, Colombia and Norway, which would establish a United Nations command, in accordance with resolution 998 (ES-I) adopted by the Assembly. We should take this step immediately to permit the Secretary-General and the Government with which he is consulting to proceed at full speed in making plans for the emergency international force.

102. The United States earnestly hopes that the Government of Israel will agree without delay to the prompt withdrawal of its armed forces behind the armistice lines and will co-operate fully in carrying out the plan now being negotiated by the Secretary-General. We hope that France and the United Kingdom will accept the plan envisaged in the Canadian proposal. We trust that the Government of Egypt, for its part, will be prepared to accept the temporary stationing within its territory of elements of the United Nations emergency international force in order to preserve peace in that part of the world. It is most important that this plan should be speedily carried out. To facilitate the success of its operation, the United States is prepared to help—and help in an important way—as regards airlifts, shipping, transport and supplies.

103. We very much fear that time is getting short. We therefore move that the debate should be closed, in order that we may proceed to an immediate vote on the draft resolution submitted by Canada, Colombia and Norway.

104. The PRESIDENT: I call on the United Kingdom representative on a point of order.

105. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): I think that I should recall what I said a short time ago—namely, that the reply of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to the Secretary-General's letter is awaited. This reply, as might be imagined, is likely to have a considerable bearing on this conception of an international force. Spokesmen

for Her Majesty's Government, both in London and here in the United Nations, have shown their interest in this conception. The draft resolution [A/3290] now before us, which has been submitted by Canada, Colombia and Norway and on which it is now proposed to proceed to an immediate vote, deals with one aspect of this idea: the setting up of Command arrangements. I have taken steps to bring this new draft resolution immediately to the notice of my Government, which is considering it. It was only submitted in what in Europe is the middle of the night. I, myself, have no instructions on it, and I dare say a number of other representatives may be in the same position. I am bound to say, frankly, that it would seem to me to be incorrect to decide to put the draft resolution to the vote immediately.

106. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*translated from French*): I said just now that I had not yet received the French Government's instructions on the question put to it this morning. I said that the French Government had not received the Secretary-General's telegram until about 5.30 p.m. I would add that the joint resolution sponsored by the Canadian, Colombian and Norwegian delegation [A/3290] was placed on our desk at 9.30 p.m. I believe, in fact, that it was distributed at 10 p.m. Neither this draft resolution nor the Secretary-General's report [A/3289] has yet reached the French Government.

107. While acknowledging the importance of the serious questions under discussion this evening, I am astounded at the desire to force so hasty a vote, in such an unaccustomed manner on proposals which have only just been submitted. These proposals raise important constitutional problems. I am wondering why, in this Assembly tonight, such a hasty vote is being urged. I take due note of the fact. I therefore cannot approve the draft resolution proposed by the delegations of Canada, Colombia and Norway, but more particularly I consider it improper to press for a vote at this stage.

108. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As there is a motion for closure of the debate and two speakers have already participated in the discussion, the motion should be immediately put to the vote, in accordance with rule 77 of the rules of procedure. I therefore put to the vote the United States proposal that the debate should be closed forthwith.

The proposal was adopted by 50 votes to 6, with 16 abstentions.

109. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the draft resolution proposed by the delegations of Canada, Colombia and Norway [A/3290].

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Luxembourg, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argen-

tina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya.

Against: None.

Abstaining: New Zealand, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Albania, Australia, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Hungary, Israel, Laos.

The draft resolution was adopted by 57 votes to none, with 19 abstentions.

110. Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand): I wish to explain to the Assembly why on behalf of my Government I abstained on the draft resolution which has just been carried. I abstained with regret because, as the members of the Assembly know, my Government has already offered to contribute to the international force which has been proposed and, subject to satisfactory conditions, it is still prepared to do so. But I must say that I am concerned that in a matter of such moment as this, the debate should be concluded so quickly. I realize the urgency of the matter, but obviously there is need for delegations representing Governments at a great distance, as mine is, to get instructions. At least, that is what I would have thought. My Government is a responsible government. There are important matters in this resolution which require some time to examine and which it would be entirely proper for the Government of New Zealand to discuss with other Governments.

111. Under those circumstances, while thoroughly approving in principle the proposal for an international force, and having shown in practice that my Government is ready to contribute to that force, I found to my regret that it was necessary for me to abstain in the vote.

112. Mr. DE LA COLINA (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): In voting in favour of the draft resolution proposed by the delegations of Canada, Colombia and Norway, my delegation acted without specific instructions from its Government, since it was impossible to receive instructions in the very short time available. Since in effect it merely provides the basis upon which we can begin to put the plan approved on 2 November into effect, my delegation reserves its right to express the views of its Government on the detailed programme which is to be drawn up.

113. Before concluding I should like to express my delegation's gratitude to our esteemed Secretary-General for the prompt attention he gave to the difficult mandate which the General Assembly entrusted to him less than forty-eight hours ago.

The meeting rose on Monday, 5 November 1956, at 12.25 a.m.



CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 5:

Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings held on 30 October 1956 (*continued*) 91

President: Mr. Rudecindo ORTEGA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 5

Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings held on 30 October 1956 (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call upon the Secretary-General who wishes to make a statement.

2. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I do not think that many words are needed in the introduction of my second and final report [A/3302 and Adds. 1-7] on the United Nations Force. I have put the main document before the Members. I only wish to express my earnest hope that a decision in line with my proposals will be taken promptly so as to permit us to get going. There should not be left in the minds of people any uncertainty about the determination of the United Nations.

3. I would like to announce that last night I sent instructions to the Chief of the United Nations Command, after agreement with the Egyptian Government, to proceed forthwith to Cairo for the first contacts. I have now received the first reply from the Chief of Command in which he informs me that Egyptian authorities agreed in principle to his flying to Cairo, but that detailed arrangements cannot be made before today.

4. The Chief of Command has established direct radio contact with allied forces in Cyprus, which will be necessary for clearance and aircraft passage and, later, for other purposes. Egyptian authorities agreed this morning also, in principle, to accept ten observers at once in Cairo. These observers will need jeeps and radios. Therefore the Chief of Command will try to send these by road to Egypt. The Israel Government has been requested to allow passage. That is the announcement I feel I should make as the first progress report on the setting up of the Force in the area.

5. Mr. LOUTFI (Egypt) (*translated from French*): Since our last meetings, many new developments have occurred. You will remember that in the night of 1 to 2 November 1956 you adopted a resolution [997(ES-I)] urging all parties now involved in hostilities to agree to an immediate cease-fire and to halt the movement of military forces or arms into the area. You also urged the parties to the Armistice Agreement promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring

territory and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the Armistice Agreement.

6. In the night of 3 to 4 November, you adopted a further resolution [999(ES-I)] reaffirming the resolution of 2 November and again calling upon the parties to comply with the provisions of the said resolution. You authorized the Secretary-General immediately to arrange with the parties concerned for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of the military forces and arms into the area, requesting him to report forthwith on compliance of these provisions.

7. In the same night you adopted a resolution [998(ES-I)], proposed by the Canadian delegation, which, in order to facilitate compliance with the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November, requested the Secretary-General to submit to the Assembly a plan for the setting up of an international United Nations Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities. My Government informed the Secretary-General that it agreed to comply with the provisions of these resolutions.

8. In contrast, the Governments of France and of the United Kingdom made a truly extraordinary reply to the Secretary-General's communication [A/3287, annexes 2 and 4]. In two almost identical letters [A/3293, 3294] they state in the first place—and in our view this is the salient point—in paragraph 4: "Certain Anglo-French operations with strictly limited objectives are continuing". The armed attack against Egypt is therefore not halted. In paragraph 5, the Governments of France and the United Kingdom "express their firm conviction that their action is justified". In response to the Canadian resolution [998(ES-I)], they accept its principle, but subject to so many conditions that even on this point their reply may be regarded as negative. That was the situation on 5 November 1956.

9. These two Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, were therefore continuing their aggression and preferring to act on their own authority, without any mandate from the United Nations and in defiance of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. They were acting in violation of the Charter which requires all Members to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

10. The aggressors did not even trouble to give a semblance of legality to their acts of war. They wish to impose the law of the jungle. In fact, after the adoption of the Assembly resolutions, the bombing of Egypt was intensified. The towns of Suez, Port Said and Alexandria were subjected to violent bombardment. Egyptian aerodromes, radio stations, railways, factories, hospitals and places of worship did not escape these

barbarous bombardments which have caused considerable damage and claimed a very large number of victims.

11. Since the morning of 5 November, an armed attack deploying considerable forces has been proceeding, on the Mediterranean coast, in the Port Said area, as may be gathered from a communication of the Egyptian Government and equally from other reports which we have received. The communication from the Egyptian Government says:

"In spite of the resolution of the General Assembly of 2 November and its resolutions of 4 and 5 November, which were accepted by Egypt, and in spite of your request to bring to a halt all military hostile action in the area by 2000 hours GMT 4 November, extended to 0500 GMT 5 November, which was also accepted by Egypt, the acts of aggression perpetrated by British, French and Israel forces against Egypt have not been halted. Instead they have increased. In fact, British and French paratroops have attempted to occupy Port Said, and when they failed, their air forces bombarded brutally and indiscriminately the civilians and their residential quarters, causing extremely heavy casualties among civilians, particularly women and children." [A/3296, para. 1.]

This first wave of paratroops has been annihilated. As I have just said, after the failure of this first landing attempt, the French and United Kingdom forces began a concentrated bombardment of the town of Port Said, while the air attacks on civilians at Cairo and Alexandria continued throughout this period.

12. Subsequently, other armed forces began a fresh invasion at Port Said. The Egyptian forces, supported by the population of Port Said, engaged in desperate fighting against the invading forces. There has been considerable loss of life. I ask leave to quote from two *communiqués* published by the headquarters of the Egyptian forces. *Communiqué* No. 29 of 6 November 1956 states:

"The aggressors continue to drop paratroops on Port Said and to attempt landings at several points on the coast. The town is under constant enemy fire from sea and air. The forces of resistance, which comprise the police and the civilian population, are engaged in fierce fighting in the streets of Port Said. The Egyptian forces are in full control of the town and morale is high. The enemy has cut the water supply at Port Said. Explosive and incendiary bombs have been dropped on civilians, causing considerable damage and extensive fires in certain districts. The number of casualties, particularly among women and children is very high."

Communiqué No. 30, also dated 6 November, reads as follows:

"The British and French armed forces continue their aggression against Port Said. The town is under continuous bombardment from sea and air. The aggressors have landed their forces on the coast, at Port Fuad. Our armed forces and the forces of resistance are barricading themselves in the houses. In some districts, there is house-to-house fighting."

13. The Egyptian Medical Council and the Egyptian Red Cross have addressed the following message to humanitarian organizations throughout the world:

"Correspondents have been invited to verify on the spot the devastation and ravages caused by the bom-

bardments among the civilian population in all the important towns, particularly at Port Said. The large number of casualties, especially among women and children, is evidence of the atrocious character of the bombardment, which strikes at a population seized with panic. All eye-witness accounts express indignation at the madness of this indiscriminate bombardment of the civilian population. We appeal to all humanitarian organizations, imploring them to lend their moral and material assistance to relieve the unjust sufferings of thousands of innocent victims."

14. The Egyptian Government, for its part, addressed an appeal to the Secretary-General on 6 November, which I would also like to quote:

"At this historic hour of decision when the best values of humanity's heritage are at stake and the human race is pushed back toward chaos and savagery, when France, Israel and the United Kingdom are launching a treacherous attack against Egypt and are defiantly bearing the standard of lawlessness and of shame, Egypt appeals for help by volunteers, arms or otherwise, to all those all over the world who care still for the dignity of man and the rule of law in international relations.

"The people of Egypt are fighting a battle of survival and of honour. They are fighting it not only for themselves and their country but equally for the civilized world.

"As long as aggression continues against Egypt on her own territory and in defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations, Egypt shall go on fighting in all determination and with every shred of its being against the forces of evil and in behalf of decency and a life worth living." [A/3304].

15. Such acts, such brutality on the part of the aggressors, fill us with a feeling of stupor, indignation and horror. The leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union, and even those of the British Labour Party, have again condemned the aggressive attitude of the present United Kingdom and French Governments and their recourse to force. This attitude has been supported by world opinion everywhere. What difference is there between the acts of the war criminals sentenced by the Nürnberg Tribunal, on grounds with which you are familiar, and the acts of the French and United Kingdom leaders and their instrument, Israel? The principles laid down by the Nürnberg Tribunal apply precisely to their case too, as the Spanish newspaper *Arriba* has rightly pointed out.

16. In a letter addressed to the Secretary-General on 6 November [A/3306], the permanent representative of the United Kingdom states that his Government has ordered its forces to cease fire unless they are attacked. The French Government has sent an almost identical communication [A/3307]. According to the latest information I have received, fighting continues inside the town of Port Said, which is surrounded by the troops of the aggressors. From this rostrum I wish to pay a tribute to the military and civilian combatants who have unhesitatingly sacrificed their lives in defence of the honour and independence of their country. Paris radio has reported that the French forces have occupied El Qantara and Ismailia. I wish to state that these reports are totally unfounded.

17. In his letter to the Secretary-General, the representative of the United Kingdom proposes that technicians accompanying the Franco-United Kingdom

force should immediately undertake the work of clearing the Suez Canal and its approaches of obstructions. I wish to point out that these obstructions are primarily the result of the aggression committed by United Kingdom forces against Egypt and that the Egyptian Government and people can on no account agree that the forces of the aggressor should play any part in the work which will be undertaken to make the Canal navigable.

18. United Kingdom and French troops must leave Egypt immediately. In your two resolutions adopted in the night from 1 to 2 November and from 3 to 4 November you decided, I would remind you, that the parties involved in hostilities should agree to a ceasefire and halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area. The French and United Kingdom Governments have not implemented this part of the resolution; they continued to send troops. At the time, no part of Egyptian territory was occupied by the French and United Kingdom forces. That was why you did not demand the withdrawal of these forces from Egyptian territory as you had done in the case of Israel forces. It is a matter of urgency that this withdrawal should be effected as soon as possible, as requested by the draft resolution [*A/3309*] shortly to be circulated by the members of the African-Asian group. This withdrawal is essential. Mr. Ben-Gurion has just stated on the Israel radio that the Israel Government has no intention of leaving the Sinai Peninsula. I am confident that you will accede to our request and that you will adopt this draft resolution which calls, as I said, for the complete evacuation of Egyptian territory. Nothing can be done until this evacuation has taken place.

19. France and the United Kingdom dealt a grievous blow to our Organization in committing brutal aggression against Egypt. The Egyptian Government and the entire people of Egypt have defended themselves, and will continue to defend themselves if necessary. Our cause is the cause of all countries dedicated to freedom and independence. In this time of cruel ordeal for us, I am confident that I can count on you.

20. Mr. ESKELUND (Denmark): I shall be very brief. The time does not call for oratory. Indeed, events themselves have spoken so loudly and so eloquently that speech-making is of little avail and, until we see an important improvement in an extremely dangerous and delicate situation, may do no good and may even do harm.

21. We have before us [*A/3302 and Add. 1 to 7*] the second and final report of the Secretary-General on the plan for an emergency international United Nations Force. We have all studied it with all the care that this historic document deserves and that the tremendous importance of its contents makes obligatory. May I add one word of deep appreciation to the man who is the author of this final report, our Secretary-General, who has once more shown his outstanding ability and all the other high qualities which have commanded in the past and will command in the future to a still higher degree, our admiration and our complete confidence. I am sure that in this I can speak on behalf of everyone present.

22. In the name of the following countries, namely, Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia and Sweden, I have the honour to lay before this General Assembly a draft resolution [*A/3308*] which follows the resolutions¹ previously adopted, of 2, 4 and 5 November 1956. It fully endorses the content of the

Secretary-General's second and final report, and it lays down that the will of this General Assembly is to follow up and implement the proposals and suggestions made in that report. Also, it gives all the authorization necessary and possible at this moment.

23. I hope, I trust, and I feel very confident that this draft resolution will not merely meet with general approval but will be able to command the unanimous support of the General Assembly. And, if I may make a modest suggestion in conformity with what has just been said by the Secretary-General and also by the representative of Egypt, I would urge that this support and, I hope, unanimous acceptance should be given with the briefest possible delay, and that we should pass very quickly indeed to the vote.

24. Mr. PEARSON (Canada): My delegation, representing the Canadian Government, gives strong support to the draft resolution which has just been put before us in document *A/3308*. We also wish to endorse the report [*A/3302 and Add. 1 to 7*] of the Secretary-General, which is related to this draft resolution. In doing so, I should like to echo the words of gratitude and appreciation which have just been spoken by the representative of Denmark for the tireless and effective work done by the Secretary-General, without which we would not have this report before us today. I should also like to state that my Government is proud to have been able to offer a contribution to this United Nations Force and has taken steps as a matter of urgency to organize that contribution.

25. The purpose of this draft resolution—and it is vital—is to complete the process of setting up an emergency United Nations Force for the purposes set out both in this and in the earlier resolution which we have approved and which deals with this subject. With the acceptance of this resolution—and surely it can be unanimously supported—the ending of hostilities can be confirmed and safeguarded and the work of peace-making begun on a solid United Nations foundation.

26. In a sense, that work has begun. But a great deal remains to be done, of course, before it is finished. I think that this is a moment for sober satisfaction, but certainly not one for any premature rejoicing. And yet, while appreciating the necessity for being realistic about these things, it is hard not to rejoice at the thought that we may have been saved from the very edge of catastrophe—and saved, let us not forget, not by threats or bluster but by the action of the United Nations. If we can draw the necessary conclusions from the manner of our escape—if we have escaped—and if we can act on them, perhaps we will not in the future have to come so perilously close to disaster again. I repeat, however, that much remains to be done even in the first stage, which is now under way. The organization of a United Nations Force from other than the permanent members of the Security Council is bound to be a task of great complexity and difficulty. We are breaking new ground, but I feel sure that we can reap a rich harvest from that ground in terms of peace and security in the area concerned and indeed, I hope, in wider terms as well.

27. We must now pass on to the greater and perhaps even more difficult task of reaching a political settle-

¹Official Records of the General Assembly, First Emergency Special Session, Supplement No. 1, resolutions 997 (ES-I), 998 (ES-I), 999 (ES-I), 1000 (ES-I).

ment which will be honourable and just and will provide some hope of security and progress for millions in that part of the world who have not known them in these troublous and distracting years. This subsequent action on our part is implicit in the resolution before us and the resolution of 4 November [998 (ES-I)] which we have already approved and which establishes the conditions under which the United Nations Force must operate. That should be clear. Until we have succeeded in this task of bringing about a political settlement, our work today, if we pass this resolution, and the cease-fire of yesterday—although they may give us some reason for hope and encouragement—remain uncompleted.

28. Nevertheless, the fighting has ceased, the process of restoration is to follow, and the work of peaceful settlement is to be pursued in one part of this distracted and dangerous world. We cannot fail, I submit, to be relieved and pleased about this and to rejoice in the fact that it is the United Nations which has made the essential contribution to such a good result. I think it is accurate to say that if we had not acted swiftly and, I think, effectively here, we might today have been facing a conflict that perhaps would have ultimately engulfed us all. I therefore suggest that we deal with this resolution as quickly as possible, as has already been stated by the representative of Denmark, so that the United Nations Force can be organized effectively and moved to the spot without delay. That, surely, is the most urgent and immediate duty for us to discharge in this Assembly at this moment.

29. Mr. TRUJILLO (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): I will say only a few words about the draft resolution [A/3308] of which my delegation is one of the sponsors, and about the Secretary-General's report [A/3302] referred to in the resolution. The Secretary-General has given one more proof of his devotion to duty and his efficiency by producing this report, which is a complete study of the circumstances in which the United Nations Force will be able to function in the form in which it is now required, that is, in a form suited to the stage now reached by the international situation.

30. I merely wish to say that this report by the Secretary-General should be used as a basis to be supplemented by later and fuller studies which will lay the foundations for a permanent United Nations Force. We have all been conscious of the need for such a force, the lack of which has weakened the United Nations, although we should be encouraged by the results that we have achieved merely through the moral force of the United Nations. Up to now that has been the only force exercised, and it has brought about the cease-fire, which is the first step towards creating the atmosphere needed for peace negotiations. If, however, this cease-fire is to be made effective and the troops are to be withdrawn, there must be supervision. There has thus been created this new form of army, which is going not to fight but simply to supervise and guarantee the effectiveness of the resolutions of the General Assembly.

31. The draft resolution proposed jointly by my delegation and six others contains another very important proposal for the establishment of a committee of seven countries, so that instead of the General Assembly's having to be convened frequently to deal with administrative questions and immediate action to be taken

by this emergency army, this committee, presided over by the Secretary-General, would be able to take the necessary steps and would call for a meeting of the General Assembly only if there were questions of sufficient importance to warrant doing so.

32. The draft resolution proposed by my delegation, jointly with six others, is especially important because it proposes the establishment of a committee of six countries, presided over by the Secretary-General, responsible for the administration and for the immediate activities of this emergency army, so that the Assembly would only have to be convened when the questions to be discussed were of great importance. I believe the anguished appeals of the representative of Egypt were justified, but from Egypt as from the other countries involved in this dispute, we must ask prudence and calm, begging them not to add the fire of passions to the fire of arms, thus aggravating this problem, which must be solved, not only in the field of military action, with the ending of the aggression, but also by a final solution of the problem itself, with the elimination of its cause. We must seek a solution of the problem of the Suez Canal, which has been of concern to various European and American countries; and a final solution must be found for the problem of the existence of Israel and its relations with its neighbours, the Arab countries, in a framework of justice which will ensure peace.

33. My delegation, firmly convinced that the moral forces of the world have obtained their first great victory, urges that we should continue to place greater confidence in those forces than in the emergency international supervision which we have created. I believe that the General Assembly should vote unanimously for the draft resolutions we have submitted, so that the committee can be set up as soon as possible.

34. Mr. GUNewardene (Ceylon): The latest events in the Middle East have given us a sense of relief. It is gratifying to learn that the fighting has stopped and that the senseless killing and destruction has been brought to an end. France, Israel, and the United Kingdom have now observed the first condition embodied in the resolution [997 (ES-I)] passed by this Assembly by an overwhelming majority on 2 November. I should like to express, on behalf of my delegation, appreciation of the fact that these three Powers have displayed a sense of realism and practical common sense in their decision to cease all hostilities, and have partially responded to the call of the United Nations.

35. The United Nations resolution, however, called for not only a cease-fire but for complete withdrawal of troops to their own territories. It is, therefore, a matter of regret that France, Israel and the United Kingdom, have not complied fully with that part of the United Nations resolution asking for the withdrawal of troops. Their continued presence on Egyptian soil must necessarily be a source of irritation to Egypt, whose territorial integrity has been violated. It is the opinion of my Government that since neither France, Israel nor the United Kingdom had the slightest vestige of legal or moral ground to lay down any conditions whatsoever, inasmuch as they made an unlawful entry into the territory of a sovereign State, their obvious duty is not only to stop forthwith all military operations but also to withdraw all their forces from Egyptian territory immediately. Only thus can the resolution

adopted so overwhelmingly by this Assembly on 2 November be honoured both in the spirit and in the letter.

36. The United Kingdom has a long record of maintaining law and order, and it is its proud boast that it has always upheld both the form and the content of the United Nations Charter. It is earnestly hoped that it will display in this matter the same sense of realism and accede wholeheartedly to the resolution adopted by this Assembly.

37. We have before us a draft resolution [A/3308] which will in great measure help us to rectify the state of affairs that exists today. My delegation is co-sponsoring this draft resolution which is before the Assembly because it feels that unless this action is taken immediately the situation is likely to deteriorate further. My delegation also believes that its implementation will restore faith in the United Nations as an effective organization for the preservation of peace. It is my understanding that in this draft resolution the same principle of non-participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council in the United Nations emergency command is enunciated as in the interim report [A/3289, para. 4] of the Secretary-General and that this will apply in determining the composition of the body of the international police force. My Government also appreciates the application of this same principle in the establishment of the Advisory Committee, as set forth in paragraph 6 of the draft resolution [A/3308] before the Assembly. May I further note my Government's deep appreciation of the choice of the Secretary-General as chairman of this committee, for we all know the extremely heavy burden he is already carrying. His impartiality, sincerity and selfless devotion to duty is a shining example to all.

38. I would like also to state that, in order that the effects of the resolution which we adopted so overwhelmingly on 2 November may be fully implemented, it is necessary to adopt also, along with the present draft resolution another draft resolution [A/3309] which the Government of Ceylon has the honour to co-sponsor, together with a number of African-Asian nations. Since both draft resolutions would greatly help the cause of peace, I should like to place that other draft resolution also before the Assembly. It reads:

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolutions adopted by overwhelming majorities on 2, 4 and 5 November 1956,

"Noting in particular that the General Assembly, by its resolution dated 5 November 1956, established a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of its resolution of 2 November 1956,

"1. Reaffirms the above-mentioned resolutions;

"2. Calls upon Israel once again to withdraw immediately all its forces behind the armistice lines established by the Armistice Agreement of 24 February 1949;

"3. Calls upon the United Kingdom and France once again immediately to withdraw all their forces from Egyptian territory, consistently with the above-mentioned resolutions;

"4. Urges the Secretary-General to communicate the present resolution to the parties concerned and requests him promptly to report to the General Assembly on the compliance with this resolution."

39. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The second report [A/3302 and Add. 1 to 7] of the Secretary-General marks a definite turning point in our efforts to restore peace to the Middle East. Much, however, remains to be done before we can even begin to relax our efforts. But it appears to us that we have now achieved our first objective, which was to bring about a cease-fire. We must turn immediately to our second objective, which is to arrange for the withdrawal of the armed forces of France, Israel and the United Kingdom from Egyptian territory. May I say that we think that there is no time to lose.

40. The United States welcomes the prompt action of the Governments which have responded to the request to supply personnel for an emergency international Force. This Force must be brought to Egypt just as soon as possible. As we have already made clear, the United States stands ready to co-operate in furnishing such assistance as airlifts, shipping, transports and supplies—and we are ready to give that assistance at this very moment.

41. The United States realizes that several points remain to be elaborated, both in the Secretary-General's second report and in the plan embodied in the draft resolution [A/3308] now before us. This is particularly true with regard to the nature and scope of the functions of the international Force and of the responsibilities imposed upon the Secretary-General and the Advisory Committee. The necessity for such elaboration, however, should not, and must not, be a pretext for delay. The United States has confidence in the Secretary-General and in the States which will comprise the Advisory Committee. We are certain that they will elaborate the above-mentioned points in the right way and as quickly as circumstances permit. We know that they can be trusted to perform their tasks with scrupulous regard for the principles laid down by this Assembly and for the interests of the States directly concerned.

42. If we are to accomplish our purpose, we must move quickly to carry out the plan embodied in the draft resolution. We must not hesitate, we must not falter at the last moment, and thus make possible new and even more serious complications. Speed is vital. I therefore hope that the Assembly will vote on this draft resolution just as soon as possible. At the same time, we should vote on the draft resolution [A/3309] just read out by the representative of Ceylon. It is consistent with the resolutions already adopted by the General Assembly, and the United States will vote in favour of it. We consider it important that there should be no delay in putting either of these draft resolutions to the vote.

43. Perhaps I may conclude by speaking of an essentially human matter. I refer to the victims of the military actions which have been undertaken in Egypt. Our hearts go out to those who have suffered as a result of the events of the last few days. Nor can I leave this rostrum without once again expressing our deep admiration for the competence, the speed, the intelligence and the determination with which the Secretary-General is discharging the heavy responsibilities that we have laid upon him. Seldom in human history has a man had such responsibilities imposed upon him, and I believe that we in this Assembly should, for our part, act with the same speed and determination as we expect and know we shall receive from the Secretary-General.

44. Mr. ENGEN (Norway): The outstanding feature of the way in which the Assembly has been dealing with the crisis in the Middle East has been, in our view, its determination to adopt a policy and adhere to it. This, of course, is the prerequisite for success if the policy is sound. My Government firmly believes that the policy which the Assembly has adopted is sound, and we have consistently given that policy our full support. We are also happy to have been able to contribute to the implementation of the policy by placing a military contingent at the disposal of the Chief of the United Nations Command.

45. The foundation of the above-mentioned policy was laid by the adoption, on 2 November, of the resolution [997 (ES-I)] submitted by the United States. As Members know, this resolution called upon all parties to agree to a cease-fire and to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines. At the same time, the Assembly called upon all Members to refrain from introducing military goods into the area and to refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of the resolution. That was the basis upon which we proceeded to implement, or rather to facilitate the implementation of, the wishes so overwhelmingly expressed by this Assembly—namely, that the shooting should be stopped and the forces withdrawn whence they came.

46. In order to accelerate the attainment of those objectives, the Assembly in the early hours of 4 November [563rd meeting] adopted another resolution [998 (ES-I)] submitted by the delegation of Canada. Under that resolution, the Assembly was asked to take action in order to facilitate compliance with the previous resolution. The Assembly requested the Secretary-General to submit to it within forty-eight hours a plan for the setting up of an emergency international United Nations Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with the terms of the first resolution.

47. At the same meeting, on 4 November, the Assembly adopted another resolution, submitted by nineteen countries [999 (ES-I)]. That resolution reaffirmed the call for a cease-fire and withdrawal of forces, and authorized the Secretary-General to arrange for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces into the area; it requested the Secretary-General to report to the Assembly within twelve hours.

48. The next step came on the night of 4 to 5 November when the Assembly received the Secretary-General's first report [A/3289], in which he proposed the establishment of a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of forces. I had the honour, along with the delegations of Canada and Colombia, to introduce a draft resolution [A/3290] embodying these proposals of the Secretary-General. As Members are aware, the General Assembly adopted this draft resolution [resolution 1000 (ES-I)] embodying the above-mentioned next step by the same overwhelming majority as it had given to the previous resolutions.

49. Today, we are asked by the Secretary-General in his second and final report [A/3302 and Add.1 to 7] to take another step to implement the Assembly's policy. The seven-Power draft resolution [A/3308] is warmly welcomed by my delegation, and we shall give it our full support. The measures proposed in it

seem to us to be fully justified, useful and logical in the context of our policy, and we think that these measures are well suited to the situation with which the Assembly is now faced.

50. We have just heard the text of another draft resolution [A/3309] read out by the representative of Ceylon. It would appear that this draft resolution is aimed at reaffirming our constant policy with respect to the withdrawal of forces from the area in question. My delegation will take its position on the draft resolution at a later stage, when it has seen the text.

51. At this meeting today we can look back upon a turbulent week. The stakes have been immense and the issues almost overwhelming. Today's actions and events and the events in the immediate future may prove that this General Assembly and the Organization has risen to the occasion. We may today lay the foundations for peace in that troubled area. If we succeed in that, we shall have reason to rejoice.

52. But let us not forget that the restoration of peace would mean that but half the mission had been accomplished. The second half of the mission is for this Assembly to see that justice is done. If we can come out of this crisis which so suddenly, although not quite unexpectedly, descended on the world with the groundwork done for a just peace in that area, then the Members of the United Nations will have done a good job. The task will be arduous indeed in this area where the problems are as abundant as the sands of its deserts. It is difficult to single out one problem, but I feel justified in saying today that the plight of the hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees in the area and the new thousands who have suffered in one way or another from this last conflict is a humanitarian problem of the first order which we should keep ever close at heart during these days, because we all know that justice is immediately dependent upon the fate of the innocent men and women whose only connexion with war is that they are the victims of it.

53. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): Nineteen Members sponsored the draft resolution which has been read out by the representative of Ceylon. I do not propose to dwell long on the preamble of this draft resolution, which is merely intended to remind us of the resolutions adopted by the special session of the General Assembly on 2 and 4 November. In the opinion of my delegation, those resolutions have not yet been promptly and effectively implemented; hence the need for the present draft resolution [A/3309].

54. Operative paragraphs 2 and 3 demand the immediate withdrawal of the Israel forces to behind the armistice demarcation line, and of the French and United Kingdom troops from Egyptian territory. My delegation wishes to emphasize the need for the immediate withdrawal of these forces, for without it no one could hope to re-establish real peace in the area. Failure to withdraw foreign forces from Egyptian territory would mean a continuation of unfavourable conditions in the Palestine area and in the Canal zone. The task of the United Nations is not only to order a cease-fire, but to protect the territorial and sovereign integrity of the individual Member States and to maintain peace.

55. It is with deep regret that I come to this rostrum this morning after so much destruction was caused in Egypt by the heavy military attacks launched against it. I am tempted to ask at this juncture why, if the

declared intention of the United Kingdom and France was to act as a shield between Egyptian and Israel fighting forces, they dealt death and destruction to Egypt and showered Israel with roses and perfume, and why, since the two big Powers yesterday signified their acceptance of a cease-fire, they did not accept this when it was first resolved in this Assembly, they would thus have avoided so much loss of life and damage to property.

56. Those Egyptian soldiers and civilians who died in the battle for survival and freedom in resisting the large forces used against them by two big Powers and by a third aggressive, expansionist Israel force, have won the honour of having defended their homeland to the utmost of their ability and have died as martyrs. Inasmuch as Egypt won the moral support of the overwhelming majority of nations in this Assembly, it now deserves our heartfelt sympathy for having so steadfastly sustained the severe attacks.

57. My delegation greatly appreciates the action taken by the Secretary-General pursuant to the General Assembly resolution of 4 November [999 (ES-I)], and this tempts us to urge the Secretary-General to communicate, when adopted, the draft resolution sponsored by the nineteen Powers to the parties concerned and to request him promptly to report to the General Assembly. This urgency emanates from the grave situation obtaining in Egypt and Palestine. Any delay would be to the detriment of peace. My delegation, therefore, appeals to the Members of this Assembly to adopt this resolution unanimously.

58. Turning now to the second and final report of the Secretary-General [A/3302 and Add.1 to 7] and to the draft resolution sponsored by seven Members of this Assembly relevant to that report, I wish to make the following remarks. There has been no indication so far as to whether Israel would be willing to accept the plan of a United Nations Force, but there has been a clear indication of its unwillingness to withdraw its forces behind the armistice lines. On 4 November we heard the representative of Israel unilaterally denounce the Armistice Agreement concluded between Egypt and Israel under the auspices of the United Nations. On 4 November, the representative of Israel expressed his Government's refusal to withdraw its forces from Egyptian territory in the form of a questionnaire in a letter [A/3291] addressed to the Secretary-General. Bearing this in mind, and knowing that the United Nations Force, although para-military in nature, will not be a force with military objectives, my delegation finds that it is essential to secure an immediate and unconditional assurance from the Government of Israel that it will withdraw its forces behind the armistice lines before the United Nations Force enters upon its functions. This requirement is embodied in the draft resolution sponsored by the nineteen nations.

59. Furthermore, if we accept the assumption of the Secretary-General that the functions of this Force would cover an area extending roughly from the Suez Canal to the demarcation line established in the Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel, this would presuppose the fulfilment of two conditions: first, the acceptance of Israel to withdraw its forces behind the armistice lines, and secondly, when the withdrawal of these forces is completed, the position taken up by the United Nations Force must be astride the armistice demarcation line so as to act as a shield between Egypt and Israel.

60. There is one other point which my delegation wishes to make clear. Paragraph 8 of the report of the Secretary-General mentioned that the assignment of the United Nations Force should be determined by the needs arising out of the present conflict. I wish to state that the scope of these needs, according to my delegation's view, does not extend beyond the present area of hostilities between Egypt and Israel, and that it also does not touch on other basic issues of the Palestine question. This is our understanding of the task of the United Nations emergency Force and the field of its functions. It is in the light of this understanding that my delegation views the draft resolution of the seven members [A/3308].

61. Mr. PALAMAS (Greece) (*translated from French*): The cease-fire in Egypt, albeit belated, has caused a general feeling of relief. Blood has ceased to flow, and that is an essential first step to a gradual improvement in the situation. While the situation is still serious, there was a moment when world peace hovered on the brink of a precipice; it may be said that for the moment the immediate danger is not increasing.

62. This respite must be employed in the service of peace. We consider that our efforts are now entering a second phase, that of liquidating the aggression and its consequences. Its primary purpose is to restore the position as it existed prior to the start of military operations, that is to say to restore the *status quo ante*. All of us are vitally interested in restoring faith in international order, a faith shaken by recent tragic events. On the other hand, we must impress upon all the fact that aggression does not pay. Our Organization must do so, for in discouraging aggression as a military and political operation which might ultimately benefit the aggressors, we are effectively preventing the recurrence of similar tragic ventures in the future. Needless to say, the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops—all foreign troops—at present on Egyptian soil is a prerequisite to the restoration of the *status quo ante*. The enormous material damage and considerable loss of human lives sustained constitute a major debit item which will unfortunately remain in the balance sheet of this operation. My delegation expresses its sympathy to the Egyptian people for the sufferings which our Egyptian colleague so poignantly described from this rostrum a few moments ago. I am certain that, in response to his appeal, Greece will make every effort to help Egypt relieve the sufferings of the civilian population.

63. If the effort expected of us in the present phase should succeed we can then seek a solution to the broader problems which were to some extent responsible for the present conflict. However, we feel that that is more properly a matter for the General Assembly to take up at its eleventh regular session.

64. The Greek delegation thanks the Secretary-General and expresses its admiration for his effective action in the cause of peace and for the valuable services which he and his staff have rendered to the General Assembly. We are equally grateful to the delegations which have either initiated or supported the action to establish a United Nations Force to serve the cause of peace in the Middle East. We shall vote in favour of the seven-Power draft resolution on that subject [A/3308]. We shall also support the draft resolution which the representative of Ceylon read to us earlier [A/3309].

65. Mr. JARRING (Sweden): My Government finds it highly important, as has been stressed on numerous

occasions—recently by our Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Swedish Riksdag a week ago—that States have recourse to the United Nations for the solution of serious international conflicts. It is therefore to us a matter of grave concern when States disregard the United Nations and use methods which are hardly compatible with the principles of the Charter.

66. In the situation with which we were thus faced, it was only natural for us to support the decision by the Security Council² to bring the matter before the General Assembly, and we welcomed the action taken by the Assembly. We feel that the decision to set up an emergency international United Nations Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities was a wise one, and the Swedish Government has declared itself prepared to contribute a military unit to that force. As will be seen from Annex 7 to the Secretary-General's report in document A/3302, my Government presumes that the task of this force will be limited to the objectives set forth in the resolutions passed by the General Assembly at the present session. It is our understanding that the tasks do not imply that the Force should remain stationed in the area for an unlimited period or pending the solution of political problems affecting that area. This understanding would seem to be borne out by the Secretary-General's report, which reads as follows:

"A closer analysis of the concept of the United Nations Force, based on what the General Assembly has stated in its resolution on the matter, indicates that the Assembly intends that the Force should be of a temporary nature, the length of its assignment being determined by the needs arising out of the present conflict." [A/3302, para. 8.]

67. The Swedish Government concurs in the views of the Secretary-General expressed in paragraph 12 of the report about the functions of the Force. Obviously this Force should not be despatched to the area in order to take over the tasks for which the United Kingdom and French forces were sent. Instead, the functions of the United Nations Force, when the parties have approved of the resolutions, should be to enter Egyptian territory with the consent of the Egyptian Government in order to secure the cessation of hostilities. I now have dealt with certain aspects of this report on which the Swedish Government have had special comments to make.

68. As to the report as a whole, I should like to state that we are in complete agreement with the conclusions reached by the Secretary-General on this matter. For this reason, we have gladly included Sweden among the States co-sponsoring this draft resolution [A/3308] to which my delegation hereby gives its full support.

69. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): As has been stated a number of times this morning, with expressions of hope, there is every indication that, in consequence of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session, matters have taken a turn for the better in connexion with the situation which led to the convening of this first emergency special session. From the Secretary-General's report [A/3302 and Add. 1 to 7] which is now before us it may also be gathered that the action of the United Nations, based on and outlined in the resolutions adopt-

ed by the General Assembly, is being carried out. We feel that we must express our entire satisfaction with the Secretary-General's report, which was placed before the Assembly this morning.

70. On other occasions during the debate I have expressed the views of my delegation and my Government concerning the problem before us, which consists, firstly, of the situation created by the ultimatum presented by the United Kingdom and French Governments to Egypt and the armed attack carried out against that country immediately upon expiration of the time-limit mentioned in the ultimatum; and, secondly, of the situation between Israel and Egypt, which has been aggravated as a result of the conflict of which we are aware. In our opinion this situation, as we have frequently said, is part of the broader problem of peace. I do not mean a truce or an armistice but the settled peace which we must eventually establish between Israel, Egypt and the other Arab countries. There is no need once again to expatiate on the grievousness of the problem, nor upon the necessity of finding a means for the peoples of the Arab and Jewish communities to enter upon a period of calm which would allow them to devote themselves to the works of peace and progress, for the sake of future generations, rather than of war and conflict.

71. The whole situation is further aggravated in Europe by the aggression committed against Hungary, an act the horror of which the whole world acknowledges. The General Assembly has already adopted a resolution [1004 (ES-II)] on that question. My country rejects aggression as a method, as a procedure, as a solution and as a possibility. The Secretary-General's report following upon the General Assembly resolutions concerning these matters demonstrates the existence of a force, hitherto only moral, but now also effective, of the United Nations, which is, in the words of the Preamble of the Charter: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

72. My Government, in accordance with the terms and injunctions of our Constitution which reflect our democratic system, will co-operate to the utmost in this United Nations action for the maintenance of peace in the face of any possibility of violence or any use of force which is not consistent with the limitations, principles and processes laid down in the United Nations Charter—that Charter which, after the great war for the liberation of the world from Nazism, created for future generations a new law, a new freedom, a new security and solidarity between nations and peoples.

73. As the Canadian representative said this morning, we are undoubtedly saving the world from a veritable catastrophe; we are saving it from catastrophe by the action of the United Nations; and we are saving it from a return to the methods of past centuries, that is to say, from the rule of force and from the arbitrary rule of the mighty over small nations struggling for their rights, their sovereignty and their integrity in order that the work of their peoples might be dedicated to real progress and in order that the mothers of the world, of whatever race, religion, belief or faith, should be able to devote themselves to their children without fearing every night that the forces of aggression and tyranny might once again threaten those they love.

74. All this shows that times have changed. The action undertaken by the United Nations means that it is no longer possible to return to the rule of arbitrary power

² See: *Official Records of the Security Council, eleventh year, 751st meeting.*

which has so often darkened man's path towards progress and stained the records of humanity with blood. I believe that the United Nations Force should be so organized that it can take immediate action to deal with any situation that may arise in the future.

75. We have had very little time to study the Secretary-General's admirable report and the draft resolutions before the General Assembly, especially that of the Seven Powers [A/3308], but our impression is that this draft resolution, like that previously presented at a recent meeting by the United States delegation [A/3256] concerning the method of achieving peace between Egypt and Israel outlines the course that the United Nations should follow.

76. We have not had time to give a thorough study to these draft resolutions or to communicate them to our Government. We shall vote for the draft resolution now before the General Assembly—we shall not only vote for it, we place our hopes in it, the hopes of all mankind faced with the possibility of aggression. We have, however, a few reservations to make—I do not mean that we oppose the draft resolution—but we have reservations with regard to paragraph 6 of the operative part. I wish to make it clear that I am not opposing or criticizing the draft resolution but merely examining the text which has been placed before the General Assembly. With regard to the membership of the Advisory Committee it seems to me that perhaps the representation of the European countries might have been differently conceived.

77. Some similar observations are applicable to the scope of the Advisory Committee's functions. I mention this only in passing since at the present time we must act quickly, to obtain a resolution which will set in motion the machinery of the United Nations and express the feelings of this General Assembly, which represents the conscience of the world, the guardian of the principles of justice, freedom and solidarity among the peoples in the face of any form of violence or aggression.

78. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): We have before us the second and final report [A/3302 and Add. 1 to 7] of the Secretary-General, in compliance with the General Assembly resolution on the establishment of an emergency international police force [998(ES-I)]. We also have before us the seven-Power draft resolution [A/3308], which appears to be an embodiment of most of the basic points set out in the Secretary-General's report.

79. Before proceeding to express briefly the views of my Government on the report of the Secretary-General and on the draft resolution before us, I must express first the profound appreciation of my delegation for the excellent work done by the Secretary-General. In an incredibly brief period of forty-eight hours, he was able to submit a thoroughly rounded report, a plan of organization including the principles which underlie it, a system of financing it, a plan for the recruitment of officers as well as an appraisal of the probable scope of the functions of the police force.

80. I associate myself with the views expressed by a number of delegations that the basic criteria of the functions of the emergency police force should be the resolutions that have been approved by the General Assembly. It is the view of my Government, therefore, that the main aims of the emergency international police force would be to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in the area, to secure an immediate agree-

ment of the parties to the cease-fire, to halt the movement of military forces into the area, to secure the prompt withdrawal of the armed forces of the combatants behind the armistice lines and the scrupulous observance of the Armistice Agreements. Incidentally, in the course of the performance of its task, the emergency international police force should preserve quiet in the area.

81. With this basic orientation, we may now examine the seven-Power draft resolution. In general, my Government does not find any difficulty in agreeing to it. However, I should like to call the attention of this Assembly to operative paragraph 1, which reads:

"Expresses its approval of the guiding principles for the organization and functioning of the Force as expounded in paragraphs 6 to 9 of the Secretary-General's report."

We are in complete agreement with the views expressed in paragraph 8 to the effect that the international police force should perform its task in the area without in any way exerting any influence whatsoever on the military balance and without permitting itself to be used as an instrument, either directly or indirectly, for the accomplishment of political objectives of the parties to the controversy in the area. We are, I repeat, in perfect agreement with these basic principles.

82. We are in agreement too with the greater part of paragraph 9 to the effect that the consent of the parties to the police force should be required. Paragraph 9 of the Secretary-General's report states that no part of the international police force should be stationed "on the territory of a given country without the consent of the Government of that country". Your attention, however, is called to the following sentence, which reads: "This does not exclude the possibility that the Security Council could use such force within the wider margins provided under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter." The possibility envisaged in that sentence, if I am not mistaken, is that of collective action under Chapter VII, which this body employed in Korea.

83. While fundamentally I am not in disagreement with this statement, I must state, with due respect to the Secretary-General, that it might perhaps have been better if the sentence were not included in the report. Reference to the possible use of force for collective action, even by authority of the Security Council, might create serious misgivings on the part of countries that intend to offer forces to the international police force. There can be no doubt that under the resolution which authorizes the Assembly to establish the international police force, the fundamental aim is merely to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities. The possibility of the employment of the Force for collective action under Chapter VII of the Charter was far from the mind of the Assembly when it approved the establishment of such a force.

84. It is correct that the possibility set out in that sentence of the report of the Secretary-General will materialize only in the event of affirmative action by the Security Council. Nevertheless, mention of it here might create serious apprehensions in the minds of countries that might wish to contribute forces to the international police force, apprehensions that once such forces have been contributed by them and are actually in the area in the performance of their tasks, they may eventually be used by another organ of the United

Nations, without their prior knowledge and consent, for collective action.

85. Operative paragraph 1 of the seven-Power draft resolution, which approves the guiding principles contained in paragraphs 6 to 9 of the Secretary-General's report, might meet with the approval of my Government if this sentence were deleted, so as to forestall any apprehension on the part of my Government that any force it may be called upon, or decide, to contribute, for one purpose may thereafter be converted to another purpose.

86. May I also call the Assembly's attention to operative paragraph 3 of the resolution in so far as it refers to the "balanced composition" of the Force. We are in perfect agreement as regards the need for maintaining a balanced composition. But the term "balanced composition" is rather too obscure and its delimitation, in terms of size of contribution, by individual countries and in the relative preponderance of the forces by groups within the international police force itself, is a matter which requires careful attention on the part of the Secretary-General; and I dare say that this should be a problem which requires inclusion in the advisory function of the Committee contemplated by this resolution.

87. In considering the balanced composition of this international police force, I must say, with all candour, that we have to face realities. The combatants in the area now count on the moral or even physical support, of a number of countries. That we cannot deny. We are more or less conscious of the alignment of sympathies as far as the hostilities in progress in Egypt are concerned. Except, therefore for those who are actually in the controversy, countries who are not may contribute or may insist on contributing a part of their forces to this international police force.

88. I would therefore call the attention of the Advisory Committee as well as that of the Secretary-General to the fact that in determining this international police force, the need should be emphasized for avoiding any preponderance of any group—not only of any particular country—which may make the international police force suspect before the eyes of the world. It is therefore important that the balanced composition should not relate only to the size of the forces contributed by a country, but to the relative balance of the groups, taking into account the overt alignment of sympathies. This is essential if, as I said, this international police force should not be suspect before the eyes of the world in the performance of its task.

89. Therefore, in connexion with operative paragraph 6 of the resolution, my delegation would be happy, if the sponsors of the resolution will agree to consider the following suggestion of my Government. I do not offer it as a formal proposal, but am throwing it out as an idea for consideration by the sponsors. I suggest operative paragraph 6 be improved by including within the advisory task of the Committee the following (new text in italics):

"... whose Chairman shall be the Secretary-General, to undertake the development of those aspects of the planning for the Force, its operation and *functions, and adjustment of size and composition*".

90. As I have stated, it should not be merely the aspect of the planning of the Force and its operation within the strictly military character of the task that should be considered by the Advisory Committee and the Secretary-General. More important, I would say,

are the functions that it would perform. I do not know whether I should express this now or whether I am merely thinking aloud, but I hope this will in some way elucidate some of the misgivings that I have in mind on the functions of the international police force.

91. It is to be noted that this international police force will perform its task of supervising the cessation of hostilities—and I quote the resolution [1000 (ES-I)]: "In accordance with all the terms of the resolution of the General Assembly of 2 November 1956". One of the terms of this last mentioned resolution [997 (ES-I)] is to see to it that the forces involved in the controversy shall withdraw to their respective armistice lines. May I remind the Assembly that in a communication addressed to the Secretary-General by General Burns, Israel has already made a categorical statement that it will not respect the Armistice Agreements? We are therefore face to face with a situation where the resolution calls upon the parties to withdraw to the armistice demarcation lines, and the international police force has been created with a view to performing this function. The function therefore contemplated for this international police force will bring it into grips with political and military objectives, as far as it is possible to imagine it at this time. It is thus necessary that the question of the functions, not to speak of the possibility of constant adjustment of its composition, should be one that will fall within the advisory task of the Committee and the Secretary-General, and not merely the matter of planning and operation of the Force.

92. With these reservations, my Government will consider this draft resolution as another concrete step taken by this body in the implementation of its decision of 2 November. May I express the hope that the Secretary-General, in the performance of the administrative aspects related to the creation of the international police force, together with the Advisory Committee envisaged in the resolution, will be in a position to steer their way clear in the pursuit of those objectives calculated to bring peace again to the area, to the end that the United Nations may be able to assert its influence in any country and may have its prestige preserved for the peace of the world.

93. Mr. ASHA (Syria): This august body adopted its first resolution [997 (ES-I)] as early as 2 November, [562nd meeting] calling on all parties involved in hostilities in the area to agree to an immediate ceasefire. The General Assembly also called on Israel to withdraw its armed forces behind the demarcation line. It called on the United Kingdom and France not to land their aggressive forces in Egypt. The resolution was adopted by an overwhelming majority of sixty-four votes. Only the aggressors and their accomplices voted against it. What was the result? The aggressors intensified their attacks and began large-scale slaughter of innocent civilians—men, women and children—in the cities and the suburbs.

94. In the face of this blatant defiance of the terms of its first resolution, the Assembly met again to consider the communications addressed to the Secretary-General by Egypt and the three aggressors. Only Egypt accepted the United Nations appeal. France and the United Kingdom landed their troops on Egyptian soil and, together with Israel, went on intensifying their murderous attacks. The General Assembly met on 3 November [563rd meeting] and adopted the nineteen-Power resolution [999 (ES-I)] calling again on the aggressors to cease fire and to halt the movement of

military forces and arms into that area. We anxiously awaited the replies until the expiration of the time specified in the resolution. The Secretary-General extended the time limit, still in the hope of receiving favourable replies from those who were waging war. Then he issued his report. Only Egypt, the victim, accepted the terms of the resolution and the Governments of France and of the United Kingdom said that they continued to "maintain their view that police action must be carried through urgently to stop the hostilities which are now threatening the Suez Canal, to prevent a resumption of those hostilities and to pave the way for a definitive settlement of the Arab-Israel war, which threatens the legitimate interests of so many countries". [A/3267, para. 3.]

95. The Assembly is aware of the conditions laid down by France and the United Kingdom. These conditions, which have no relation to the injunctions of the General Assembly embodied in its four resolutions, have been introduced as a diversionary measure to confuse world public opinion while the aggression continued unchecked.

96. In the course of the same meeting, the General Assembly adopted a resolution [998 (ES-I)] submitted by the Canadian delegation, which requested the Secretary-General to "submit to it within forty-eight hours a plan for the setting up, with the consent of the nations concerned, of an emergency international United Nations Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities" in accordance with the terms of the previous resolution. Again, the aggressors rejected the General Assembly's resolution. The Assembly demanded an unconditional cease-fire. The aggressors, on the other hand, paid no heed to our demand; instead, they have flung at us new conditions in an attempt to stultify our efforts towards peace.

97. Today they come before us to parade as loyal Members of this Organization, having accepted a cease-fire injunction from this Assembly. But they have done so after having realized, to a certain degree, their objective. As the Assembly is aware, their overwhelming forces succeeded in landing troops in the Suez Canal area, and it was after they had accomplished this, at a very heavy price in human blood, that they accepted the cease-fire call of this Assembly. Let us now ask them, what happened to the Assembly's call upon them to "halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area"? The answer, naturally, will be, that is our policy—the answer which we have invariably received to each call we have made upon them to desist from their aggressive venture.

98. Now, what is the situation? True, there is a cease-fire, but also there are occupation troops in Egypt and in the Gaza Strip. The Gaza Strip was occupied by Israel armed forces. According to the second report of the Secretary-General [A/3284] of 4 November, Israel has prohibited the entering of United Nations military observers into the Gaza area. According to a cablegram dated 4 November 1956 from the Director-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) addressed to the Secretary-General, 218,169 Arab refugees are living in that area. This cablegram called the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that the continuation of unrest and hostilities in the area will inevitably affect adversely the carrying out of its task of assisting Governments to care for the Palestine refugees. It stressed urgently that the majority of the refugees have no means of subsistence

other than provided for them by the United Nations. According to other United Nations official sources, the Gaza Strip area has nearly one-fourth of the total of more than 900,000 Arab refugees from Palestine. It has 100,000 more Arabs who have been living on Egyptian Government relief and who cannot be cared for by UNRWA. According to its officials, UNRWA has neither the funds nor the obligation to assume responsibility for an additional 100,000 destitute Arabs.

99. The Sinai Peninsula also was occupied by the armed forces of this aggressor. Two more islands are said to have been occupied by Israel in the Red Sea. Israel, which has made its easy conquest through French and United Kingdom assistance, is castigating any projected intervention of the United Nations as "meddling" in its affairs. The official spokesmen for Israel emphasize that Israel has no intention of withdrawing from Sinai. They declaim that the Israel-Egyptian armistice agreement is finished and dead. Today Mr. Ben-Gurion declared before his Parliament that Israel would accept no foreign troops in any area under its occupation. The Assembly can draw its own conclusions from this declaration.

100. France and the United Kingdom are now imposing terms on Egypt for settlement of the Suez Canal question, whereas only two days ago they maintained that their intervention was aimed at separating the hostile parties. Israel also, with matchless insolence, is setting terms for a separate peace with Egypt. Never has an international organization, never has the rule of international law been so bluntly defied. It has become crystal clear that France and the United Kingdom are determined to continue flouting the decisions of the General Assembly, as reflected in the four resolutions adopted so far. Their imperialist aims, which they have attempted to screen with cynical lip service to peace in that area, have been laid bare by the course of their military actions, by their overt defiance of this august Assembly and of peace-loving peoples all over the globe. It was their conviction that a swift and heavy blow at the Egyptian armed forces would realize their objectives. They were optimistically anticipating that, once these had been achieved, they would be able to whitewash the stain of dishonour which now discolours their countries' reputation.

101. I wish to turn now to the most immediate business before us, namely, the Secretary-General's report [A/3302 and Add. 1 to 7]. Before I deal with this report, it is my duty to express to the Secretary-General, on behalf of my delegation, our deep appreciation of his indefatigable efforts in the cause of peace in the Middle East. After a preliminary study of the Secretary-General's report, my delegation wishes to advance the following remarks. It is clear that, when this Assembly adopted the resolution to establish a United Nations emergency international Force, it did so with two precise objectives in view. The first was to effect a cessation of hostilities; the second, to ensure the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt, and of Israel's forces behind the armistice line. This was what the first resolution of the General Assembly called for, and what the subsequent resolutions on the emergency international Force were supposed to implement.

102. This is the central point from whence we can proceed. Thus, in discussing the functions of this United Nations Force, a primary question arises in our mind. Has it authority to ensure that both objectives provided for in the first resolution adopted by the

Assembly will be realized? In respect to this, the Secretary-General states the following in his report:

"There is an obvious difference between establishing the Force in order to secure the cessation of hostilities, with a withdrawal of forces, and establishing such a Force with a view to enforcing a withdrawal of forces." [A/3302, para. 10.]

This statement leaves no doubt in one's mind that, if the aggressive Powers refuse to heed the order of the General Assembly to withdraw their forces from Egyptian territory and, in the case of Israel, behind the armistice line, the United Nations emergency international Force will stand helpless before such a situation. Egypt then will have been presented with a *fait accompli* and will have been deprived of its right under the Charter to defend its independence and its sovereignty.

103. We cannot but express the deepest misgivings concerning this question. We feel that it should be clarified before we give the Secretary-General's report our full endorsement. We wish to make it clear that we are not criticizing the Secretary-General's views, which may be sound in law, but we cannot accept any plan for a United Nations emergency international Force which is not predicated on the prior fulfilment of the two basic objectives of the first resolution of this Assembly. If it is truly the desire of France, Israel and the United Kingdom to respect the decisions of this august body, then let them solemnly declare today that they are ready to withdraw their forces immediately, in order to facilitate the task of the United Nations Force. France and the United Kingdom have stated several times, in official *communiqués* and through their representatives, that once an international Force is ready to take over they will immediately withdraw. Let us see now whether they will honour their word.

104. As for Israel, it is declaring unabashedly that it will not withdraw from an inch of territory conquered by it—or, to put it more accurately, conquered for it by France and the United Kingdom since without the assistance of these Powers it would not have ventured on its ambitious and arrogant course. But we are confident this time that the Assembly, which has by an overwhelming majority called upon the ungrateful State to withdraw behind the armistice line, will see to it that this is done, and done without delay. As the Members of this Assembly can observe, our fears on the question of withdrawal are legitimate fears. Everything indicates, at least with regard to Israel, that it does not intend to comply with the Assembly's decision on this point. For this reason, we will not be able to support any plan for an international Force unless our fears regarding the withdrawal of foreign forces from Egypt and the withdrawal of Israel behind the armistice line are convincingly dispelled.

105. According to the Canadian resolution adopted on 4 November 1956 [998 (ES-I)], the emergency international United Nations Force is to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with the terms of the General Assembly's resolution [997 (ES-I)] of 2 November 1956. By virtue of this second resolution of the General Assembly, priority is given to an immediate cease-fire and as part thereof to the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area. Again, the resolution [999 (ES-I)] of the General Assembly of 4 November 1956 notes the special priority given to an immediate cease-fire and

to the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area. Now that a cease-fire, many times ordered by this august Assembly, is prevailing in Egypt, priority must be given, according to its two resolutions just mentioned, to the halting of the movement of military forces and, more specifically in the present situation, to the withdrawal of French and United Kingdom troops which have already landed in violation of the two resolutions, from Egyptian territory, on the one hand, and on the other to the withdrawal of Israel forces behind the armistice lines. Such a priority given to the halting of the movement of military forces, or the withdrawal of non-Egyptian forces, has to be taken duly into account in the Secretary-General's report. This is one of the fundamental aspects of the problem with which we are dealing. A cease-fire which ignores this fundamental aspect is destined to failure.

106. Furthermore, the emergency international United Nations Force, as its name indicates, should be of a temporary nature. The emergency international Force should be limited to the objectives set out in the resolutions of 4 and 5 November, and these do not imply that the Force should remain in the area for an unspecified period of time or pending the solution of the political questions affecting the area. We are in agreement with the conditions stipulated by the Swedish Government in its letter dated 5 November 1956, from its permanent representative [A/3302, annex 7]. This was equally our understanding when we voted in favour of the establishment of an emergency international Force, as well as the understanding, we believe, of the Secretary-General. We also understand that the emergency international Force will be confined to the Armistice demarcation line, once the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt and the withdrawal of Israel forces behind the armistice line are completed.

107. A nineteen-Power draft resolution [A/3309] in conformity with the essential principle on which, in the opinion of my delegation, the action of the General Assembly must be based in dealing with this question, has already been circulated. This principle is the complete and immediate withdrawal of French and United Kingdom forces from Egyptian territory, on the one hand, and the immediate withdrawal of Israel forces behind the armistice line, on the other. The implementation of this fundamental requirement must precede the establishment and functioning of the United Nations emergency international Force. In our considered opinion, therefore, the nineteen-Power draft resolution should be given priority over any other draft resolution and voted upon first. We fear that if such a course is not followed the United Nations emergency international Force will be faced with difficulties of the utmost importance, which it will be unable to solve.

108. Mr. SUDJARWO (Indonesia): When we met in this emergency special session a little more than two nights ago and discussed the setting up of an United Nations emergency international Force to enforce and supervise the cessation of hostilities in terms of our resolution of 2 November [997 (ES-I)], grave as the situation still was, one then entertained a slight hope that these constructive measures would persuade France, Israel and the United Kingdom not to repudiate that resolution any longer. I indicated at that time that it would be really senseless for the United Kingdom and France further to endanger and aggravate the situation by continuing their bombardment and by car-

rying through the landing of forces in the Suez Canal zone. Strong appeals were addressed to these States to stop their military operations, to agree to an immediate and unconditional cease-fire, to heed the General Assembly's call and to honour their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations,

109. Instead, in the past two or three days, France and the United Kingdom intensified their attacks upon several Egyptian cities and objectives, and dropped paratroops and landed forces at several points along the Canal zone. The fighting became more widespread. The loss of life and destruction of property took place on an even greater scale. The war launched against Egypt and within Egyptian territory was, in short, relentlessly extended and intensified. News reaching us from the battlefield gave evidence of this further aggravation of the situation, causing large-scale devastation, including heavy loss of life among the civilian population. Here is what one correspondent, Mr. Charles Arnot, wrote in the *New York Journal American* of 5 November 1956:

"If this isn't war, then somebody better tell the foreign correspondents in Cairo. Those bombs that boomed around us on the Egyptian countryside today had the same terrifying whistle and crunch and smell of death that accompanied those the Japanese dumped on us at Guadalcanal and the ones the Germans flung down on London".

This correspondent, en route back to Cairo, described how "eight fighter-bombers swooped and dived to see along the road we took the devastation left by Friday's big bomber attack on the Abu Zabaal prison, seventeen miles east of Cairo, where at least ninety persons were killed and more than a hundred injured", trapped helplessly when British bombers swooped down upon them.

110. We also have the authoritative report from General Burns to the Secretary-General, dated 5 November, which may be found as an annex to the third report of the Secretary-General, document A/3296. General Burns reports that, according to messages received from Colonel Ely and Mr. Gordon, "a bomb fell on the main railway line 500 metres north-east of Cairo Central Station and within 200 yards of the United Nations Information Centre", and "intense fighter-bomber action was observed in the area of Abusetha barracks, which is located in a densely populated area". It was heartening to know that the Egyptian Government and people were gallantly fighting the invaders, defending every inch of their territory and the life of their country in a most determined manner. To that spirit of freedom I should like to pay tribute.

111. We should not retreat in any way from the enforcement of a resolution which we have adopted almost unanimously as providing an immediate means, and a just means, for meeting so grave a situation, so flagrant a breach of the peace. The moral forces of the world should be increasingly rallied to give immediate and complete effect to our resolutions.

112. Yesterday, news reached us which may change the situation and be the beginning of a peaceful settlement. We were told that France, Israel and the United Kingdom are now prepared to cease fire and stop military operations against Egypt. But they are, of course, already in Egyptian territory. While appreciating their decision to cease fire and end the military operations,

we have been given no indication yet that these States are ready to comply fully with all the provisions of the resolution of 2 November. Moreover, a cease-fire alone is not sufficient to meet the situation. As has often been pointed out, and rightly so, in connexion with this question, a cease-fire and a withdrawal of forces are interrelated. The cessation of fighting should be accompanied by a withdrawal of the invading forces, as called for by the letter and the spirit of the resolution of 2 November. They are the twin measures imperative for restoring peace in the area. A cease-fire without at the same time a withdrawal of the invading forces can in fact have no real meaning for the victim of aggression. Under such circumstances, the mere cessation of fighting would mean nothing less than occupation of Egyptian territory by foreign forces. We cannot allow the continuation of such a hazardous situation. It therefore remains the duty of this Assembly to secure from the attacking parties full compliance with the terms of its resolutions and their meaning, so as to achieve those conditions necessary for the restoration of peace and security in the area. By moving and landing troops in Egypt, the United Kingdom and France have already violated the resolutions of this Assembly, and the presence of their forces now on Egyptian territory is therefore contrary to the will of this Assembly. They should therefore be immediately withdrawn with the cessation of hostilities.

113. That is why my delegation has co-sponsored with eighteen other nations the joint draft resolution [A/3309] introduced by the representative of Ceylon and now before this Assembly. I sincerely hope that this draft resolution will soon be adopted.

114. I also cannot fail to call the attention of this Assembly, as has already been done by the representative of Norway, to the fate of the Palestine refugees in the Gaza Strip in particular—additional innocent victims of the tremendous damage caused by the invading forces. The Director-General of UNRWA has cabled the Secretary-General in document A/3283 that the continuation of unrest and hostilities in the Gaza Strip will inevitably affect adversely the carrying out of the Agency's mandate as given by the General Assembly, and he urgently stressed that the majority of the refugees have no means of subsistence other than those provided for them by the United Nations—and this, indeed, is not much. Certainly, this tragic humanitarian problem should be a matter for our constant attention, too. I should therefore like to make a formal request to the Secretary-General to keep an eye constantly on this situation, to find ways and means to meet the situation in co-operation with UNRWA and other relevant agencies, and to report to us thereon as appropriate.

115. At the same time, in view of the great devastation and the widespread loss of life suffered by the population of Egypt, to which our sympathies should go, I should like to draw the attention of this Organization to the relief work needed to alleviate the suffering of the Egyptian people who are the victims of this war of aggression. The Secretary-General of the United Nations may indeed be in a position to co-ordinate such relief works with those of appropriate specialized agencies. My delegation may, if necessary, table a formal draft resolution to that effect at a later stage of our proceedings in this special session.

116. With respect to the plan for an emergency international United Nations Force, I wish to express,

first of all, the great appreciation of my delegation for the admirable and expeditious manner in which the Secretary-General has discharged the request made of him in the Assembly resolution of 4 November 1956. In his report [*A/3302 and Add. 1 to 7*], the Secretary-General has touched upon many important and intricate questions which deserve our closest attention and study. From the very outset, it should be pointed out, as I have already indicated in my previous statement on this matter, [*565th meeting*] that, under the terms of reference of the resolution of 2 November, the functions of this international United Nations Force include the withdrawal of all non-Egyptian forces. Indeed, the report of the Secretary-General notes that securing the cessation of hostilities includes also the withdrawal of the invading forces, although the report does not state that the United Nations Force would enforce such a withdrawal of foreign troops. Yet, it should be clear to all that, in the light of the fact that the international United Nations Force was to be set up to secure and supervise compliance with all the terms of the resolution of 2 November, it would serve no real purpose to set up such a Force without any clear indication that the three parties concerned are ready and willing to withdraw their forces from Egyptian soil.

117. Secondly, it is obvious that this international United Nations Force should be so composed that it can carry out its functions without prejudice to the political issues which may lie behind this conflict, and certainly in the spirit of the Assembly's resolution. In this respect, I should like to stress the importance of paragraph 8 of the Secretary-General's report wherein it is stated that the international United Nations Force would be, in the first place, of a temporary nature. It is an emergency measure indeed. Moreover, it is stressed in that paragraph of the report that "there is no intent in the establishment of the force to influence the military balance in the present conflict and, thereby, the political balance affecting efforts to settle the conflict". I fully support the Secretary-General's conclusion that:

"By the establishment of the Force, therefore, the General Assembly has not taken a stand in relation to aims other than those clearly and fully indicated in its resolution of 2 November 1956."

Another and related point which should be stressed is

that, as the Secretary-General rightly notes, the emergency international United Nations Force would in no way be a military force temporarily controlling the territory in which it is stationed, but would enter Egyptian territory with the consent of the Egyptian Government in order to secure and supervise the enforcement of a cease-fire, the withdrawal of non-Egyptian troops, and compliance with the other provisions of the resolution of 2 November—all these functions being carried out in co-operation with local authorities. And surely this international Force has been set up without prejudice to the question of the Suez Canal. Its task ends as soon as the objectives of this Assembly's resolution are fully achieved. The sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of Egypt can in no way be compromised by the existence of this—even temporary—international Force and by its carrying out of its functions.

118. The report of the Secretary-General brings to the forefront many other vital questions which deserve further study and consideration. In that respect, I feel that there is practical merit in the suggestion of the Secretary-General to establish a small committee of the General Assembly to explore further several open matters and, at the same time, serve also as an advisory committee to the Secretary-General for questions relating to the operations. However, such a small committee would, of course, have to be composed in a manner fully compatible with, and observant of, the spirit lying behind the resolution adopted on 2 November, as well as the establishment of an international United Nations Force. In this spirit my delegation will view the seven-Power draft resolution [*A/3308*] and in general my delegation supports the ideas contained therein. However, it should be adopted together with the adoption of the nineteen nations' draft resolution [*A/3309*] on the withdrawal of forces, and I would support the suggestion of the representative of Syria that that nineteen-nation draft resolution be accorded priority in the voting.

119. In conclusion, I should also like to endorse strongly the Secretary-General's that this Assembly should proceed to action forthwith on all points where a urgent significance to the further development of the plan and the fulfilment of peace is possible now.

The meeting rose at 1:25 p.m.

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PLENARY MEETING 567th

Wednesday, 7 November 1956
at 3 p.m.

FIRST EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

New York

CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 5:

Question considered by the Security Council at its
749th and 750th meetings held on 30 October 1956
(continued) 105

President: Mr. Rudecindo ORTEGA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 5

**Question considered by the Security Council at its
749th and 750th meetings held on 30 October
1956 (continued)**

1. Mr. SHAHA (Nepal): In explaining my delegation's vote at the 563rd meeting in favour of General Assembly resolution 999 (ES-I), I stated that I had apprehended and deplored the attempt and the tendency on the part of the Powers concerned to present the United Nations with a *fait accompli* by the active use of force in order to gain their objectives of power politics and diplomacy. I am afraid my apprehensions have been amply borne out by the events of the last few days. The Powers chiefly responsible for the conflict in the Middle East, having secured their foothold on the soil of Egypt, do not seem inclined to retrace their steps, despite the recommendation of the Assembly that Israel, the United Kingdom and France should immediately withdraw their troops from Egyptian territory. That is the reason why my delegation has deemed it fit to sponsor, along with eighteen other nations, the draft resolution under discussion [A/3309].

2. We have learned with a sense of relief that Israel has ordered a cease-fire. But the fact remains that it has not yet withdrawn its forces behind the armistice lines.

3. It is truly unfortunate that two of the permanent members of the Security Council, The United Kingdom and France, have doubly proved themselves defaulters — first, by acting in violation of the United Nations Charter, and secondly, by refusing to implement the recommendations of the Assembly. Therefore, my delegation, in supporting the draft resolution which is already on the table, demands the immediate withdrawal of the Israel forces behind the armistice lines and appeals to the United Kingdom and France — which, as permanent members of the Council, have a great share of the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security — to withdraw their troops from the soil of Egypt immediately.

4. Now that Israel has ordered a cease-fire and the emergency international United Nations Force is in the process of being organized pursuant to General Assembly resolution 998 (ES-I) of 4 November, there is nothing to prevent the United Kingdom and France from withdrawing their troops from Egypt. Their

plea that the armed conflict between Egypt and Israel presents a danger to the Suez Canal no longer holds good.

5. My delegation appreciates greatly the promptness with which the Secretary-General has acted in the matter of setting up a United Nations Command for the proposed international police force, and fully associates itself with the tributes that have been paid to his ability, judgment and impartiality earlier in the course of the debate. My delegation is also in general agreement with the seven-Power draft resolution [A/3308], introduced by the representative of Denmark. It hopes that the steps envisaged in respect of the creation of an emergency international force in that draft resolution will go a long way towards producing the desired results in the settlement of the crisis in the Middle East.

6. Mr. QUIROGA GALDO (Bolivia) (*translated from Spanish*): The announcement of the cease-fire in Egypt issued by the Governments of France and the United Kingdom is a source of satisfaction to us, because it represents some progress in our efforts to restore peace. There can be no doubt that this is the first positive result of the firm and dispassionate attitude adopted by the United Nations with regard to the deplorable events that are convulsing the world.

7. It is encouraging to note that the moral forces which enhance human dignity still lead to generally accepted, almost unanimous, decisions in this international Organization, decisions which, endorsed by world public opinion, may turn back aggression.

8. The Bolivian delegation, faithful to the principles by which its Government's international and domestic policy is always guided, feels in duty bound to declare that it regards the cease-fire as a preliminary measure to the immediate withdrawal of the foreign forces which are on Egyptian territory, a withdrawal which should begin not within days, still less weeks, but within hours, or, to be precise, within the number of hours which the invading troops needed to be flown from Cyprus to Egypt and to open their parachutes over the soil of Suez.

9. My delegation urgently calls upon the representatives to maintain their forceful and vigilant attitude, in order that our Organization may prevent the cease-fire from becoming the beginning of an occupation which, paradoxically, would be sanctioned by the United Nations.

10. The course which we should follow in order to achieve our objective has been clearly marked out by the various resolutions which we have approved by an overwhelming majority and which could be summarized thus: cease-fire, withdrawal of the invading troops to the lines established by the 1949 Armistice Agreement, and thoroughly constructive and realistic negotiations to bring about a just and stable peace. It should be emphasized that those three measures must be put into effect successively and with dispatch, in order to

avoid any hiatus which might be used by certain colonialist interests to disrupt the peace-making efforts.

11. There is no doubt that those measures will be effective only if they are carried out in quick succession. All three are interdependent and only through their indivisibility can they have a decisive effect. Any one of those measures, if taken in isolation, not only would be useless but might even defeat its own purpose.

12. It is also necessary to emphasize that the order in which they are put into effect cannot be changed. The cease-fire is intended to establish the material conditions essential to a solution of the problem. The withdrawal of the invading forces must immediately follow the cessation of armed conflict, for it would be impossible to negotiate the stable and lasting peace sought by the United Nations under the threat of the armies of occupation.

13. The General Assembly is not obliged to bring about an armistice, and it would be absurd to attribute that character to the cessation of hostilities, because we are not confronted either technically or morally with an international war, but with an aggression committed by three Members of the United Nations against another State also a Member of the United Nations, in flagrant violation of the spirit and the letter of the Charter.

14. Accordingly, if the territory invaded is not immediately evacuated and if such a situation is accepted by the United Nations, this would mean, I repeat, the tacit countenancing of those violations of the Charter. I do not think this will happen in any circumstances.

15. I stress again that the course to be followed has been clearly marked out by the resolutions previously adopted by the Assembly.

16. Confident that this course will be followed, the Bolivian delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution in document A/3308 concerning the establishment of the proposed emergency international Force and in favour of the draft resolution of the nineteen African and Asian Powers, in document A/3309.

17. With reference to the former, my delegation declares emphatically that it will give its support on the understanding that paragraph 2 of the operative part refers to all the belligerents without exception.

18. The immediate presence of United Nations forces in Egypt is important for world peace and security. The normal operation of the Suez Canal, as it was operating until the day of the aggression, is of importance to world trade and economy.

19. Egypt, which truly showed its ability to ensure normal transit through that waterway, has sufficient material and human resources to resume its administration.

20. In my opinion, one of the first duties to be discharged by the Command of the emergency international Force is the urgent and inescapable duty of providing Egypt, and not other nations, with all the moral and material safeguards which may be required to ensure the normal operation of the Canal.

21. In this connexion, the Bolivian delegation considers that documents A/3306 and A/3307, which contain communications addressed to the Secretary-General by the Permanent Representatives of the United Kingdom and France, represent a joint manoeuvre designed to present the United Nations with a *fait accompli*, the purpose being to obtain from the United

Nations tacit recognition of the validity of one of the main reasons for the aggression: the intention to return the Canal to the defunct Universal Suez Maritime Canal Company by the use of force.

22. My delegation considers that it is for Egypt, and not for other nations, to put the Suez Canal back into operation and to reopen it to international trade, with the co-operation of the United Nations Command, and, if necessary, with the assistance of certain Members of the United Nations which have ample technical and financial resources, but which are not parties involved in the conflict.

23. Bolivia also hopes that in the future, in the very near future, with all due respect to the economic and political sovereignty of Egypt, the United Nations will assume the role of guaranteeing freedom of transit through that important waterway so that it may no longer be an element of discord and may instead become a factor contributing to harmony and co-operation among all the nations of the world.

24. Mr. JAWAD (Iraq): Six days have elapsed since the first emergency special session of the General Assembly adopted its first resolution [997 (ES-I)] recognizing the existence of acts of war on the part of the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt — six days which have moved world public opinion and centred its attention on this assembly of nations. They have been days of great anxiety and sorrow.

25. It was possible to follow the debates in parliaments and to note how deeply the conscience of enlightened public opinion was perturbed by the risk of a general war. The meetings of the United Kingdom House of Commons revealed beyond any doubt that a large sector of the British people does not support a policy of war and aggression. This "large sector", is understood to represent the majority of the people.

26. The progressive Press all over the world condemned the aggressive acts of the three States and their use of force as an instrument for the settlement of differences between nations. A large number of leaders and statesmen from Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America raised their voices in condemnation of the policy of force in settling international differences.

27. There is no doubt that this crisis, which has been fabricated by two of the permanent members of the Security Council — two of the most advanced countries of the world, two of the Powers that had fought in the Second World War to defeat the policy of force — shows how irresponsible these two Powers felt toward the future of the United Nations and toward the future of humanity.

28. Their motives have become clear and evident: to achieve their egotistic goals, irrespective of the grave consequences which those goals might entail and in spite of international pleas and requests.

29. The General Assembly has been informed daily by the Secretary-General of the reaction of the three Powers to resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November and to other resolutions. It has also been informed by the representatives of these States in declarations and statements made here. When all this information is properly examined, it will be clearly shown that these Powers were, on the one hand, employing the tactics of delay, and were, on the other, trying to delude public opinion as to their real intentions. It was essential for them to play for time so as to be able to achieve their objectives, and their twisted declarations of intentions

were used as a means of confusing opinion within and outside the United Nations.

30. I shall illustrate this from the documents which have been circulated and the statements which have been made in the Assembly. The attack by Israel upon Egypt, and its violation of the decisions of the United Nations, were proclaimed to have been undertaken for the purpose of destroying the bases from which the *fedayeen* were supposed to operate. If this were the intention, then some questions ought to be asked. How many bases were there to justify the invasion of the whole Sinai peninsula? Is it justifiable for any State to go to war or to involve itself and others in the grave danger of committing a breach of the peace in order to suppress a few dozen people?

31. Even if it is to be assumed that the *fedayeen* were dangerous, was it not the duty of Israel as a Member of the United Nations and a State which owes its very existence to this Organization, to bring the question to the attention of the United Nations? It is unnecessary to say that this pretence does not stand up to any examination. It is merely the manifestation of an aggressive policy which has been basic in the behaviour of Israel since its establishment.

32. No sooner did Israel attack Egypt than the United Kingdom and France began to move, as if by appointment. Their place of rendezvous was the Suez Canal. They proclaimed that the Canal was in danger and that the combatants must be separated and kept apart at a distance from the Canal. However, they vetoed any action by the United Nations, issued ultimatums to Egypt and imposed their solution by attacking Egypt, thus giving Israel a free hand to occupy Gaza and the Sinai Peninsula. They called their armed intervention "a police action". Unfortunately, however, it was directed against the victim of the aggression, not against the aggressor.

33. The United Kingdom and France informed the Secretary-General [A/3269, 3268], in reply to resolution 997 (ES-I), that they continued to maintain their view that the police action must be carried through urgently to stop the hostilities. But the words "police action" could not deceive the world any longer: in the second part of their reply they stated their willingness to stop military action as soon as the following conditions were satisfied: (1) That both the Egyptian and Israel Governments would agree to accept a United Nations force to keep the peace, (2) That the United Nations would decide to constitute and maintain such a force until an Arab-Israel peace settlement was reached and until satisfactory arrangements had been agreed in regard to the Suez Canal, both agreements to be guaranteed by the United Nations, and (3) That, in the meantime, until the United Nations force was constituted, both combatants would agree to accept forthwith limited detachments of Franco-British troops to be stationed between the combatants.

34. There is no need to comment upon these three conditions. They speak for themselves. They mean simply that the United Kingdom and France rejected the resolution of 2 November and were subjugating Egypt to foreign occupation in violation of the principles of the Charter and of international law.

35. While these communications were going back and forth, the Franco-British armed forces were attacking the people of Egypt from the air with a view to achieving their objective, namely the occupation of Egyptian territory. When their forces were able to

land, the United Kingdom representative informed the Assembly [A/3299] that "orders have been given that all bombing should cease". But this was only to mislead the Assembly and public opinion, as the remaining part of the reply stated: "Any other form of air action as opposed to bombing will be confined to the support of any necessary operation in the Canal area."

36. Is there any need to interpret the explicit intention of the British and French forces to occupy the Canal Zone? Does it need much imagination? Despite these official statements, the bombing of towns and civilians has continued up to the present. Again and again news came to confirm the fact that the attacks of the British and French forces were mainly directed at the occupation of key points in the Suez Canal and at exposing the Canal itself to the danger of destruction, and thus refuted in a practical way their anxiety to protect the Canal.

37. The policy of delay and the tactics used to achieve it have not ceased. The representatives of the United Kingdom and France have informed the Secretary-General [A/3306, 3307] that their Governments still require clarification of certain points. What are the points? First, whether the Secretary-General could confirm that the Egyptian and Israel Governments have accepted an unconditional cease-fire, and second, whether the international force to be set up would be competent to secure and supervise the attainment of the objectives set out in the operative part of resolution 997 (ES-I). Yes, if the United Kingdom and France receive a reply to their satisfaction — and that is doubtful — then they will agree to stop further military operations.

38. Such an attitude shows, first, an absence of good will, and secondly, a mistrust of the capacity of the United Nations to set up the necessary military force to handle the situation. There are enough experienced people in the countries Members of this Organization who know about military affairs. There are enough States willing to contribute to the setting up of a United Nations military force, and there are, moreover, the positive replies of Egypt to the effect that it will abide by the decisions reached freely at an international level.

39. But the aggressor did not lose sight of its main objective. The reply of the United Kingdom Government contains another condition: it pointed out that the clearing of the obstructions in the Suez Canal and its approaches was a matter of great urgency and that the Franco-British forces were equipped to tackle this task and should begin the work at once.

40. Here again we are faced with the same aggressive objective. Surely the Egyptian Government is in a position to clear the obstructions, if there are any. What is more obstructive to the operation of the Suez Canal than the military operations which have been undertaken by the United Kingdom and France? These replies were obviously intended to gain time and to achieve the objectives of the "police action", that is, the occupation of the Suez Canal, despite the decisions of the Security Council.

41. The same game of the United Kingdom and French Governments has also been played by the Israelis, who have listened carefully to the voice of their masters. While Israel was at one stage making the acceptance of the cease-fire conditional, its representative declared in the Assembly that the General

Armistice Agreements had become a fiction and had no validity.

42. This reply implied a clear-cut refusal to comply with paragraph 2 of resolution 997 (ES-I), which states:

"The General Assembly

"2. Urges the parties to the armistice agreements promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighboring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements."

43. It may be useful to add that, from the information received today, the Prime Minister of Israel said that his Government will not agree to the stationing of foreign troops on its territory or the territory occupied by it. This confirms Israel's attitude of defiance.

44. I do not want to tire the Assembly with examples from documents which have been circulated to the Assembly or from statements delivered here. There is plenty of evidence to show that the three States in question have tried to defy the Assembly, to delay the undertaking of effective action by it and to sidetrack the main issue for which the Assembly has been called upon to meet in emergency session. It is hardly necessary to point out that our main objective has been to stop the unprovoked imperialistic war before other states become involved in it. All the Arab States in the Middle East also risk becoming the victims of an aggression similar to that committed against Egypt.

45. It is high time for effective action to be taken in order to end the actual state of war and to give a lesson to the aggressors to respect the frontiers of their neighbours and their territorial integrity. Only in this way will the Charter and the United Nations have proved their value to the international community. The delegation of Iraq highly appreciates the element of urgency involved in the setting up of the emergency international force and in the immediate withdrawal of foreign armed forces from the territory of Egypt, as expressed by the representative of the United States.

46. The plan submitted by the Secretary-General regarding the formation and functioning of an emergency international force [A/3302] is conceived in the light of past experience and is based on sound principles. It should, however, be considered in the light of the urgency of the problem and the international situation created, first, by the nature of the conflict, and secondly, by the previous decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council; and it should, above all, be considered as an effective means for the implementation of the resolutions of this first emergency special session of the General Assembly.

47. It is to be particularly emphasized that, in the formation of the international force, efforts should be expended to lay the foundations of a mechanism which will be in a position to enforce, on the one hand, the immediate withdrawal of the armed forces of Israel to the armistice line, both in Egyptian territory proper and in the Gaza section of Palestine and, on the other hand, the withdrawal of the Franco-British forces from Egyptian territory.

48. In view of the fact that the delegation of Iraq is anxious to see the conflict brought to a quick end with the establishment of peace and justice, it will support the action of the General Assembly which will ensure these objectives.

49. Mr. MICHALOWSKI (Poland): The Polish delegation supports the draft resolution submitted by the representative of Ceylon on behalf of nineteen countries [A/3309]. In its opinion, this draft resolution contains the provisions necessary to safeguard the appropriate execution of the previous resolutions adopted by the Assembly.

50. As to the draft resolution submitted on behalf of the seven countries by the representative of Denmark at the 566th meeting [A/3308], I would like to move a slight amendment the adoption of which would enable my delegation to vote for this draft. On closer examination of paragraph 6 of the operative part, it is our opinion that the countries nominated as members of the advisory committee represent all of the important regions of the world except one, namely, Eastern Europe.

51. In our opinion, the action proposed by the draft resolution, namely, the establishment, for the first time, of an emergency international force of the United Nations, constitutes a very important step. This action should be very carefully planned and observed. The advisory committee will have a heavy responsibility. In the circumstances, my delegation feels that the membership of the committee should be justly distributed in accordance with the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. No political prejudices should influence the establishment of the committee. It must be a balanced one in its composition.

52. For this reason my delegation proposes an amendment to paragraph 6 of the draft resolution, namely, the inclusion of Czechoslovakia in the list of members of the advisory committee. I might mention that Czechoslovakia is one of the countries which offered a contribution to the emergency international force, as have most of the countries on the list.

53. I have one more remark to make, which is somewhat legal in character. There is some doubt in my mind with regard to paragraph 9 of this draft resolution, which gives the advisory committee the power to request the convening of the General Assembly. First of all, I am at a loss to know what kind of session of the General Assembly is meant — a regular session, a special session, or an emergency special session? Secondly, I have some doubts concerning not the substance of the matter, but the procedure, namely, whether such a paragraph is in conformity with Article 20 of the Charter and, consequently, with rules 8 and 9 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. Perhaps those doubts could be clarified by the Secretariat or by the sponsors of the draft resolution.

54. Mr. BRILEJ (Yugoslavia): At the second meeting of this emergency special session [562nd meeting], on that memorable night of 1-2 November, the General Assembly adopted resolution 997 (ES-I), in which it called upon all parties to agree to an immediate cease-fire and, as part thereof, to halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area. In the same resolution the Assembly urged Israel promptly to withdraw its forces behind the armistice lines.

55. Four days have elapsed since the adoption of that resolution — four days in which the attack against Egypt has increased in scope and momentum and in which the bombing of Egyptian cities has been relentlessly pursued and the threat of a major conflagration increased by the hour. As a result of these four days of aggression against Egypt, both the Israel and the Franco-British ground forces have occupied parts of

Egyptian territory. Now, four days later, the United Kingdom, France and Israel have agreed, although belatedly to a cease-fire. This in itself is an important achievement. It is a victory for world public opinion and evidence of the moral weight carried by United Nations recommendations.

56. This, however, is not enough. It is not enough to achieve a cease-fire although, of course, a cease-fire is an essential first step. The cease-fire must be followed speedily by the withdrawal of the invading forces from all Egyptian territory. Otherwise, a cease-fire on the lines resulting from the present state of military operations would be little more than a consecration of the aggression. In other words, resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November and the subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly must be implemented in their entirety.

57. Neither Israel nor France nor the United Kingdom has so far indicated a readiness to follow up the cease-fire with a prompt withdrawal of its armed forces from Egyptian territory. The Government of Israel, on the contrary, has made it abundantly clear that it has no intention of relinquishing the part of Egyptian territory which its armed forces now hold. As to France and the United Kingdom, according to the communications addressed yesterday to the Secretary-General [A/3307, 3306], they have confined themselves to a cease-fire—and, I would say, a qualified cease-fire at that. They make no mention of the withdrawal of their forces from Egyptian territory.

58. To ensure the speedy withdrawal of British, French and Israel forces from Egyptian territory is the immediate task now confronting the General Assembly. The draft resolution submitted by the Arab and Asian countries [A/3309] addresses itself to this immediate task in what my delegation considers to be a clear and unequivocal manner. This draft resolution will have the full support of my delegation.

59. I should like now to address myself briefly to the other draft resolution which is before the Assembly [A/3308]. This draft appears to be a natural sequel to the two previous resolutions dealing with the question of the establishment of an emergency international force [998 (ES-I) and 1000 (ES-I)], in accordance with the terms of resolution 997 (ES-I). My delegation voted in favour of the two previous resolutions because it considered that the measures envisaged therein would be helpful in ensuring implementation of resolution 997 (ES-I), which provides for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of the invading forces, but, of course, nothing beyond that. My delegation will, therefore, also vote in favour of this draft resolution.

60. It is our hope that both of the draft resolutions before us will be adopted promptly by the Assembly and that they will lead to a prompt withdrawal of foreign forces from Egyptian territory and the restoration of peace in that area.

61. With regard to the amendment submitted a few moments ago by the delegation of Poland to the draft resolution in document A/3308—namely, the inclusion of Czechoslovakia in the proposed advisory committee—its adoption would, in my opinion, give the committee a more broadly representative character. My delegation, therefore, will vote in favour of that amendment.

62. Before concluding, I should like to associate my delegation with these other delegations which have paid a well-deserved tribute to our Secretary-General for the devotion and skill which he has shown once

again in discharging his new task on behalf of the United Nations.

63. Mr. AZIZ (Afghanistan) (*translated from French*): We had fervently hoped that the announcement of the cease-fire would be confirmed by a cease-fire in fact. Unfortunately, from what the representative of Egypt told us at the 566th meeting and from the telegram of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt circulated in document A/3312 a few moments ago, it appears that aggression is continuing in Egypt despite the urgent appeals of the United Nations. The blood of Egyptians—men, women and children—is still flowing. The time has come to take decisive action.

64. We urgently request that the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly concerning the cease-fire and, in particular, the withdrawal of the invasion troops be applied immediately. A cease-fire without a withdrawal of troops could not settle the situation and would only sanction the aggression. This is why, along with eighteen other Asian-African countries, we have submitted a draft resolution [A/3309] to reaffirm our previous resolutions, and we ask the General Assembly to adopt it unanimously.

65. My Government's attitude on the tragic events under consideration was clearly expressed in a telegram to the Secretary-General. In order not to take up too much of your time I shall merely quote the final passage:

"It is a time of trial for the United Nations to comply with the recommendations and promises of the Charter and to stop the aggressors from their unlawful and unwarranted action. Afghanistan earnestly hopes that the United Nations and its loyal peace-loving Members will take effective steps against this aggressive act which seriously endangers international peace and security in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and demonstrate that liberty and independence of all countries shall be maintained and guaranteed. As a loyal Member of the United Nations Afghanistan will fully and wholeheartedly support all efforts and endeavours of the world Organization to condemn and frustrate this aggression."¹

The telegram was signed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, for the Prime Minister.

66. On behalf of my delegation, I wish to thank the Secretary-General for the efforts he is exerting to restore peace in the Middle East.

67. Lastly, at this most tragic hour, I should like to express once again the deep sympathy of my people and my Government for the innocent Egyptian victims.

68. We firmly believe that it is the duty of the United Nations to do its utmost to overcome the effects of the destruction inflicted on Egypt and to undertake as soon as possible reconstruction work worthy of the Organization. The General Assembly must appreciate the terrible damage done to Egypt and consider appropriate measures to remedy the situation.

69. Mr. RIZK (Lebanon): The guns, we have been told, are silent on the unhappy shores of Egypt. The criminal war which the nostalgic colonialists and frustrated militarists of France, the United Kingdom and Israel launched against the hapless towns and hamlets of Egypt, bringing death and destruction, misery and sorrow, in its wake—that butchery, we hope, has

¹ Quoted in English.

temporarily come to a halt. If the guns and the bombs of the aggressors have been silenced, it was primarily due to the heroic defence of the people of Egypt, soldiers and civilians alike, who by their courage and their determination to die, if need be, so that their honour and freedom might be saved, have shown the invaders that their conquest of Egypt was not going to be the promenade Messrs. Eden and Mollet expected it to be.

70. If the thunder of war has subsided in Egypt, it is because the aggressors have had second thoughts about the vulnerability of Arab nationalism, that nationalism which proudly stands as a formidable barrier to imperialist dreams, that nationalism which has proved a deadly weapon against colonial tyranny, that nationalism, finally, which they set out to destroy. If the roar of the aggressors' guns has been silenced, it was by the indignant and mighty uproar of mankind that stood up to aggression, that craves for peace, that believes in human liberty and freedom, that refuses to plunge this unhappy planet of ours into a holocaust of unprecedented magnitude to satisfy the endless ambitions and lust for power of some or the criminal designs of others.

71. In these fateful moments, our thoughts and sympathies go to all those who are suffering, to the wounded, to the bereaved and to all the victims of this senseless adventure, to whichever camp they belong. It is fitting, I believe, to pay a particular tribute to the brave people of Egypt, to the heroic defenders of Port Said, Ismailia, Suez, Alexandria and other martyr towns, for the gallant fight that they have waged against the ruthless invaders, for they too were imbued with the spirit which brought that great American, Patrick Henry, to say "Give me liberty or give me death!"

72. The tragic days through which we have gone, the unanimous voice with which the civilized world has rebelled against the war of aggression perpetrated against Egypt have, I believe, sufficiently established the responsibility. We need not dwell on this matter any further at this time. Nor would it be profitable to attempt to apportion responsibility among the respective invaders for their brutal aggression. I am sure that history will take care of that.

73. We should not sit back in our chairs and delude ourselves that the aggression perpetrated against Egypt has ended and that peace has been restored. The success the Assembly has had so far is very limited indeed and does not go beyond putting an end temporarily to the senseless fighting.

74. A cease-fire is indeed a great achievement in itself. Those who have contributed to its attainment—the General Assembly, the Secretary-General, the statesmen of the world—have done a magnificent job. However, the cease-fire does not bring peace to the victim of aggression, nor does it rectify the wrong inflicted upon Egypt. It therefore becomes incumbent upon the Assembly to pursue and intensify its efforts with one objective in view, namely, that of implementing all the provisions of resolution 997 (ES-I), in particular that which urges the withdrawal of all forces behind the armistice lines — and this refers, of course, to Israel — and that which deals with the withdrawal of all other invading forces.

75. As far as the three aggressors are concerned, official reaction has been received only from Israel to the General Assembly's request that Israel forces should

be withdrawn behind the armistice lines. This reaction was a flat and insolent rejection of the Assembly's request. Since it came from a Government that has impudently and consistently defied the will of the civilized world, expressed in the Assembly's resolutions, it was no surprise that Ben-Gurion should announce to his Knesset this morning that Israel has no intention of relinquishing Egyptian territory which it now holds by conquest. Having gotten away with murder, having grabbed by conquest vast territories to which it has no juridical or moral claim, Israel hopes to get away with this new act of aggression.

76. The test of the Assembly's effectiveness as an instrument of world peace is yet to come. It is not sufficient to obtain a cease-fire. The wrongs inflicted by aggression must be entirely rectified and justice restored. If the present efforts of the General Assembly to restore the peace, so brutally shattered by Franco-British-Israel aggression, are to have any meaning, if these efforts are to prove fruitful, the following facts must be borne in mind.

77. The present war of aggression against Egypt has nothing to do with the Palestine problem. My delegation has said before, and we repeat again here, that the war which was launched against Egypt was a colonial war, a war of conquest, a war to stamp out an Arab nationalism whose interests conflicted with those of the colonial Powers. Israel entered the picture only as a tool, providing the excuse for Franco-British intervention. To claim, as does Ben-Gurion, that the withdrawal if any, of Israel forces behind the armistice lines, as requested by General Assembly resolution 997 (ES-I), will have to await the peaceful settlement of the Palestine problem and is contingent upon that settlement, can have only one aim in view: that of torpedoing the Assembly's present efforts and stopping it from bringing them to a successful conclusion.

78. The General Assembly, which has shown firmness in dealing with mightier aggressors, will, I am sure, remain firm in the face of this Zionist rebellion and will use the powers and means provided in the Charter to enforce the rule of law. Whatever territorial advantages may have accrued to Israel as a result of its dastardly attack upon Egypt — a sneak attack, made possible by Egyptian involvement with the United Kingdom and France — cannot and must not be allowed to be used by Israel to enhance its bargaining power in a problem, the Palestine problem, which, I repeat, has nothing to do with the present conflict.

79. If I have dwelt at some length on this point, it is because of Lebanon's ardent desire that the present efforts of the General Assembly should be brought to a happy and successful conclusion. Only one part of the Assembly's request has been met, namely, the cease-fire. Egypt, quite rightly, has accepted the cease-fire on condition that the other part of the Assembly's resolution is implemented — that is, that all the invading forces are withdrawn from Egyptian territory.

80. The draft resolution presented in the name of the Asian-African delegation ([A/3309], which was read out by the representative of Ceylon at the previous meeting, has as an objective precisely to reinforce and facilitate the efforts of those working for a restoration of peace in Egypt. In our view, its adoption is a necessary step which must be taken if the Secretary-General's plan concerning an emergency international United Nations Force, and the draft resolution relative thereto, are to have any meaning at all.

81. In this connexion, I must make clear that my delegation's understanding of the phrase "immediate withdrawal of all forces" is that such withdrawal should take place in the shortest possible time and, in any case, not later than forty-eight hours. The guns in Egypt may or may not be silent; we receive conflicting reports about that matter. But this silence, even if it were true, can only be temporary, and is contingent upon the withdrawal of all the invading forces from Egyptian territory and behind the armistice lines.

82. Inasmuch as the draft resolution embodied in document A/3308 aims at the complete implementation of Assembly resolution 997 (ES-I), particularly its cease-fire and withdrawal provisions — I repeat: and withdrawal provisions — my delegation will vote in favour of it, subject, of course, to the reservations which the representative of Syria made in his able statement at the previous meeting and which I shall not repeat here in view of the general desire in the Assembly to proceed rapidly to the vote on the draft resolutions before it.

83. However, my delegation would be very appreciative if the Secretary-General could, at an appropriate moment, throw light on the status of the General Armistice Agreements in the area and of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization. Such light, I feel certain, would be of considerable help and would clear up some of the points raised in the Secretary-General's second and final report in document A/3302.

84. Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand): My Government has today reaffirmed its willingness to contribute to the emergency international United Nations Force. Its support for the establishment of a force and its readiness to contribute to that force are based on the assumption that the size, nature and composition of the force will be such as to ensure that it will be able to carry out its intended functions effectively and, in particular, that it will be capable of preserving peace and order in its area of operation. On this understanding, and recognizing the need for speedy action to establish the force, my delegation is prepared to support the seven-Power draft resolution [A/3308].

85. The second draft resolution before us [A/3309] calls, *inter alia*, upon the United Kingdom and France once again "immediately to withdraw" — I stress the word "immediately" — "all their forces from Egyptian territory".

86. In the view of my delegation, the withdrawal of United Kingdom and French forces must be related to the readiness of an effective and suitably constituted United Nations force to establish itself in the area. An immediate withdrawal — construing the word literally — might make it extremely difficult for a United Nations force to take up its position in the area and perform its intended functions. For this reason alone, my delegation cannot support the draft resolution submitted by the nineteen countries.

87. My delegation is also obliged to note, however, that, considered as a whole, the draft resolution is no more than an unconstructive repetition of resolutions adopted in a situation which differed from that which obtains today. Since the Assembly last met, substantial progress has been made towards restoring peace and order in the Middle East. Any resolution we may now adopt should at the very least take account of events. Let us be realistic.

88. My delegation, therefore, hopes that the nineteen-Power draft resolution will not be pressed to a vote.

It is our feeling, moreover, that the time is rapidly approaching when the Assembly should turn its attention towards constructive efforts for the future. Out of the developments of the past week has come a golden opportunity to bring about a definitive settlement of outstanding problems in the Middle East, an opportunity which is unlikely to recur. It would be disastrous to permit a return to conditions in which a full-scale conflict can break out at any moment. The Suez Canal question must also be promptly settled.

89. While reserving its right to comment at the appropriate time upon the contents of the two United States draft resolutions ([A/3272 and A/3273] of 3 November, my delegation is in general agreement with their purposes. We recognize the reasons why immediate action has not been taken upon them, but that does not mean that we would favour any further substantial delay in taking up the vital matters with which they deal. We shall, therefore, support their consideration either at this emergency session or at a very early stage in the eleventh regular session.

90. U PE KIN (Burma): This is no time for re-counting what has taken place, but this much I want to say. When I arrived here last Sunday from my long journey I at once realized that I had entered into a crisis which had been before the United Nations for ten days. Since my arrival I have noticed, also, that many representatives have hardly slept. The task before us goes around the clock—not just seven days a week, but also seven nights. Mr. President, fellow representatives and members of the staff of the United Nations, I salute you for your tenacity, your determination and your uninterrupted devotion to duty. I shall try to conform to your rigid requirements.

91. In a more profound sense, I do not believe that this devotion to duty is really exceptional, for what is at stake is veritably not only what geographers and others call the Middle or Near East, but the world itself. Actually, today, this area is at the very centre of the world. If peace is not restored to the centre, then the peripheries, Europe, the Western Hemisphere and Asia, will be also drawn into whatever tragic fate befalls it.

92. Today, however, we are meeting at a moment in history where, happily, further tragedy may be averted. Lives have already been lost; they cannot be restored. Property has been damaged; it can be, in peace, recovered. Thousands of persons are living in desperation, not knowing where next week's food will come from. Nevertheless, the news we have had today clearly implies that further tragedy can be averted. The cease-fire, for which this solemn Assembly has endlessly striven, appears to be won. As I speak, for the first time in ten days bombs and bullets are not wrecking the lives and fortunes of innocent people. A cease-fire has been accepted by all the participants in this unwarranted use of force and so, in some measure, we are relieved that the United Kingdom, France and Israel are no longer inflicting the evils of war upon the Egyptian Government and the Egyptian people.

93. We welcome the fact that some measure of sanity has finally returned to them. But a cease-fire, good as it is, is not enough. We have before us a draft resolution submitted by my Government in conjunction with other Governments. I am referring to the draft resolution contained in document A/3309 and introduced at the previous meeting by the representative of Ceylon. This draft resolution, which representatives have before

them, calls for the withdrawal of all armed forces from Egyptian territory. It calls for, frankly, a return to the *status quo ante* and for scrupulous observation of the Armistice Agreement of 24 February 1949. I know that there are some delegations here which feel that this draft resolution does not go far enough, but whatever may be the feelings of some other delegations I earnestly appeal to our friends who seek peace to support this draft resolution.

94. I come now to the other draft resolution [A/3308] which my Government is co-sponsoring with the Governments of Argentina, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia and Sweden. The delegation of Burma has supported this draft resolution because of its deep belief in peace and its emphatic conviction that peace cannot be obtained as matters stand at present when hostile troops still occupy Egypt. We must put the emergency international United Nations Force into the field immediately. To us "immediately" means without any delay whatever, and it means consequently immediate withdrawal of British, French and Israel troops. I repeat, to us implementation of resolution 998 (ES-I) recommending the creation of an emergency international United Nations Force requires immediate evacuation of the troops which have invaded Egypt. Only this will satisfy us that the cease-fire means what it says.

95. We strongly favour the immediate creation of the advisory committee provided for in paragraph 6 of the draft resolution. I have no doubt that the Assembly will be unanimous in its choice of the chairman of that committee: the Secretary-General of the United Nations, whose untiring efforts have brought this international United Nations Force into being. We do not, however, insist that there should be any specific number of countries represented on the committee. For us, the important point is to come to an agreement and adopt the draft resolution, so that the United Nations Force may act rapidly and decisively.

96. Burma is determined that peace should be maintained and will lend all its support to attain that end. Because it so firmly believes this, I am happy to announce to the Assembly that my Government will contribute its share of forces — however small that may be in terms of numbers — to the emergency international United Nations Force.

97. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): The General Assembly has two draft resolutions before it. One, sponsored by seven Powers [A/3308], would approve the setting up of an international force, and proposes certain administrative measures to that end. The other, sponsored by nineteen Powers [A/3309], would call for the immediate withdrawal of British, French and Israel troops from the positions which they have taken up.

98. I do not need to go far back into the past in order to explain the attitude of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom towards these draft resolutions. I must, however, repeat that Her Majesty's Government considered that a grave emergency suddenly arose when Israel forces attacked Egypt, and that that emergency had to be dealt with at once. It was with just such emergencies that the United Nations was intended by its founders to deal, but, unfortunately — for reasons with which we are all familiar — the United Nations has not hitherto been equipped with the means necessary for that task. It was in that situation

that Her Majesty's Government and the Government of France regarded it as their duty to step in.

99. Since, however, we have believed from the beginning that this is a situation with which the United Nations should properly deal, we have heartily welcomed the idea of sending a United Nations force to the area to take over the responsibilities which we have felt bound to shoulder. The draft resolution presented by seven Powers contains a proposal for such a force. It goes without saying that we welcome the conception of an international force. It will naturally be understood that further study will be needed of some of the features of so intricate and important a project. Whether the international force should be composed of contingents from the larger or the smaller Powers is not a matter on which we would break our hearts, provided that the force is competent and effective for the purposes specified in the letter which I addressed to the Secretary-General on 3 November [A/3269].

100. It follows from our whole approach that Her Majesty's Government cannot accept that part of the nineteen-Power draft resolution which calls for the immediate withdrawal of British and French forces. If these forces were withdrawn before a United Nations force was able to arrive and take control, the separation of the parties which we have achieved would break down; the risk of hostilities between the parties would revive in an acute form; and the United Nations Force might arrive too late to prevent a new conflagration. There would also be, once again, a serious threat to the security of the Suez Canal. That, in fact, would amount to a return to the dangerous and uncertain conditions which have obtained in the area for many years. We do not believe for a moment that the Assembly wishes to see a return to such conditions. I hope, therefore, that the nineteen-Power draft resolution will not be put to the vote. If it is put to the vote, I shall not be able to support it.

101. One point, however, arises out of the nineteen-Power draft resolution on which I think it would be opportune for me to make my Government's position quite clear. I refer to the policy of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the Israel attack on Egypt. That policy is to ensure that Israel forces withdraw from Egyptian territory.

102. Reverting to the seven-Power draft resolution, which would approve the setting up of an international force, I should like briefly to elaborate the approach of Her Majesty's Government. As the Assembly is aware, Her Majesty's Government declared yesterday [A/3306] that it would agree to stop further military operations if the Secretary-General could confirm that (a) the Egyptian and Israel Governments had accepted an unconditional cease-fire, and (b) that the international force to be set up would be competent to secure and supervise the attainment of the objectives set out in the operative paragraphs of General Assembly resolution 997 (ES-I). As is well known, Her Majesty's Government has already ordered its forces to cease fire unless attacked. The Governments of France and the United Kingdom have stated that all further military operations would be stopped on receipt of confirmation from the Secretary-General regarding the above-mentioned points (a) and (b). It will, of course, be necessary even then that an effective force should be interpolated as a shield between Israel and Egypt. The idea that such a shield is essential seems to be universally accepted. It is the hope of Her Ma-

jesty's Government that the proposed international force will be set up as quickly as possible to take over this function.

103. Her Majesty's Government stands ready to enter into discussions with the appropriate authorities regarding all questions involved in the transfer of responsibilities to the international Force. It is our belief that this international Force should be authorized to prevent the resumption of hostilities between Israel and Egypt and to secure the withdrawal of Israel forces. It is the earnest hope of Her Majesty's Government that the presence of the international Force in the area will help to bring about, among other things, a generally acceptable settlement of the Palestine and Suez Canal problems. In the view of Her Majesty's Government, the international Force should remain in the area until all these problems have been solved, and we think that the logic of events will make this clear.

104. I now turn briefly to another point, a point of practical urgency. The technicians which have been introduced with the Franco-British forces are equipped to tackle the task of clearing the obstructions in the Suez Canal and its approaches. We are prepared to put them forthwith under the command of a United Nations technical officer for this purpose. This, of course, would be in no sense a military operation, but an essential task undertaken by technicians in the interest of world shipping and trade. We in no sense make this a condition of our acceptance of the plan for the international force, but it seems to us only reasonable that we should undertake this task, as no one else at present is in a position to do so.

105. At the same time, we feel that energetic steps should be taken by the United Nations to bring about new and constructive solutions of the basic problems of the Middle East. With this in view, Her Majesty's Government has suggested to the Assembly, as is already known, that an early meeting of the Security Council should be held at the ministerial level in order to work out an international settlement which would be likely to endure, together with the means to enforce it [A/3293].

106. I am glad to announce that with these explanations I am authorized to vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia and Sweden [A/3308].

107. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): My delegation has the honour to recommend to the General Assembly the draft resolution contained in document A/3308, which is sponsored by seven delegations, including my own. It may be observed, however, that the draft resolution which is before the Assembly for its consideration was introduced by the sponsors with a view to giving practical effect to the final report submitted by the Secretary-General this morning. [A/3302 and Add. 1-4, A/3302 - Add. 4/Rev. 1, A 3302/Add. 5-7].

108. By its resolutions 997 (ES-I) and 1000 (ES-I), the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to secure a cessation of hostilities, to supervise the truce and, to that end, to organize a United Nations Command which would act in the capacity of an international police force. The draft resolution in document A/3308, which is now before the General Assembly, gives directives to the Secretary-General regarding the purposes and functions of the police force.

109. It is, however, the understanding of the Ethiopian delegation, as one of the sponsors of this draft resolution, that the police force to be created will have limited functions and duties to perform. These functions have been set out in paragraph 12 of the Secretary-General's report as "to secure the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of the resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956". Consequently, my delegation finds itself in complete agreement with the representative of Sweden who said at the 566th meeting that the international force would not be sent to the Middle East to take over the functions which the Franco-British forces had set out to accomplish. I will add further that in my delegation's clear understanding the nature and the duties to be assigned to the international police force shall not exceed the objective of securing the cessation of hostilities in accordance with the terms of General Assembly resolution 997 (ES-I), which, of course, includes the supervision of the withdrawal of invading troops from Egyptian territory.

110. With this important point in mind, my delegation has no hesitation in recommending the draft resolution contained in document A/3308 to the General Assembly.

111. Since my delegation is one of the co-sponsors, needless to say it will vote for the draft resolution contained in document A/3309, which was read out to the Assembly this morning by the representative of Ceylon. That draft resolution is part and parcel of the effort that the Assembly has been making to restore peace in the Middle East.

112. Before leaving this rostrum, I should like to pay the homage of my delegation to the Secretary-General for the prompt and efficient manner with which he has performed the difficult task that has been laid upon him. We are grateful to him and to his staff.

113. Mr. WALKER (Australia): We are facing a question that is evolving very rapidly, and today we have before us two draft resolutions regarding which I wish to state the views of my delegation. But first I should like to comment on one aspect of the matter which has been in my mind from time to time and which I hope will not escape the attention of other delegations at this Assembly. I think that we should not for one moment forget that a heavy burden of responsibility rests upon the Soviet Union for the developments which led up to the present situation in the Middle East. Had it not been for the Soviet Union's action in supplying arms to Egypt, thus upsetting the delicate balance of forces in the area, then the United Nations might very well not be facing today the crisis that is upon it.

114. The Assembly has before it two draft resolutions, one proposed by the delegations of Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia and Sweden, which carries further the decision of the Assembly looking to the early establishment of an international force. It also has before it the nineteen-Power draft resolution which was submitted by the representative of Ceylon. I wish to say a word first about the latter draft resolution although, of course, it follows in time the draft resolution submitted by the seven Powers earlier today.

115. The nineteen-Power draft resolution in many ways is substantially a repetition of the first Asian-African draft resolution [A/3275], a draft which the Australian delegation was not able to support.

116. In this connexion, I must take exception to the references made by some speakers, particularly by the representative of Syria at the preceding meeting, when he asserted that previous Assembly resolutions had been opposed only by—I use his words—“the aggressors and their accomplices”. Such language is not only offensive to the United Kingdom and France, which came here and explained their action, but it is also offensive to my delegation and other delegations, which have seen fit, on very good grounds, to accept the assurances given by the United Kingdom and France and which feel able to understand the objectives that are being pursued by those countries in relation to the conflict in the Middle East.

117. The objections that we previously stated to the first African-Asian draft resolution still stand, and we see little point in the Assembly repeating itself in a swiftly moving crisis of great importance. Moreover, given the attitude of Israel as just stated again today, it seems to us that the present draft resolution, if effect is given to the requirement for the immediate withdrawal of United Kingdom and French forces, would ensure an early resumption of the Egyptian-Israel conflict.

118. The draft resolution ignores the offer made previously by the United Kingdom and France, which has been followed up by the introduction of a cease-fire. More than that, the draft would appear to obstruct, in our view, the operation of setting up the international force which has been proposed in the other draft resolution that is before the Assembly.

119. We feel that the essential and urgent thing at the moment is to put first things first, to lay the foundations for a new régime of peace and stability in this troubled area. The Assembly should concentrate its attention upon the urgent establishment of an international force and its early movement into the area of hostilities. The stated objectives of such a force would correspond, I trust, to what the African-Asian draft resolution seeks to accomplish. Therefore, we believe that priority should be given to the seven-Power draft resolution.

120. I should like to express our appreciation of the enormous work which the Secretary-General and those associated with him have put into the elaboration of the detailed proposals that are before the Assembly. I am sure that all representatives are extremely grateful for this devoted application of his great abilities to the task.

121. I should remark, however, that the Australian Government, in considering the documents submitted within the last few hours, has felt some doubts regarding the effectiveness of some of the arrangements proposed and the enduring nature of the international police force which it is proposed to establish. There is some question in our minds as to whether it will remain in the area long enough effectively to secure the Egyptian-Israel situation along the lines that are necessary for the establishment and maintenance of peace and, we hope, a permanent settlement. Nevertheless, despite the sort of doubts that may arise in our minds as we examine some parts of this proposal as set out in the document before us, it is the view of my delegation and of my Government that it is a matter of urgency to proceed with the establishment of an international force and for the force to take up the duties which the Assembly is entrusting to it.

122. If we have one specific criticism to make of the seven-Power draft resolution, it is that this element of urgency is perhaps not sufficiently stressed. For that reason, I should like to propose a very small amendment consisting of the insertion of one additional word in operative paragraph 4. We should like to introduce the word “forthwith” after the word “proceed”, so that the paragraph would read:

“Requests the Chief of Command, in consultation with the Secretary-General as regards size and composition, to proceed forthwith with the full organization of the Force;”.

123. It is our fervent desire that every assistance should be given, so that this task can be accomplished as rapidly as possible. The Australian delegation therefore supports the draft resolution before us, and moves the small but, I think, important amendment that I have just presented.

124. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation welcomes the Secretary-General's efforts. Thanks to him, resolution 998 (ES-I), originally submitted by the Canadian delegation, will culminate in the creation of an international United Nations Force. The French Government is especially gratified to see that an idea which was first suggested by France is thus finally materializing. About forty years ago Léon Bourgeois advanced the idea of an international army. In 1919, during the Peace Conference which marked the end of The First World War, the French Government made specific proposals for the establishment of an international force. The time was not yet ripe. We again submitted our proposals to the League of Nations, but our efforts met with complete apathy, and The Second World War extinguished them altogether.

125. In 1945 the United Nations incorporated provisions in its Charter for the organization of an international force. During the first years of the Organization the Military Staff Committee, under the authority of the Security Council, attempted to define the principles in accordance with which the provisions of Article 43 of the Charter might be applied. We all know which permanent member of the Security Council constantly thwarted those efforts.

126. In the case now under consideration France, in complete agreement with the United Kingdom, has again taken the initiative. In fact, the Franco-British declaration of 2 November explicitly envisaged the establishment of a United Nations force to take over the mission undertaken by the Franco-British forces.

127. The French Government, like the vast majority of the Members of the Assembly, will therefore support the draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia and Sweden [4/3308].

128. We should like to see such an international force set up as soon as possible. At this stage, we do not contemplate participation in it. The energy and perspicacity manifested by the Secretary-General, particularly during the past days, are a sure token of success. The problems involved in the establishment of an international force are, of course, exceedingly complex. The definition of its functions and the manner in which it is to be used also raise questions of great importance which must be settled in detail. We should also be careful to see to it that the Security Council retains its competence in all matters pertaining to the application of the meas-

ures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. We are confident, however, that in time all the difficulties involved in the execution of so vast an undertaking will be satisfactorily overcome. We have always made it clear that our forces would leave the Suez Canal zone as soon as international forces were in a position to carry out the vital missions we are performing, and I should like to make the same declaration once again from this rostrum.

129. As regards the draft resolution sponsored by the African-Asian Powers [A/3309], we are not in disagreement with its terms. We hope to be in a position to withdraw our forces promptly. But the realization of our wishes in this respect depends upon the rapidity with which an international force capable of carrying out the tasks described in my letter of 5 November [A/3294] to the Secretary-General is established. I have already pointed out that my Government favoured the establishment of the force and that the Secretary-General could be relied upon to set it up. Hence, we interpret the words "... immediately to withdraw all their forces from Egyptian territory, consistently with the above-mentioned resolutions" in paragraph 3 of the draft resolution in the light of the foregoing remarks. Among the resolutions in question, the one concerned with the organization of the first units of the international force, is specifically mentioned. The objective pursued by the Assembly is thus the same as ours on this point. Indeed it could not be otherwise. It is essential to the maintenance of peace that there should be no vacuum between the Egyptian and Israel forces.

130. Nevertheless, we would abstain on the draft resolution if the Assembly were called upon to vote on it, in the first place because we consider that the problems raised in this text will be settled by the adoption of the draft resolution sponsored by the seven Powers [A/3308] approving the Secretary-General's report, and secondly because we believe that these problems are, by their very nature, within the jurisdiction of the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace. These problems have both military and political aspects, the complexity of which we all realize, and they must be settled dispassionately in an atmosphere of undisturbed calm.

131. It is our firm conviction that the Security Council should endeavour to solve them by meeting as soon as possible at the foreign-minister level; and we earnestly hope that its work will produce concrete results.

132. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: In the course of the debate certain requests for clarifications have been directed to me. I felt that at this stage of the discussion it might be useful if I gave a reply.

133. At the 566th meeting, the representative of Syria expressed the fear that in case of non-compliance by Israel with the request for the withdrawal of forces behind the armistice demarcation lines, there would arise, on the basis of the position taken in my report, a situation where Egypt would be presented with a *fait accompli*, as the United Nations Force is not at present established with a view to enforcing the withdrawal of forces. The representative of Syria said that he could not but feel the deepest misgivings concerning this situation.

134. My reply is simple. Were the unfortunate situation envisaged by the representative of Syria to arise, I would consider it my duty to bring it at once to the attention of the General Assembly or of the Security Council for such measures as those two main organs

of the United Nations might decide upon. Egypt would thus not be faced with a *fait accompli* but could resort to the means provided for in the Charter. My position as to the functions of the United Nations Force in no way limits the right in these respects. I consider the definition of those functions in the report to be sound as a basis for this first stage in the setting up of the Force.

135. Another question which has been directed to me concerns the interpretation of the legal situation in respect of withdrawal of non-Egyptian forces other than the Israel forces. In my view, it follows from resolution 997 (ES-I) that all non-Egyptian forces — with the obvious exception of the United Nations Force which will be there with the consent of the Egyptian Government — have to withdraw from Egyptian territory. It goes without saying that "Egyptian territory" in this context must be understood in the sense which follows from international law and the Armistice Agreement.

136. Still another question which I should like to clarify concerns the interpretation of my indication that the United Nations Force will have to operate within a region extending from the Suez Canal to the armistice demarcation line as established in the Egyptian-Israel General Armistice Agreement. What I intended to say was entirely directed to the situation with which we are faced. The United Nations Force will have to come in at what is at present the dividing line between the Egyptian and Israel forces. It is at whatever may come to be the dividing line that it will have to function. As the situation is, that means that United Nations activities will have to start close to the Suez Canal, but that after the expected compliance with the recommendations of the General Assembly they would end up at the armistice demarcation line.

137. Other points have been raised on which I find it difficult to elaborate what I have said in the report, which to me seems to be self-explanatory. For example, I have been asked for an interpretation of what I have said about the length of the assignment of the Force being determined by the need arising out of the present conflict. I am sure the Members will appreciate that, in the still unclear situation, it would be premature for me to say how the needs might develop after the end of the immediate crisis. However, the Force being under ultimate authority of the General Assembly, I think that this point need not give rise to worries. Likewise, I find that the interpretation of my statement concerning previous decisions, to the effect that there is no intent in the establishment of the Force to influence the military balance in the present conflict and thereby the political balance affecting efforts to settle the conflict, should be evident. However, this aspect too will certainly be followed closely by the General Assembly.

138. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): We are gathered here at this meeting of the emergency session of the General Assembly for two purposes: (1) to consider the report of the Secretary-General in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 998 (ES-I) [A/3302] and (2) to consider the nineteen-Power draft resolution submitted at the 566th meeting.

139. Before addressing myself to these two specific topics, I want to say, on behalf of my delegation, that at this stage when we hope we are entering into a phase where collective responsibility and the collective will of the world are being brought to bear on the

question for beneficent ends, it is desirable to look back only to the extent essential for the consideration of this problem. We have come to the stage when we must look forward and apply ourselves to the various aspects of this question. My Government desires me to state before the General Assembly—because I have just come from India—its general reaction and attitude toward the present difficulties.

140. Our country, our people and our Government, indeed our whole part of the world, have been shocked by the developments that have taken place in relation to Egypt. We desire to state without any superlatives that we regard the action of Israel as an invasion of Egyptian territory, and the introduction of the forces of the United Kingdom and France as an aggression without any qualification. We have said this from the very beginning.

141. We received this news not only with a sense of shock but also with a great deal of sadness. I say "with a great deal of sadness" for two reasons, first because of the great physical harm that is being inflicted upon the people of Egypt, and secondly because those engaged in a part of this aggression, namely the Franco-British alliance, are countries and peoples with whom we have very close kinship. That is particularly so in the case of the United Kingdom. It is therefore more in sorrow than in anger that we approach this problem. During the last several weeks of great anxiety, we have tried to exercise our influence by way of persuasion to change the course of these developments.

142. I think that I should leave this aspect at this stage, stating the minimum that is required. Later I shall point out why it is necessary to refer to it. I shall come now to the first of the draft resolutions, namely the nineteen-Power draft [A/3309].

143. There is very little that one need say about this draft, except that it is very largely a reiteration of previous resolutions. It was submitted because previous resolutions have not been complied with. However, there are certain new factors, namely, that the call for a cease-fire and for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Egyptian soil has been partly complied with by those countries that are now engaged in the invasion of Egypt. The United Kingdom and France, and Egypt, effected a cease-fire, according to all reports, at 7 p.m. (New York time) yesterday. However, there have been expressions of view in the Assembly that the fighting was continuing. Let us assume, for our purpose, that the cease-fire has been effected and that a beginning has been made in regard to the observance of the General Assembly's resolutions.

144. Two other factors remain, however. One concerns the statement in operative paragraph 2 of that draft, in which Israel is once again called upon to withdraw immediately all its forces behind the armistice lines established by the Armistice Agreement of 24 February 1949. I think that the Assembly will appreciate the importance, not only of reiterating this request, but of taking it very seriously and of going along with the Secretary-General in the observations which he has just made.

145. Repeated calls have been made to Israel to withdraw its invading armies from the territory of Egypt, which are there in violation of the Armistice Agreement, in violation of the provisions of the Charter and in violation of all known standards of international conduct. The problems which we are subsequently going to consider, indeed the problem of terminating the con-

flict and attempting to find the beginning of a solution of the basic problems there, are only possible within the context of this withdrawal.

146. This particular matter is not a question of how much or how little can be done or of whether it can be done in one day or in two days; the withdrawal of Israel forces to their own frontiers as established by the Armistice Agreement is fundamental to any settlement.

147. I am sure that the Assembly is perturbed, as was my delegation, at the recent official statements made by the Government of Israel, statements which have been criticized even by the other two Powers that are now engaged in operations in Egypt. The Prime Minister of Israel has stated that there will be no withdrawal from the advanced positions occupied. However, there has been a communication to the Secretary-General in regard to the cease-fire. That is one of the reasons why this draft resolution has become necessary.

148. My delegation is heartened by the statement just made by the Secretary-General, in which he expressed I am sure, the will and the views of practically the entire representation of this Assembly, namely, that if this request is not complied with, then the Assembly must turn at once to the other provisions and remedies that are open to it under the provisions of the Charter.

149. Operative paragraph 3 of the draft calls upon the United Kingdom and France once again immediately to withdraw all their forces from Egyptian territory. Perhaps I am not quite correct about this, but there seems to be a technical inaccuracy here, because when we first called upon the United Kingdom and France it was in regard to the introduction of forces into the territory of Egypt. At that time the landings had not taken place. However, the landings took place subsequently and the territory of Egypt was occupied. Now there has been a cease-fire, but the cease-fire is only a beginning and only a part of the request made by the General Assembly. It must be followed by the withdrawal of all forces.

150. Every practical person will realize that the word "immediately", in a political resolution cannot be interpreted in the sense of instant action, because troops have to be moved. What this draft resolution seeks to do is to express the view of its sponsors that it is not possible to think in terms of these Franco-British forces remaining on Egyptian territory contingent upon some other element. It is necessary to state this, because the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has repeatedly said that these forces would so remain. But the history of Egypt is one of occupation by various invading troops throughout the past, even though they sometimes came after stating that it was only for temporary purposes.

151. Operative paragraph 3, therefore, should not present any difficulties to those who agree with the general idea that the aggressive forces must be evacuated. That is what it calls for. Therefore, the removal of these troops must begin forthwith and its termination must take place without delay. That is the meaning of this clause. My delegation is not prepared to set an hour by the clock when this should be done, but the substance of the paragraph is entirely clear.

152. With great respect, I should now like to make some observations in connexion with paragraph 3 which have become necessary as a result of the observations

made by the representatives of the United Kingdom and France. They are entirely free to place their own interpretations on these questions, but as far as my delegation is concerned and as far as we understand the substance and purpose of this draft resolution and the report before us, we do not believe that the parties which have committed aggression can lay down the conditions under which they are willing to withdraw. The United Nations has requested them to withdraw as part of the termination of that aggression.

153. We cannot accept the position that the invading forces lay down the conditions, ostensibly in the interest of the invaded party. If we do that, we put ourselves in the position of justifying the invasion itself. And that is a position which my Government is not ready to accept. We are quite prepared to appreciate that there are practical problems involved. Therefore, any reasonable space of time that is required for the physical removal of troops is something that one can understand. But we cannot accept the view that the pursuit of some purposes with which we can be in agreement or which are in conformity with the Charter necessitates these forces remaining on Egyptian soil.

154. With those explanations, I would like to commend this draft resolution to the acceptance of the Assembly and I hope that it will be possible for the United Kingdom and France, which have expressed doubts about it, and for those who have supported them in their positions, to accept this draft so that it can go forward unanimously, and that at this stage, therefore, the aggression would be terminated by common consent.

155. Then I proceed to the second draft resolution, that submitted by Argentina and six other countries [A/3308] and introduced by the representative of Ceylon at the previous meeting. But before I speak about that resolution, I would like to make a statement relative to the second report which the Secretary-General has placed before the Assembly. I should like to join all the speakers before me on this rostrum in paying my tribute to the hard work, the diligence and thoroughness which has entered into the preparation of this report, and I am sure that I am not exaggerating when I say that the Assembly and the world owe a debt of gratitude to the Secretary-General for his applying himself so diligently to this problem.

156. Since we are now embarking on a very serious phase of activity on behalf of the United Nations, and since those countries that would be contributing troops or in other ways contributing to the maintenance of the international police force would be taking on responsibilities, it is essential that clarification should be sought and made and interpretations given.

157. I am directed by my Government to deal with this matter in that way. Two or three days ago, when this question was discussed between the Secretary-General and our Government, he very kindly gave us his view of the context and conditions in which any participation of countries in the international United Nations Force would take place. My delegation has formulated these conditions [A/3302/Add. 4/Rev. 1] and further discussed them with the Secretary-General, and we understand that they represent the accurate set of conditions and circumstances in which such a force would function; and we would like this to be put into the record.

158. The participation of a Member State would be based upon these conditions: first, that the emergency

Force would be set up in the context of the withdrawal of the Franco-British forces from Egypt and on the basis of the call to Israel to withdraw behind the armistice lines; secondly, that that Force would not in any sense be a successor to the invading Franco-British forces or would in any sense take over its functions; thirdly that it would be understood that the Force might have to function through Egyptian territory and, therefore, that the Egyptian Government must consent to its establishment; fourthly that the Force would be a temporary one for the emergency. Its purpose is to separate the combatants, namely, Egypt and Israel, with the latter withdrawing as required by the Assembly resolution. The Force must be of a balanced composition. The agreement that we are now making would be one in principle and we would reserve our position with regard to actual participation until the full plan is before us.

159. I have been instructed by my Government to communicate to the Secretary-General—which I have done—that the Government of India would be willing to participate in the United Nations Force contemplated by his report in the context of the conditions that I stated and would be willing, when the arrangements are made final and the consent of the Assembly received, to send officers immediately to enter into consultations with the Secretary-General in regard to the details. Of course, when we say “immediately”, we are taking into account the fact that communications between India and this country have now been somewhat interrupted by the damage done to the airfields in the Middle East.

160. The Government of India has been able to accede to the position that its contribution would be something on the order of a battalion in strength. I am instructed to say that transport facilities, including airlift, would have to be provided through the United Nations, because it is not possible for us to transport this body of troops and equipment on such short notice without outside assistance. It will be possible to implement such agreement as we may make in a very short period, not more than ten days from the day of agreement, although it may be possible to send advance bodies beforehand. I have already made this communication to the Secretary-General [A/3302 Add 4/Rev. 1] and it is among the papers that have been circulated.

161. I want to draw the attention of the Assembly to the Secretary-General's report which is contained in document A/3302. My delegation is glad to note that it is specifically stated in paragraph 4 that the authority of the United Nations Commander would be so defined as to make him fully independent of the policies of any one nation.

162. I would also like to draw the attention of the Assembly to another observation by the Secretary-General in the report, with which my delegation is not only in agreement but which it desires emphasized:

“It may in this context be observed that the Franco-British proposal, to which I have already referred, may imply that the question of the composition of the staff and contingents should be subject to agreement by the parties involved, which it would be difficult to reconcile with the development of the international force along the course already being followed by the General Assembly.” [A/3302, para. 6.]

163. The report goes on to say that this Force should be set up on an emergency basis "to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms" of the General Assembly resolution. The emphasis should be on the words "all the terms" of the General Assembly resolution. So far we are in clear agreement; we have no difficulties.

164. Now we come to paragraph 8 of the report and I should like the Assembly to look at the last two sentences of paragraph 8. Here the difficulty is not perhaps so much one of substance, but in a matter of this kind, in view of the not always happy experience that my Government has had in dealing with similar problems in Korea and in Indo-China, clarification beforehand is essential in order that work may proceed without impediments, and also so that we may not have difficulties with other participants. Paragraph 8 says the following:

"It follows from its terms of reference that there is no intent in the establishment of the Force to influence the military balance in the present conflict and, thereby, the political balance affecting efforts to settle the conflict. By the establishment of the Force, therefore, the General Assembly has not taken a stand in relation to aims other than those clearly and fully indicated in resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956".

165. I confess I am a little perplexed by this statement. I do not know quite what its implications would be. If it means that the United Nations Force is not intended to support the parties in the aggression or to intervene militarily, then I understand it. But if its meaning is that the occupation forces would remain where they are and therefore that their military balance would not be affected then of course it is totally contrary to its purpose. I draw attention to this because as the statement stands it is a little perplexing.

166. The Secretary-General will bear with me. We have had difficulties of this kind — I would not say without number, but quite a number—both in Indo-China and in Korea, of a very serious character. My Government would have grave apprehensions in undertaking military obligations which are subject to the interpretation of foreign office lawyers of different countries afterwards. Therefore, I think that some clarification of this paragraph would greatly relieve our minds.

167. The Secretary-General has told us that this is the second and final report, but I suppose that that is only a procedural description, because it goes on to say, in paragraph 11: "However, the general observations which are possible should at this stage be sufficient." Therefore, my delegation wants to be assured that there is no finality about this report in the sense that it is a kind of army manual in regard to these forces. There, again, it is not because we want to be punctilious, but because we have been once bitten, twice bitten, and are three times shy at the moment.

168. Again, when we come to paragraph 12, which is the most important part, I should like, first, to observe that any interpretation which we make in regard to the draft resolution when we record our vote ought to be bounded by paragraph 12. That is to say, we could not vote on the draft resolution and then go on to think that we can depart from the essential features of paragraph 12 in the Secretary-General's report.

169. I believe that it is permissible to elaborate, in the sense that my delegation has done, by reading out

the context, as we understand it, which we agreed with the Secretary-General. Therefore, when votes are cast, it should be with the definite understanding that this draft resolution urges, in accordance with the terms of resolution 997 (ES-I), that "all parties now involved in hostilities in the area agree to an immediate cease-fire and, as part thereof, halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area". This was at the time when the landings had not taken place in Egypt and invasion was only by way of aerial bombardment. But now we have a new situation and, therefore, the sense of that sentence is not merely to halt the movement of military forces but to reverse the movement of military forces and withdraw them. Therefore, I feel sure that the Secretary-General would agree that this is the implication of this paragraph.

170. Paragraph 12 says further:

"These two provisions combined indicate that the functions of the United Nations Force would be, when a cease-fire is being established, to enter Egyptian territory with the consent of the Egyptian Government, in order to help maintain quiet during and after the withdrawal of non-Egyptian troops."

"Non-Egyptian troops" now would mean all non-Egyptian troops since, at the time this resolution was passed, the only non-Egyptian troops in Egypt were the Israel troops, and, therefore, it must be meant to include the others.

171. We turn now to a point on which we wish to lay some emphasis. The last sentence of paragraph 12 reads as follows:

"Its functions can, on this basis, be assumed to cover an area extending roughly from the Suez Canal to the armistice demarcation lines, established in the Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel."

It must be clearly understood that when we say "an area extending roughly from the Suez Canal to the armistice demarcation lines", it is only in the sense that Egypt will permit the use of its territory by the troops in order to perform their functions, which are to keep the Israel invading armies within their own frontiers. It cannot in any sense at any time be construed that this Force has any occupation function in these areas or will in any way infringe the sovereignty of Egypt, but only that it has the right of way wherever necessary.

172. My Government is not only in agreement, but would stand with the Canadian Government in the view which it has put forward in a *communiqué* just now issued by the Canadian Cabinet, which is referred to in paragraph 14 as follows: "General experience seems to indicate that it is desirable that countries participating in the Force should provide self-contained units in order to avoid the loss of time and efficiency." We subscribe to that, and that is why, when the request was made to us in the report on this matter, the Government of India, although it has a very small army and has its own commitments, agreed to furnish troops of a battalion in strength.

173. Finally, the Secretary-General goes on to say, in paragraph 19, that he is fully aware of the exploratory character of this plan, which means that all the details will have to be worked out.

174. My delegation will support the draft resolution that has been put forward by the delegation of Ceylon on its own behalf and on that of six other delegations [A/3308]. We hope that, in agreeing to the decision to

set up this international police force under the supervision of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General will look into all the legal aspects, and if there are any legal loopholes, will seek to close them; even in performing what we think is a useful action, it is essential that we conform to the spirit and letter of the Charter.

175. There are two other small matters to which I wish to refer while I am at this rostrum, and those are the two communications addressed to the Secretary-General — one from the United Kingdom [A/3306] and the other from France [A/3307]. I would refer particularly to the latter, point 3 of which reads as follows:

“The French Government considers it necessary, in accordance with the suggestion made to you by Mr. Christian Pineau in his letter of 5 November [A/3294], that a meeting of the Security Council should be called at the ministerial level as soon as possible in order to work out the conditions for a final cease-fire and a settlement of the problems of the Middle East.”

176. I regret to say that my delegation is not able to comprehend this paragraph in relation to what we are doing because, while no one can object to its being a very good thing for the Council to meet at the ministerial level — it was so contemplated in the Charter — the final condition of the cease-fire is the operation now contemplated by the draft resolution under discussion, and if we are going to send the question from pillar to post without knowing where the decisions are to be made, I am afraid that the urgency of this matter will not receive attention, and the whole of the arrangement that we are now trying to establish will flounder. Therefore, this paragraph — while the French Government in its wisdom is no doubt entirely free to communicate what it likes and what it thinks is right — cannot be regarded, I think, as a provision of the cease-fire, and the General Assembly cannot be committed in any way to the idea that the cease-fire arrangements must await a meeting of the Security Council for settlement. It is exactly because of the Security Council's inability to perform its duties on account of the French veto, that this matter has come before the Assembly, and if it is to go back to the Security Council, then other conditions will have to prevail. It is not in any sense to give expression to a rivalry between these two bodies, but to take this matter as it stands today — namely, that a country having been invaded without cause, and the security provisions having become inoperative on account of the exercise of the veto — other procedures have been adopted. I should like to say that, in the present case, we have an instance of great suffering and tragedy—tragedy in the sense not only of physical suffering and physical damage, but also of spiritual damage that has been done to the principles of the United Nations.

177. As I said in the beginning, the problem before the Assembly is a matter of great sadness for us because at least one of the parties concerned stands in extremely close relations with us, and our country is seriously concerned as to whether it represents a reversal of the great processes of human emancipation that have been taking place in Asia and Africa during the last half-century, in which the United Kingdom has made very significant contributions. It was a heartbreaking thing for us to see that there was a reversal of this process — I do not want to call it by familiar names — which would have meant the imposition of military power over

a weak nation and an attempt to settle disputes by the arbitrament of arms. It has been of brief duration, and we hope that, as soon as this problem is out of the way, the General Assembly, including those Members which are now not voting for these draft resolutions, will participate in the attempt to bind up the wounds, both physical and otherwise, that have occurred as a result of present developments.

178. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Secretary-General wishes to say a few words in reply to the comments which we have just heard from the representative of India.

179. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I shall speak very briefly. The representative of India has raised a great number of points. On several he has attempted an interpretation of what I intended to say, and I think I can say that on all those points, to the extent that I could fully grasp what the representative said, I can confirm that his interpretation of my intentions is correct.

180. There were two points on which direct questions were addressed to me. The first one was concerning the character of the report which I have called final. The report is final only in the sense that it is the last report I shall issue under the mandate decided upon by the Assembly on the morning of 4 November [563rd meeting] with a forty-eight hour margin. Of course, the Assembly may look forward to further reports on the development of the Force.

181. As to the question of intent — as I expressed it, “no intent . . . to influence . . .” [A/3302, para. 8] — I wanted by that sentence to express only the view that the basic political decisions of the Assembly, of course, constitute the fundamental law of this whole operation.

182. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): At this stage in the work of the first emergency special session of the General Assembly, my delegation wishes to refer only to the three most important documents which are at present before us. The first of those documents is the second and final report of the Secretary-General on the plan for an emergency international United Nations Force [A/3302].

183. My delegation associates itself with the statements of approval made by various representatives with regard to the Secretary-General's final report. My delegation would like, however, to voice some doubts regarding the scope of the functions of emergency United Nations Force, as outlined in paragraph 12 of the report. That paragraph states among other things:

“The Force obviously should have no rights other than those necessary for the execution of its functions, in co-operation with local authorities. It would be more than an observers' corps,” — I wish to emphasize these words: “more than an observers' corps” — “but in no way a military force temporarily controlling the territory in which it is stationed; nor, moreover, should the Force have military functions exceeding those necessary to secure peaceful conditions on the assumption that the parties to the conflict take all necessary steps for compliance with the recommendations of the General Assembly.”

184. It is these last words that cause my delegation some misgivings, because it would seem that the functions of the emergency United Nations Force would be conditional upon the States involved in the conflict, being prepared to take, and in fact taking all the neces-

sary steps to comply with the recommendations made by the General Assembly at this special session.

185. We wonder what would happen if one or more of the parties involved in the conflict failed to take the necessary steps to comply with the recommendations of the Assembly, the fundamental purpose of which is not only the suspension of hostilities, but also the withdrawal of the invading forces from Egyptian territory and the re-establishment of the *status quo* preceding the warlike acts which led to the urgent calling of this special session of the Assembly.

186. My delegation is nevertheless prepared to support the draft resolution proposed by Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia and Sweden [A/3308], in which, *inter alia*, the Assembly would concur in the definition of the functions of the Force as stated, in paragraph 12 of the Secretary-General's report. We consider that, if the Assembly should so concur, its approval would be provisional and that consequently, if circumstances so required in the future, the Assembly could extend the scope of the emergency Force's functions.

187. We prepared this brief statement, but after hearing the statement of the Secretary-General a few moments ago we see that our predictions were correct: the functions of the emergency Force could be extended later if circumstances so required. We think we have correctly interpreted the Secretary-General's words.

188. My delegation is fully prepared to vote in favour of the draft resolution proposed by the nineteen Member States [A/3309], because it considers that that draft embodies points of undoubted urgency at this stage of the events in Egypt and of the General Assembly's deliberations. Under that draft resolution the Assembly would call upon Israel once again, and with every justification, to withdraw immediately all its forces behind the armistice lines and would also call upon the United Kingdom and France immediately to withdraw all their forces from Egyptian territory.

189. In the opinion of my delegation, if Israel, the United Kingdom and France comply with this recommendation of the General Assembly, which is, moreover, but a repetition of previous recommendations, they would show their support of the principles of the Charter and their sincere desire to contribute to the restoration of international order in regard to the disturbance which has broken out in the Middle East. That would strengthen the position of France, the United Kingdom and Israel and of the United Nations in general in regard to the very serious events which are casting a pall over the noble people of Hungary in their anguished struggle for freedom, those people with regard to whom Israel, the United Kingdom and France have adopted an attitude which is supported and applauded by the vast majority of the free peoples of the world.

190. Mr. CARPER (Turkey): I shall be very brief. We interpret the provisions of the operative paragraphs of the draft resolution in document A/3309 in the light and context of the second considerandum of the same draft resolution. We believe that it is nobody's interest to create a vacuum, so to speak, even of a temporary nature. It is with this understanding that we shall lend our support to the nineteen-Power draft resolution.

191. We shall also support in its present form the draft resolution presented by Argentina, Burma, Cey-

lon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia and Sweden, as contained in document A/3308.

192. Mr. ENTEZAM (Iran) (*translated from French*): I should like to explain very briefly my delegation's position on the two draft resolutions before us.

193. My delegation wholeheartedly supports the draft resolution presented by the delegations of Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia and Sweden [A/3308] and will vote in favour of it.

194. With regard to paragraph 6 of this draft resolution, while I should like to thank the delegations which nominated Iran as a member of the proposed advisory committee, I would suggest that Ceylon should replace Iran. If my suggestion were accepted, the advisory committee proposed in paragraph 6 would be composed of Brazil, Canada, Ceylon, Colombia, India, Norway and Pakistan.

195. May I take this opportunity of addressing my warmest thanks to the Secretary-General and of expressing to him my delegation's admiration of the superhuman efforts that he and his assistants have made to submit to us so comprehensive and constructive a report in so short a time.

196. As regards the other draft resolution, the nineteen-Power draft [A/3309], my delegation being one of the sponsors I need hardly say that we shall support it. We hope that the international United Nations Force proposed by the Secretary-General will be set up immediately, so that it may replace the Franco-British forces without delay and may be able to ensure and supervise the cessation of hostilities and perform its other duties.

197. Mr. DE FREITAS VALLE (Brazil): The Brazilian delegation will vote for the draft resolution proposed by seven Members of the Assembly [A/3308], which embodies the point of view expressed by the Secretary-General in his final report [A/3302]. Incidentally, I want to compliment Mr. Hammarskjöld and the Secretariat for the splendid work they have done.

198. On the other hand, Brazil will abstain when the vote takes place on the nineteen-Power draft resolution [A/3309]. This draft is perfectly acceptable and reaffirms what the General Assembly has already decided. But paragraphs 2 and 3 of the operative part call upon Israel, the United Kingdom and France to withdraw immediately from Egypt, whereas this withdrawal would take place as soon as the international Force arrives there — perhaps in one or two days — if the seven-Power draft resolution is adopted. It seems to me that the word "immediately" does not correspond to the reality we are facing.

199. Mr. ABIDIA (Libya): Ten days ago the aggressors — the United Kingdom and Israel — took advantage of the delicate international situation and declared war on Egypt to satisfy colonial and Zionist ambitions. The Security Council twice tried to put an end to that aggression. The first attempt was defeated by the veto of the two Western Powers, the United Kingdom and France, and, in the second case, the Security Council most regretfully refused even to agree to consider the draft resolution sponsored by the delegation of the USSR [S/3713/Rev. 1].

200. The General Assembly has now been doing its best for seven days to put an end to this fire set by the United Kingdom, France and Israel in the Middle East, which was about to engulf the whole world, but the Assembly has not yet achieved any firm result.

While its historic resolution, which was approved by sixty-four delegations, representing the great majority of mankind, was accepted by Egypt, the victim, it was ignored by the United Kingdom, France and Israel, the guilty parties.

201. This was a great and savage crime carefully arranged by the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt. The Israel army launched the crime by attacking the northeast part of Egypt, and, when the Egyptian marched to stop the aggressor, the United Kingdom and French Governments seized the opportunity and threw in heavy military forces to destroy Egypt, in the belief that this would be an easy matter and would not take more than a few hours. The battle took place — two big Powers and another aggressive country matched against a small, peaceful nation having nothing but faith in God, courage and the will to freedom. It was a wild and savage war. Thousands of innocent women and children were killed and many of the vital elements of life were destroyed. The aggression continued, and the aggressors, drunk with the dream of victory, started to put forth one condition after another for the surrender of Egypt until their plans foundered on the rock of the courage of the Egyptian people.

202. Let us face the facts, and nothing but the facts. We have heard the United Kingdom, the leader of the allied aggressors, give many reasons to justify the fight against Egypt. First, it was claimed that the purpose of all this was to protect Egypt against Israel. At the same time, the aggressors took advantage of the Israel attack to attempt to occupy the Suez Canal. Later, when the United Nations intervened to stop the aggressors, the United Kingdom laid down conditions such that Egypt would have had to accept a forced settlement for the Palestine and Suez Canal questions. The United Kingdom tried in that way to justify its military action, because that would sound right to many innocent people.

203. Neither a settlement of the Palestine problem nor a settlement of the Suez Canal question was the real reason behind everything that happened in the Middle East, but rather colonialism and Zionism. Egypt and the other Arab States were sincerely seeking a settlement of the aforesaid questions, based on justice and the resolutions of the United Nations and the provisions of the Charter, but not based in any way on force or military action.

204. The history of colonialism and Zionism in the Middle East is a dreadful one, full of troubles, selfishness and bloodshed. Colonialism has always opposed freedom and independence movements out of self-interest and at the expense of poverty, sickness and ignorance in the Middle East. Zionism established its aggressive State on the misery of one million Arab refugees, and is now continuing its aggression against an Arab State to fulfil a part of its Zionist ambitions. When the people of the Arab States decided to lead a peaceful, free life and to put an end to this tragedy, the colonial and Zionist Powers joined together against them, in particular, and against all young, independent, free countries everywhere in general.

205. The situation is still dangerous in the Middle East. The United Kingdom, France and Israel did not comply with the United Nations resolution calling upon them immediately to withdraw their aggressive forces from Egyptian territory. Moreover, they are now trying to take advantage of the emergency international police

force to involve that body in the battle against Egypt and so realize for them the colonial dream of occupying the Suez Canal and enforcing a settlement of the Palestine problem at the expense of the Arab States. And if they fail — and I hope they are going to fail — in the same way they will, after a period of rest, try again to finish Egypt, that brave country.

206. My Government believes that the first and most urgent action which must take place now is the withdrawal of all the aggressor troops from Egyptian soil, including the Gaza strip, the Sinai desert and Port Said, without any conditions. Secondly, the duty of the emergency international police force must be limited to safeguarding the demarcation line between Egypt and Israel established by the Armistice Agreement of 1949. Thirdly, the aggressors, the United Kingdom, France and Israel, should be considered entirely responsible for all the loss of life and damage they committed against Egypt as a result of their aggression.

207. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of India has asked for permission to intervene again in this discussion, and I call upon him to do so.

208. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): I am thankful to the President for his indulgence in allowing me to speak again. I come back to the rostrum for two reasons. First, I wish to express the appreciation of my delegation to our colleagues from Canada for their initiative with regard to the problem that the Assembly is now considering. It has been the privilege of my delegation to work closely with the Canadian delegation on this question, and the Assembly owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. Pearson, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, for all the work he has put into this question and for the very great persistence with which he has pursued his difficult task.

209. Secondly, I come here because, after I had left the rostrum, there came into my hands a memorandum that had been issued to press correspondents, presumably at United Nations Headquarters. It reads:

"United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld today received a cablegram from Major General E. L. M. Burns, Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, stating that Israel military units this morning were expected to make 'a raid' on the Truce Supervision Organization Headquarters in Gaza. General Burns reported that Colonel R. F. Bayard, Chairman of the Israel-Egyptian Mixed Armistice Commission, had sent messages stating that the Israelis were reported intending to seize his radio transmitter but leave the receiver and to restrict all observers and jeeps to the Mixed Armistice Commission compound; also, that food purchases may be restricted.

"General Burns reported that the last transmission received from Colonel Bayard indicated that he did not expect to be able to re-establish connexions. He added that it is presumed that the Israelis forced their way into the Mixed Armistice Commission House to accomplish their mission. He did not expect UNTSO personnel would be harmed. When this information was conveyed to the foreign press, General Burns reported that it was held up by the Israel censor.

"Secretary-General Hammarskjöld made an immediate strong *démarche* to the representative of Israel for prompt transmittal to his Government.

"Previously, on 3 November, the Israel Government requested the withdrawal of the personnel of UNTSO from Gaza and Beersheba."

The memorandum goes on to say:

"In a reply of 4 November, the Israel Foreign Ministry referred to the statement by the Israel representative before the General Assembly . . . to the effect that the General Armistice Agreement had become a fiction and was no longer valid . . .

"On 6 November, Colonel Nursella of the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, informed General Burns that the Government of Israel 'required' the withdrawal of UNTSO personnel from the Gaza and Beersheba areas and that instructions to this effect had been issued to the army commanders concerned. When General Burns asked for clarification of these statements, Colonel Nursella replied that Israel had not intended to imply that force would be used relative to the withdrawal of UNTSO personnel from Gaza and Beersheba. Colonel Nursella added that the UNTSO would have to abide by the regulations of the Israel military governor and would be asked not to use the United Nations radio station", and so on.

210. I think that in the context of what the Assembly is considering — namely, the withdrawal of the invading forces behind the armistice lines — a statement of this character, coming at the present time and reported not by any party but by the very United Nations official who is in charge of these matters, represents a very serious development. And, as will be noticed, this is not a private document: it has been published, and it could have serious reactions on the other parties concerned with this matter. I would, therefore, urge the Assembly to take this new development into consideration and recognize, in the light of it, the importance of obtaining implementation of the Assembly's decision to bring about the withdrawal of all invading forces behind the armistice lines. The territory to which reference was made is on the Egyptian side of the armistice lines, and, what is more, if the Truce Supervision Organization is to suffer this kind of treatment, what is its relation with and bearing upon the international force itself, which is, in a sense, no more than a supervisory organization?

211. This is not a matter on which my delegation wishes to create alarmist feelings, but I think that, coming at this time, and in the context of all the discussions that are going on here and in the midst of the Assembly's efforts to establish institutions and procedures whereby conflicts would be terminated, it seems to be a very untoward development.

212. Perhaps the Secretary-General will have something to tell us — whether this is a matter which we must now take into consideration at this session, or whether it will go before the Security Council or any other organ.

213. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Secretary-General wishes to make a brief statement on the point just raised by the representative of India.

214. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The matter raised by the representative of India is not one which I would like to put before the Assembly. The text to which he refers is a news release which is based on an official report from General Burns, but I think that the matter is better handled in regular diplomatic and administrative forms. I have just this minute received

a further cable referring to the same matter which, to my satisfaction, clarifies the situation in one important respect, and with the President's permission I should like to refer briefly to what I find in this new report, as follows:

"The representative of the Israel Government called and tendered apologies on behalf of the Government for the action taken in the forcible closing of the radio station at Gaza. He stated that, through a misunderstanding of his instructions, the officer in Gaza had exceeded his authority and taken action which was not intended. The forcible closing of the radio station in Gaza was never the intention of the military authorities. He informed me that orders had been given by General Dayan that the radio transmitter will be replaced at once, and that the station can continue to be used."

215. Mr. NUÑEZ PORTUONDO (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): At this stage in the debate, my delegation would like very briefly to give its opinion on the draft resolutions before us, but first of all, it wishes to express to the Secretary-General and to all members of the Secretariat its appreciation for the way in which they have handled the momentous problem now under discussion by the United Nations General Assembly at this emergency special session.

216. The Cuban delegation has voted for all the draft resolutions which have been proposed on this question: Those contained in documents A/3256, A/3275, A/3276 and A/3290. It will also vote in favour of the draft resolution proposed by Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia and Sweden [A/3308].

217. We cannot, of course, vote for the amendment proposed by the representative of Poland [*para. 52 above*], because we feel that the present membership of the proposed advisory committee will enable it to function more efficiently.

218. My delegation will also support the draft resolution contained in document A/3309, because it considers that the immediate withdrawal of all troops from Egypt is something which is possible, logical and in accordance with the resolutions previously adopted. That is to say, inasmuch as the Canadian delegation proposed, and the General Assembly approved, the establishment of an international force to prevent the continuation of the conflict between Israel and Egypt, it is logical to expect that, before the occupying forces have entirely withdrawn, this United Nations Force will reach the area, surely within not more than four or five days.

219. My delegation has accordingly defined its position, but it wishes to draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that in the question of Egypt, happily, through the efforts of the United Nations, a cease-fire has been brought about, the slaughter is over, and there will be no more casualties.

220. The United Nations General Assembly must now also try to bring about a cease-fire in Hungary and put a stop to the slaughter there, because if the Assembly fails in its duty, there will not, in view of the way in which the persecution is being carried out by the forces of the Soviet Union, be any Hungarians left alive in Hungary by the time the Assembly arrives at an agreement.

221. I would therefore ask of the President and of the Secretary-General that, as soon as we have taken a vote on the question now before us, we should give

immediate attention to the question of Hungary. Let it not be that the Latin-American countries here represented alone show compassion and vote when the question of Egypt and Israel is being discussed, whereas other Member States neglect the very serious problem of Hungary, which affects not only the prestige of the United Nations, but civilization itself.

222. Mr. DE LA COLINA (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation will vote for both the draft resolution proposed by the group of Asian and African countries [A/3309] and that proposed by the seven Powers [A/3308], two of which are sister countries of my own.

223. The first draft resolution is merely a reaffirmation of one of the essential provisions contained in the recommendations approved on 2 and 4 November, but it does not fix a strict time-limit for the Secretary-General to report on the execution of the resolution as was the case with a preliminary draft released yesterday to the Press.

224. My delegation will also vote for the second draft resolution, that proposed by the seven Powers, because we believe that it conforms generally with the purposes expressed in resolution 998 (ES-I), originally sponsored by the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs and adopted by the Assembly on 4 November.

225. I should now like to draw the General Assembly's attention to the need to study with the greatest care the implications of the highly significant second and final report presented by the Secretary-General [A/3302] and, in particular those of paragraphs 8, 9 and 12.

226. My delegation thinks that the Assembly should clarify and elucidate as may be appropriate the scope of the corresponding paragraphs of the draft resolution, taking into account, of course, the very important statements made at this meeting by the Secretary-General himself.

227. I feel that the foregoing observations are all the more pertinent in that the statements of the Governments directly concerned raise further problems and doubts concerning the emergency international United Nations Force and the powers and functions of the Command.

228. Furthermore, in voting for the two draft resolutions, my delegation will be doing so because it believes that they are irrevocably linked together, for we do not think that it would be practicable for a Force such as that proposed to be sent to the area of hostilities unless all the parties are prepared to respect the recommendations which the Assembly has made.

229. I should like, in conclusion to add a few words of congratulations and thanks to our Secretary-General and his efficient aides for their zealous efforts to comply speedily with the various demands made upon them by the General Assembly.

230. Mr. TSIANG (China): My statement is in the nature of an explanation of vote. My delegation will vote for both draft resolutions.

231. The draft resolution sponsored by the seven Powers [A/3308] is in implementation of the original idea of an international force. I think that idea is in fact a turning point in all our efforts. Today, although we have not yet reached it, we have our final objective in sight, thanks to that creative idea first propounded to us by the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada and efficiently matured by our Secretary-

General. I prefer that draft resolution as it stands, as amended.

232. The other draft resolution [A/3309] calls for the withdrawal of the troops of Israel, the United Kingdom and France. I shall vote for that draft. In fact, when these questions were debated in the Security Council I favoured a cease-fire and withdrawal. In my first speech here [561st meeting], I also favoured a cease-fire and withdrawal. There has been some question or doubt with regard to the word "immediately". If we are not careful, that word "immediately" may cause us trouble. If we all act in good faith, that word will not create trouble. If any party should not conduct itself in good faith, then no text can save us from future trouble. That, in fact, is the crux of the matter. Perhaps some other phrase would have been better, but I think that, as the situation is now, all parties are acting in good faith. In that case, when the President announces that the resolution is passed, nobody will pull out a watch and say whether the troops are on the march or not. It is not that kind of operation. If any conflicts or divergencies arise out of the word, my delegation will certainly judge them by the nature of the delays or the trouble. The main basis of the judgment would be whether or not the parties were acting in good faith.

233. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): My delegation is in agreement with the general terms of the draft resolution which has been submitted to implement the suggestions made by the Secretary-General in his most valuable report [A/3302]. We have previously stated the agreement of the Portuguese Government with the principle of an international force. We shall, therefore, cast our vote in favour of that draft resolution [A/3308].

234. With regard to the nineteen-Power draft resolution [A/3309], we believe that as matters stand serious risks might be incurred if a dangerous situation of emptiness was created in the area just before the arrival of the international force. The Portuguese delegation will abstain on that particular draft resolution.

235. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (*translated from Spanish*): My statement will be in the nature of an explanation of vote.

236. We have before us three documents: the second and final report of the Secretary-General, and two draft resolutions.

237. The purpose of the Secretary-General's report is to give full effect to the proposal made by Mr. Pearson, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, and I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Pearson on his initiative.

238. After listening to the explanations given by the Secretary-General in connexion with the views and doubts expressed by various representatives, my delegation considers itself bound to state its general agreement with the contents of this report and at the same time to express to the Secretary-General its most sincere appreciation for the manner in which he is discharging the delicate mission entrusted to him by the General Assembly.

239. After the initial proposal by Canada and the adoption at the 565th meeting of the resolution constituting the second stage in this process, it was only logical to expect a draft resolution such as that of Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethio-

pia and Sweden, which would embody the more significant sections of the Secretary-General's report and lead to the establishment of an international police force.

240. The Peruvian delegation will give that draft resolution its firm support, but at the same time wishes to state that it does not consider the amendment proposed by the Polish delegation appropriate.

241. We also have before us the nineteen-Power draft resolution which is designed to reiterate the resolutions which have preceded it and to meet any emergency that might arise and may require a decision by the General Assembly on the basis of the measures already adopted.

242. There is clearly a close link between these two draft resolutions, so that one cannot be conceived of without the other. In my delegation's view they do not represent different, even if parallel, courses of action but converge towards the same goal of bringing about speedy compliance with the first General Assembly resolution on a cease-fire and the withdrawal of troops [997 (ES-I)]. My delegation therefore thinks that, irrespective of the comments made concerning the wording of paragraph 3 of the nineteen-Power draft resolution, it must be interpreted in the sense that it implies the execution, and the faithful execution, of the original resolution.

243. As I have said, the Assembly cannot make arrangements or adopt resolutions that are incompatible. As the delegation of Peru considers that the two draft resolutions constitute one complete whole and should be interpreted one in the light of the other or, to be more precise, one as a function of the other, it will also give its support to this draft resolution.

244. Mr. ESKELUND (Denmark): I shall be extremely brief. I have a very few comments on the statements made by two representatives during the debate.

245. The representative of Australia suggested an amendment to operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution contained in document A/3308. He suggested that after the word "proceed" the word "forthwith" should be inserted, so that the paragraph would read: "*Requests* the Chief of Command . . . to proceed forthwith with the full organization of the Force".

246. I personally consider this an improvement. I have been able to contact all of the sponsors except one, and I think I can say on behalf of all of them that they are prepared to accept this amendment.

247. The representative of Poland asked what was meant in operative paragraph 9 by the words, "the Advisory Committee . . . shall be empowered to request the convening of the General Assembly . . .". He wanted to know whether this meant an ordinary session, a special session or an emergency special session. The idea in this wording was that the session could be of any kind, according to the relevant rules of procedure. If the representative of Poland would consider it satisfactory to insert the words "through the usual procedures" after the words "shall be empowered to request", I do not think any of the sponsors would object.

248. Finally, in explanation of my delegation's vote concerning the draft resolution of the nineteen Powers in document A/3309, I would underline the words stated by a speaker here a few moments ago, namely, that we have to act on the assumption of good faith. I

very much agree. After the interpretation given by the representative of India, Mr. Krishna Menon, that in fact "immediately" means the same as "promptly", my delegation will be able to vote in favour of this draft resolution.

249. Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): The only provocation for my appearing again is the remark made by my esteemed friends from Cuba and Brazil on the subject of the interpretation of the word "immediately". As the Assembly knows, the nineteen-Power draft resolution flows from resolution 997 (ES-I), adopted on 2 November. The requirements of certain parts of that resolution have been carried out, but some portions remain unfulfilled. We are therefore repeating the request, and we are asking the Israel, British and French forces to leave the territory of Egypt.

250. By the word "immediately" we do not necessarily mean that a very rigid interpretation should be made. What we mean is without delay, promptly. All we want to convey is that Israel, British or French troops have no legal or moral right to remain on the territory of Egypt. The Assembly, by its resolution, rejected in unmistakable terms the explanation that their action was a "police action"; it was an invasion, a military operation conducted against Egypt. In those circumstances, they have no legal or moral right to remain there, and there is no reason why they should lay down as a condition that they would remain until the United Nations emergency police force took over. Our position is that they are in the position of intruders, that they are unlawfully there, and that therefore they should leave as quickly as possible. Nobody appointed them policemen. That was their own unilateral action.

251. The question is now before the United Nations. If a problem arises as a result of a resumption of hostilities, the responsibility for settling it rests on this august Assembly; it is not for one nation or another to say, "We are there as policemen until you come in." Such a position is unthinkable. I would therefore ask these troops to comply with the ordinary decent requirements of the Assembly's resolution that they make arrangements to leave the territory of Egypt as quickly as possible, without delay. That is the explanation I have to offer.

252. Mr. VITETTI (Italy): The position of the Italian delegation on the question which forms the subject of our debate has been clear and consistent since the beginning of the debate. We supported the draft resolution submitted at the 562nd meeting by the United States delegation [A/3256] and we voted for it. We gave our consent to the draft resolution presented by Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon and other States [A/3275] at the 563rd meeting. We accepted and welcomed the draft resolution introduced by Canada [A/3276] at the same meeting, and gave our full consent to the creation of an emergency international United Nations Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with the terms of resolution 997 (ES-I) adopted by the Assembly on 2 November.

253. The next day, on 4 November [565th meeting], we approved the draft resolution introduced by Canada, Colombia and Norway [A/3290] concerning the implementation of the resolution previously approved for the creation of a United Nations force.

254. We now have two more draft resolutions. The draft presented by Argentina, Burma, Ceylon and others

[A/3308] seems to me to be a reasonable document, which is intended to implement resolution 1000 (ES-I). However, with respect to operative paragraph 8 of the draft, I am not sure what is meant by the words "under the present and other relevant resolutions". I understand that this draft resolution concerns this subject, the international force, not related subjects. I really do not see the necessity for the words "other relevant resolutions". They reaffirm things which have already been said. As has been very well explained by the representative of Peru, this text has to be interpreted in the light of the others, and, among others, of this very draft resolution contained in document A/3308, which is before the Assembly tonight. I shall, however, vote for it. I do not see the necessity for those words, but because I voted for the others, I shall vote for this draft tonight.

255. Mr. TRUJILLO (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): At the request of the Ambassador of Colombia and with the consent of all the representatives of the Latin American Republics, I am going to read out the decision taken today by the Council of the Organization of American States concerning the questions before the Assembly at this session. It is as follows:

"The Council of the Organization of American States,

Whereas:

"1. In accordance with Article 1 of the Charter of the Organization of American States, within the United Nations, the Organization of American States is a regional agency,

"2. Pursuant to Article 53 (e) of the Charter, it is the duty of the Council to promote and facilitate collaboration between the Organization of American States and the United Nations,

"3. In view of the serious events in Egypt and Hungary, the United Nations has adopted important resolutions designed to maintain the peace and the juridical order consecrated in the Charter of the world organization, and

"4. All the member States of the Organization of American States, as Members of the United Nations, have stated their concurrence with those resolutions.

"Resolves:

"1. To declare its firm adherence to the above-mentioned action of the United Nations;

"2. To reaffirm once again the traditional solidarity that unites the American States."

256. All the representatives of the Latin American Republics accredited to the United Nations wished to have this resolution which has been adopted by the regional organization made known to all so as to show that the entire continent is united in support of the cause of peace, justice and law.

257. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): I merely wish to explain the precise position of my Government as a co-sponsor with eighteen other countries of the draft resolution contained in document A/3309, and to raise a point of order with respect to the draft resolution contained in document A/3308.

258. With reference to the former draft resolution, my Government wishes it to be understood that in sponsoring it with eighteen other countries, operative para-

graphs 2 and 3 thereof are understood to be within the context of the second paragraph of the preamble of this draft resolution, and that the purport of the whole draft should be brought into harmonious relation with the operation of the draft resolution in document A/3308.

259. With respect to the latter draft resolution, I would ask for a separate vote on operative paragraphs 1, 3 and 6.

260. Mr. PEARSON (Canada): I merely wish to speak for a minute in order to explain the vote of my delegation on the draft resolution in document A/3309. In this connexion, my delegation supports the view which has been expressed by the representative of Peru and others as to the interconnexion and the close relationship between the two draft resolutions which are before us and the impossibility of separating the implementation of one from that of the other. In that sense we give the same interpretation to the word "immediately" that has been given by others, that is "as quickly as possible". In our minds, there is a relationship, implicit in the word "immediately", between the withdrawal of the forces referred to in the resolution and the arrival and the functioning of the United Nations Force.

261. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): There are no more speakers on the list. The Assembly will accordingly proceed to a vote.

262. We shall vote first on the draft resolution proposed jointly by seven Member States and appearing in document A/3308. Four amendments have been proposed to this draft. The first, proposed by Australia, has been accepted by the sponsors and has consequently been incorporated in the text of the draft resolution.

263. We shall now vote on the amendment proposed by Poland to the effect that Czechoslovakia should be included as a member of the advisory committee whose establishment is proposed in the draft resolution.

The amendment was rejected by 31 votes to 23, with 14 abstentions.

264. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We also have an amendment by Denmark which I shall ask Mr. Cordier to explain, as the Secretariat has not had time to issue it as a document.

265. Mr. CORDIER (Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General): In paragraph 9, after the words "to request" add the words "through the usual procedures".

266. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the Danish amendment.

The amendment was adopted by 53 votes to none, with 13 abstentions.

267. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of Iran has requested that, in paragraph 6, the name of Iran should be replaced by the name of Ceylon. If there are no objections, I shall consider the amendment adopted.

It was so decided.

268. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now proceed to a separate vote on certain paragraphs of the draft resolution, as requested by the representative of the Philippines. This request refers to the operative paragraphs 1, 3 and 6.

Paragraph 1 was adopted by 59 votes to none, with 14 abstentions.

Paragraph 3 was adopted by 61 votes to none, with 12 abstentions.

Paragraph 6, as amended, was adopted by 61 votes to none, with 13 abstentions.

269. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We now have to vote on the joint draft resolution as a whole with the amendments proposed by Australia, Iran and Denmark, all of which have been adopted. A request has been made for a roll-call vote.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Australia, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Hungary, Israel, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania.

The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 64 votes to none, with 12 abstentions.

270. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Several delegations have expressed a desire to explain their votes as soon as we have finished voting on the two draft resolutions, but the delegation of Pakistan wishes to explain its vote on the nineteen-Power draft resolution [A/3309] before we proceed to the next vote. If there are no objections, I will give the floor to the representative of Pakistan.

271. Mr. MIR KHAN (Pakistan): I shall be very brief in explaining my vote on the draft resolution that we have co-sponsored, because the views of the Pakistan delegation on the whole question are known well enough. Some questions have been raised about the withdrawal of the British and the French forces from Egypt on the ground that this step would remove the shield between the Israel and the Egyptian forces. The view of my delegation is that this draft emphasizes the urgency and speed with which the emergency international Force is to be set up and brought to the scene of recent hostilities. I am fully aware of the enormous burden which our Secretary-General has been carrying on his shoulders and I have no desire to add to the strain on him. He is doing a magnificent job in discharging the functions assigned to him by the General Assembly in its various resolutions and I am sure that he has the drive and the dedication to get the emergency United Nations Force ready without any avoidable delay.

272. At any rate, we should concentrate our efforts on getting the international Force ready and operating as quickly as possible. The idea of such a force has

been accepted by the Members of the Assembly, including the parties concerned. The arrival of this Force on the scene without loss of time is essential.

273. My Government's view on the matter of withdrawal of foreign forces is that the presence of the United Nations Force there at once is necessary for the immediate withdrawal, so that the withdrawal and the manner of withdrawal may not produce circumstances to the disadvantage of Egypt. This is what we mean by paragraphs 2 and 3 of the nineteen-Power draft resolution, which is based on resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November and which appears to have unanimous support.

274. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representatives of Brazil and Norway have asked for the floor for the same purpose as the representative of Pakistan.

275. Mr. DE FREITAS VALLE (Brazil): About an hour ago I indicated that I was going to abstain on the nineteen-Power draft resolution [A/3309] on account of the word "immediately". It was linked with the withdrawal of troops of Israel, the United Kingdom and France. But since explanations have been given to the effect that the word "immediately" means as soon as the international force will be there, I have no further reason to abstain and I will vote in favour of that draft.

276. Mr. ENGEN (Norway): I wish to say just two words in explanation of the vote which my delegation will cast on the draft resolution. My Government has on various occasions supported the call to the parties to withdraw their forces from Egypt promptly. We are contributing modestly to facilitate such prompt withdrawal in accordance with the plans worked out by the Secretary-General at the request of the General Assembly, and adopted by the General Assembly a moment ago.

277. In this connexion, I take note of the statements made by the representatives of India and the Philippines and other sponsors of this draft resolution; and in particular I would take note of the explanation of vote which was given by the representative of Canada a while ago, a statement with which I associate myself fully. I would like to have this statement and my explanation included in the record of this meeting. With that understanding of all these points in paragraphs 2 and 3 of the draft resolution, my delegation will vote in favour of it.

278. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We now have to vote on the nineteen-Power draft resolution appearing in document A/3309. The vote will be taken by roll-call.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Liberia, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Liberia, Libya, Mexico, Nepal, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El

Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon.

Against: Israel.

Abstaining: Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Belgium, France, Laos.

The draft resolution was adopted by 65 votes to 1, with 10 abstentions.

279. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation wishes to make a few comments in connexion with its vote.

280. Despite the fact that, as long ago as 2 November, the General Assembly adopted resolution 997 (ES-I) calling for the immediate cessation of hostilities, the United Nations has been unable, in the considerable space of time since that date, to put an end to the aggression undertaken by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt, and has proved helpless to prevent the occupation by the aggressors of a large area of Egyptian territory.

281. As we see from the telegram received today from the Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs, war is still going on on Egyptian soil, although many hours have already passed since the time fixed for the cease-fire. In his telegram the Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs says:

“... the French and British armed forces are continuing their hostile military action and are firing at both military and civilians at Port Said. They have furthermore encircled the city and severed its communication from the rest of the country...”.
[A/3312].

282. We cannot in this connexion disregard the fact that it was not until they had inflicted heavy damage on the Egyptian people, perpetrated a mass slaughter of the civilian population, seized a large part of the country's territory that the aggressors consented to halt their military operations.

283. And now the aggressors, in their cease-fire conditions, have put forward new demands, indicating that they propose to install themselves in the Suez Canal zone for a long time to come and lord it over the zone. Thus in the United Kingdom representative's letter dated 6 November addressed to the Secretary-General [A/3306] — with which, as the Secretary-General has informed us, France has also associated itself — the proposal is made that the technicians accompanying the Franco-British force should remain in the Suez Canal region indefinitely to clear the Canal of sunken vessels and open it for navigation.

284. It is also plain from that letter that the United Kingdom and France actually wish to make the presence of their forces in Egypt dependent on whether or not the international force to be sent to Egypt will be competent, in their opinion, to secure and supervise the attainment of the objectives set out in General Assembly resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November.

285. And all this is now being presented to us as a success on the part of the United Nations in calling a halt to hostilities and protecting Egypt, the victim of aggression.

286. Once hostilities have ceased, the primary task of the United Nations will be to secure the immediate

withdrawal of all Franco-British and Israel troops from Egyptian territory, as General Assembly resolution 997 (ES-I) requires.

287. The Soviet delegation voted for the nineteen-Power draft resolution which calls upon the Governments of the United Kingdom, France and Israel immediately to withdraw their forces from Egyptian territory. In so doing, the Soviet delegation took the view that the immediate withdrawal of Franco-British forces from Egyptian territory and the withdrawal of the armed forces of Israel behind the demarcation line would create the necessary conditions for the restoration of peace in the area.

288. In the Soviet delegation's opinion, however, the resolution would be more likely to achieve its purpose if it set a definite time-limit for the withdrawal of Israel forces to their own territory and the removal of United Kingdom and French forces from Egypt.

289. The General Assembly has adopted a proposal to set up an international force. It follows from the text of the resolution and the Secretary-General's report on the matter that the United Nations is in effect accepting the United Kingdom and French condition that the armed forces of the two countries should remain on the Egyptian territory they have seized until the United Nations has constituted its own armed force and stationed it at localities designated with Egypt's consent.

290. Surely, there can be no doubt that the draft resolution, providing as it does for the transfer of control over the Suez Canal to an international force, is an undisguised attempt to bring about a settlement of the Suez Canal question favourable to the United Kingdom and France and to endow such a settlement with the authority of the United Nations.

291. The Soviet Union regards the presence of the aggressors' armed forces in the sovereign State of Egypt as inadmissible. As regards the creation and stationing on Egyptian territory of an international police force, the Soviet delegation is obliged to point out that this Force is being created in violation of the United Nations Charter.

292. The General Assembly resolution on the basis of which it is now proposed to form this Force is inconsistent with the Charter. Chapter VII of the Charter empowers the Security Council, and the Security Council only, not the General Assembly, to set up an international armed force and to take such action as it may deem necessary, including the use of such a force, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

293. The resolution on the creation of an international armed force is also inconsistent with the purposes for which the United Nations Charter permits the creation and use of an international force. The Charter envisages the use of such a force to help a State victim of aggression to repel the aggressor and to defend such a State against the aggressor.

294. But the resolution 1000 (ES-I) of 5 November 1956 and the plan for its implementation, which is contained in the resolution just adopted provide for the use of an international force for quite another purpose than that of repelling aggression against Egypt. The plan provides for the introduction of the international force into Egyptian territory and the transfer of a large part of that territory, including the Suez Canal zone, to its control.

295. No one can fail to see that the occupation of the Suez Canal zone by an international force really

means removing the Canal from Egyptian administration — and that, as we all know, was one of the purposes of the United Kingdom and France in launching aggressive operations against Egypt.

296. For these reasons, the Soviet delegation regards the proposal for the establishment by the General Assembly of an international force to be stationed on Egyptian territory, a proposal which by-passes the Security Council, as contrary to the United Nations Charter.

297. However, in view of the fact that in this instance the victim of aggression has been compelled to agree to the introduction of the international force, in the hope that this may prevent any further extension of the aggression, the Soviet delegation did not vote against the draft resolution, but abstained.

298. The General Assembly must address all its attention and its efforts to solving what is now the main question — the immediate withdrawal of foreign armed forces from Egyptian territory.

299. The Soviet Union is prepared to make its own contribution towards putting an end to the aggression against Egypt in the briefest possible space of time, towards a settlement of the Suez problem based on due regard for the interests of Egypt, a sovereign and independent State, and towards ensuring freedom of navigation for all prospective users of the Canal. Such a settlement of the Suez question would also serve the cause of world peace.

300. Mr. VAN LANGENHOVE (Belgium) (*translated from French*): I should like to explain in a few words the Belgian delegation's vote on the draft resolution in document A/3309.

301. The withdrawal of the foreign forces which are now in Egyptian territory is already implied in the resolutions previously adopted by the Assembly. The nineteen-Power draft resolution adds nothing new in this respect.

302. Moreover, the Assembly, by adopting the draft resolution in document A/3308, has approved the functions of the United Nations Force as they are defined in paragraph 12 of the Secretary-General's report [A/3302]. Now it is clear from this paragraph that the withdrawal must be co-ordinated with the stationing of the United Nations Force. The word "immediately" in the nineteen-Power draft resolution [A/3309] can have no other meaning. Accordingly, this draft constitutes an unnecessary repetition; that is why the Belgian delegation abstained in the vote.

303. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): I come to the rostrum just to say how gratified the United States is that the resolutions before the Assembly have now been adopted and that the United Nations Force is about to come into being. I wish also to make one brief announcement on behalf of the United States Government.

304. I have just informed the Secretary-General that the United States is ready, subject to his wishes and wherever possible, to transport first contingents of the United Nations Force on their way from their bases to Egypt immediately.

305. But we also say this. We understand that the withdrawal will be phased with the speedy arrival of the international United Nations Force. We hope that

this phased operation, as contemplated by the resolution, will begin as soon as possible, and the sooner the better.

306. Mr. ASHA (Syria): I should like briefly to explain the vote which my delegation has just cast. We voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia and Sweden on the understanding that the words "and other relevant resolutions" contained in paragraph 8 of the said resolution mean the other relevant resolutions adopted so far by the General Assembly during the present emergency special session.

307. We voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the nineteen Powers, with the understanding that the word "immediately" means "promptly". In this connexion we must state that we do not accept the interpretation given to the word by the representative of Canada, because we believe that the withdrawal of forces has nothing to do with the emergency international United Nations Force. The interpretation given by the representative of Brazil is equally irrelevant. We believe that the withdrawal must take place immediately without regard to the organization, composition or despatch of such a force to the area or any other consideration.

308. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): We abstained on operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution in document A/3308 because that paragraph approved in its entirety the exposition of principles contained in paragraphs 6 to 9 of the Secretary-General's report. While we are in full agreement with those principles, we cannot subscribe to a sentence contained therein, in so far as it relates to the possibility of using this international police force for collective action under Chapter VII of the Charter. We feel that to open the door to that possibility is rather dangerous and may create serious apprehensions in the minds of contributing Governments.

309. We also abstained on operative paragraph 3 of the same draft, because the reference to a "balanced composition" of the international Force is ambiguous. Since the sponsors of the draft have not sought to clarify that phrase, and since it is fraught with unhappy possibilities, not only as to an undesirable preponderance with respect to numerical strength of a force contributed by one nation but also as to an undesirable preponderance of strength with respect to groups of nations contributing, we are unable to accept the provisions in its present form.

310. We also abstained on operative paragraph 6, because we feel that the Advisory Committee should not only concern itself with a study of the planning and operation of this international police force, but should include within the scope of its studies the functions of this police force. We have stated that, in the performance of its functions, this international police force may come to grips with political problems, and thorough study by the advisory committee is therefore required.

311. However, we voted in favour of the whole draft resolution because, subject to the reservations we have stated, we believe it is a major step toward the prompt implementation of the resolution calling for the creation of an international police force.

312. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): If no other representative wishes to explain his vote, I shall call on the Secretary-General.

313. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Before this meeting is adjourned, I should like to inform the Assembly that, despite the responsibilities which the Middle Eastern question has placed upon me and my staff, we are giving serious consideration to our responsibilities under resolution 1004 (ES-II) on the question of Hungary, adopted by the General Assembly on 4 November. That resolution has been formally called to

the attention of the two Governments most directly concerned. I shall shortly be in a position to report on further steps that will be taken in implementation of the resolution. In the meantime, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is working with other welfare agencies to meet the need for food, medicine and similar supplies.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.

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FIRST EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

PLENARY MEETING 572nd

(CLOSING MEETING)

Saturday, 10 November 1956,
at 10.30 a.m.

New York

CONTENTS

Agenda item 5:

Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956	131
Transfer of the item to the provisional agenda of the eleventh regular session of the General Assembly	131

President: Mr. Rudecindo ORTEGA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 5

Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956

TRANSFER OF THE ITEM TO THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA OF THE ELEVENTH REGULAR SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): This meeting has been convened to decide whether the item before this first emergency special session should be transferred to the provisional agenda of the eleventh regular session of the General Assembly. A draft resolution to that effect has been submitted by the United States delegation [A/3329].

2. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The purpose of the draft resolution submitted by my delegation [A/3329] is to bring about consideration at an early date, in the regular session of the General Assembly, of the two draft resolutions which my delegation sponsored and which aim at a long-range approach to the problems of Palestine and Suez [A/3272, 3273]. These two draft resolutions have been pending here for some time. I think that everyone is familiar with them and knows that they aim at getting at the basic causes.

3. We did not want to press for action on those two draft resolutions at this special session because we did not want the actions that have been taken at the special session to be hampered. We wanted to be sure that those actions were in fact being carried out — that the cease-fire and the withdrawal, and all those things, were really well established. Inasmuch as our two draft resolutions deal with basic causes, we wanted all delegations to have time to study them, to think about the matter and to receive instructions. We think it is important to arrive at an equitable and just solution of these problems which have caused the world so much anxiety. That is the whole purpose of this very short draft resolution contained in document A/3329 — to see that these are transferred to the regular session for urgent consideration there.

4. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): The draft resolution before us [A/3329] seeks to place on the provi-

sional agenda of the eleventh regular session, as a matter of priority, the item now on the agenda of the first emergency special session, which is the question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings. It also refers to the eleventh regular session for its consideration the records of the meetings and the documents of the first emergency special session, including the draft resolutions contained in documents A/3272 and A/3273.

5. I shall speak first of the transfer of this item. I am not quite certain at the moment whether, on constitutional grounds, an emergency special session could validly transfer items to a regular session. I am not quite certain at the moment; I have not given it much thought, but these are the points which occur to my mind. This first emergency special session was called under rule 8, paragraph (b), of the General Assembly's rules of procedure, following a request of the Security Council, by a vote of seven members. It was convened for the purpose of considering the question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings. In other words the primary and sole purpose of the convening of this first emergency special session was to consider that item, not to transfer it to another session, because in a constitutional and juridical sense an emergency special session is a body distinct from a regular session of the General Assembly. That, I hope, is quite clear; the two Assemblies can even coexist in a legal sense. I do not think there can be any legal obstacle to the General Assembly's holding its regular session while an emergency special session is being held, in other words, there is no legal obstacle to the coexistence of the two bodies. That is my point. I have some doubts whether any emergency special session could validly transfer for consideration by another Assembly items that were given to it for its own consideration. In this respect I am expressing only my doubts; I am not quite certain about it.

6. On the other hand, it is my view that the procedural basis for this United States draft resolution [A/3329] is rule 15 of the rules of procedure. I hope that I am not mistaken in this, and I should be happy to be corrected at any time by the representative of the United States. I have examined with some care the preparation of items for the regular session, the provisional agenda and supplementary items as governed by chapter II, rules 12 to 14, of the rules of procedure; and, as I see the case, rule 15 should provide the procedural basis for the inclusion of the present item in the provisional agenda of the regular session of the General Assembly.

7. Rule 15 contains two parts. The first part of the rule states that additional items of an important and urgent character — and the question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings is certainly of an important and urgent character — may be placed on the agenda of a regular session by a majority vote of the Members present and voting. Let us

assume that the "General Assembly" referred to in the first sentence of rule 15 is this emergency special session of the Assembly. Let us also assume that this emergency special session decides, by a majority of the Members present and voting, to place the question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings on the agenda of the eleventh regular session. How wise would such a decision be?

8. Let us examine the second sentence of rule 15. That sentence deals with the way in which the additional items referred to in the first sentence may be considered by the Assembly. It states that no additional item may be considered until seven days have elapsed since the item was placed on the agenda, unless the General Assembly decides otherwise by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting, and until a committee has reported upon the question concerned. Let us again assume that the item discussed during this first emergency special session of the Assembly has been transferred to the agenda of the regular session. How is that item to be considered by the regular session? Under rule 15, two conditions must be met. First, the item may not be considered until seven days have elapsed since it was placed on the agenda, unless, of course, the General Assembly decides otherwise by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting; and, secondly, the item may not be considered until a committee has reported upon the question concerned. These two conditions will therefore preclude an immediate consideration of the present item once it has been transferred to the agenda of the regular session of the Assembly.

9. We should not be faced with the above-mentioned obstacles if we decided that the emergency special session should be held simultaneously with the regular session of the General Assembly. I therefore do not know whether it would really be wise to adopt the United States draft resolution and thus bring rule 15 into play. I am wondering whether it would not be preferable to leave this extremely urgent question before the emergency special session, which could be convened whenever it was thought necessary.

10. There is another aspect of the matter which I would request the United States delegation to consider carefully. If we leave this item before the emergency special session of the Assembly, with the understanding that this session may be convened whenever the situation requires, the world will know that this urgent question is being dealt with by the Assembly on an emergency basis, in the exercise of the Assembly's emergency powers. There would thus be an important psychological impact upon the world. The moment we decide to transfer this item to the agenda of the regular session, we reduce the importance and urgency of the question; we give it the character of an ordinary item on the agenda. That, as I have said, is a psychological factor which must be taken into account.

11. Furthermore, on 2 November the Assembly adopted a resolution [997 (ES-I)] calling for a cease-fire. We are still in the process of implementing that resolution. Now, paragraph 6 of the resolution reads as follows: "Decides to remain in emergency session pending compliance with the present resolution". In other words, the Assembly decided that, so long as the terms of the resolution had not been fully implemented, it would remain in emergency special session. The practical effect of adopting the present draft resolution and transferring the item before us to the agenda of the

regular session of the Assembly would be to nullify the resolution which we have already adopted.

12. Hence, on the basis of procedural and psychological considerations, I wonder whether it would be wise to transfer the present item to the agenda of the eleventh regular session of the General Assembly. I hope that the Assembly will reconsider this matter.

13. Mr. LOUTFI (Egypt) (*translated from French*): I have just read the draft resolution proposed by the United States [A/3329], which we are now discussing. I have some doubts concerning paragraph 3 of this draft resolution, which reads, "Requests the General Assembly at its eleventh regular session to give urgent consideration to documents A/3272 and A/3273".

14. You will recall that the General Assembly adopted several resolutions: one during the night of 1 to 2 November [997 (ES-I)], another during the night of 3 to 4 November [999 (ES-I)], and a third on 7 November [1002 (ES-I)]. In this last resolution, the General Assembly, reaffirming its previous resolutions, "Calls once again upon the United Kingdom and France immediately to withdraw all their forces from Egyptian territory, consistently with the above-mentioned resolutions". A similar request was addressed to Israel. Nothing has so far been done to comply with these resolutions, and so, at a time when the General Assembly is being invited to give urgent consideration to a political solution, Egypt feels unable to discuss any political solution as long as foreign troops remain on its soil. No country can enter into negotiations when it is the victim of a premeditated act of aggression like the one launched against my country. In such circumstances it would be very difficult for Egypt to understand or even discuss such a solution.

15. There is also a somewhat technical aspect of the question we are discussing. Certain documents can, of course, be transmitted to the regular session of the General Assembly, but why should the Assembly be requested to give them urgent consideration? The regular session of the General Assembly must be left to decide whether the question should or should not be given urgent consideration.

16. These are the comments I wish to make this morning, stressing the fact that the General Assembly resolutions on the very grave question of the occupation of my country by foreign troops have not so far been implemented. Aggression by France, the United Kingdom and Israel continues. These States are keeping their troops on Egyptian territory in utter defiance of the General Assembly resolutions.

17. Mr. EBAN (Israel): The Israel delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution [A/3329], which would transfer the current item from the special emergency session to the regular session of the General Assembly. This important procedural step requires me to comment briefly on some of the urgent problems which still confront the United Nations.

18. My Government is more than ever convinced that what it has accomplished in Israel's defence was both necessary and right. The power of an aggressive dictatorship to terrorize the Middle East has been drastically reduced. We have been moved by the words of many representatives from this rostrum, who have spoken eloquently of the violent provocations which Israel has endured for the past seven years. We are sustained by other evidences of support in world public opinion. A moment of opportunity has been created which, if bravely seized, could inaugurate a new system of rela-

tions between Egypt and Israel. Agreement has been reached on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt and on the dispatch of a United Nations force which will be responsible for taking measures to prevent the renewal of acts of war.

19. My Government's agreement to these measures, announced yesterday, arose from its desire to contribute to the preservation of world peace. That agreement is founded upon the natural assumption that other parties concerned will carry out their Charter obligations, will cease from *fedayeen* raids, will abandon practices of belligerency by sea and by land, will abstain from threats against the territorial integrity and political independence of any State, will, in short, refrain from those acts and attitudes out of which the dark sequence of recent events arose.

20. Beyond the agreement announced yesterday, my Government is prepared to solve all outstanding problems between Egypt and itself by negotiation. We believe that the United Nations should at an early date call for such a freely negotiated settlement. For this, and for this only, it is for Egypt and Israel, and not for others, to determine the conditions for their future coexistence. We therefore welcome the prospect that the United Nations might, at an early date, be discussing these fundamental elements in Middle Eastern relationships.

21. We would recall at this stage the eloquent words spoken last week from this rostrum by the representative of the United States. He said:

"Let us stop the futile process of patching up previous agreements and understandings, which but serves to provide new pretexts for further provocations. Let us face up to our responsibilities under the Charter. Let us work together for a lasting settlement of what has become a dangerous threat to the peace of the world." [A/PV.563, para. 37.]

The first responsibility of sovereign States under the Charter is the responsibility to settle their disputes by negotiation.

22. In conclusion, it is my duty to call the attention of the General Assembly to dark clouds which still hover over the Middle East. For two successive days, *fedayeen* bands organized by Mr. Nasser have been invading the territory of Israel from Syria and Jordan, attacking the civilian population, sabotaging installations, and striking at road communications. Now, the General Assembly resolution of 2 November [997 (ES-I)] called not only for a cease-fire and a withdrawal of forces from Egypt, it also called simultaneously for the parties to desist from raids into neighbouring territory, and this call was made simultaneously with the call for the cease-fire and for the withdrawal of forces from Egypt. It is plain that Mr. Nasser has instigated and renewed *fedayeen* activities in circumstances carefully chosen to ensure that the consequences would fall upon others than himself. In his speech yesterday, Mr. Nasser again publicly gloated over the activities of *fedayeen* units.

23. It is obvious that the further development of this activity would gravely threaten international peace and security. The unprovoked crossing of Israel's frontiers by armed units from Syria and Jordan is a warlike act, is a violation of the cease-fire, and is in contradiction to the resolutions which the General Assembly has recently adopted. Therefore, all who wish for peace in the Middle East will devote their attention not only to the problems of cease-fire and withdrawal from

the territory of Egypt, but also to the urgent necessity of bringing about a cessation of these continuing violations of the Charter.

24. My Government has also been disturbed by reports of the recent concentration of offensive weapons in neighbouring countries and by certain public threats against Israel's integrity and existence. In September 1955 there took place a transaction for the massive rearmament of Egypt, and this, as much as any other single cause, is the origin of the critical events through which we have recently passed. It is therefore my duty to remind the General Assembly that paragraph 3 of its resolution of 2 November [997 (ES-I)] urges all Member States to "refrain from introducing military goods in the area of hostilities and in general refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of the present resolution". This recommendation lays heavy responsibilities not merely on the States of the Middle East but on all from outside whose actions or utterances are capable of bringing about a reduction of the dark tensions through which we are passing.

25. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): I want to say that what we want to do is entirely consistent with what the representative of Egypt has said. We do not want to go into the long-range factors in any way that would interfere with the cease-fire, with the withdrawal of troops, and with the entry of the international force. In fact, that is why we are not pressing these draft resolutions in this special session today. We want to be sure that all the decisions the General Assembly has taken concerning a cease-fire and withdrawal of troops and the entry of the international force are well established and are being carried out before we deal with this other matter. But once that has happened, then we do think that we should go into the basic causes and try to look for the underlying factors. What we want is to get consideration of them in the General Assembly after the phase that we are now in is finished.

26. In the cause of harmony and in order to meet everybody's view as much as possible, I shall be glad to delete paragraph 3 of the United States draft resolution [A/3329]. I do not want to try to commit subsequent Assemblies, and since I understand that I have the right to modify my own draft resolution, I will delete that paragraph. That, I think, will take care of the viewpoints that have been expressed here.

27. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): It may be useful to have a statement from the Chair concerning the problem under debate.

28. The representative of the Philippines has raised two points. In the first place, he has questioned whether on constitutional grounds an emergency special session can validly transfer items to a regular session. On this point we must refer to the provision under rule 13 of the rules of procedure to the effect that the provisional agenda of a regular session shall include, *inter alia*, all items the inclusion of which has been ordered by the General Assembly at a previous session. The Philippine representative has also suggested that an emergency special session of the General Assembly might be held simultaneously with a regular session. This procedure would be contrary to the provisions for the convening of emergency special sessions, which are held solely because the General Assembly is not in regular session. Those who drew up the provisions for emergency meetings certainly did not intend that such meetings should be held when the General Assembly was

in regular session and hence fully capable of dealing with the items before it.

29. Mr. MENON (India): My delegation is in agreement with the intentions and the purposes of the draft resolution before us [A/3329]. In spite of statements made from this rostrum, we will not go into the merits of the questions, which may have some bearing on this draft resolution. We do not think this is the appropriate occasion to do so because what we have is a procedural draft resolution.

30. The second statement of the United States representative withdrawing paragraph 3 from the draft resolution certainly improves it and facilitates our position somewhat. All the same, my delegation wishes the Assembly to take into consideration the following matters.

31. First of all, the form of this draft resolution can only be that this emergency special session of the Assembly recommends to the eleventh regular session that this item be put on its agenda, because the eleventh regular session is totally master of its own procedure. Secondly, it is not possible to put on the agenda of an Assembly the whole contents of the draft resolution; all that can be put on the agenda is the question as it is formulated here: "Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings . . ." Then when that item comes before the eleventh regular session and is adopted, it will be up to any delegation to introduce any draft resolutions there might be. Therefore, I would say that we should recommend that the item be placed on the agenda and also that the records of these meetings be considered. But the placing of the item on the agenda would have to follow the usual procedure of going before the General Committee and obtaining the necessary number of votes.

32. If there is any apprehension that difficulties may arise, the last paragraph would have to be modified to widen its provisions in this way: ". . . may continue to consider the question if the General Assembly does not consider it" or something of that character. That is one aspect.

33. I come now to the substance of this recommendation. This special emergency session arises from the Security Council resolution of 31 October 1956 [S/3721], in which the Council considered that a grave situation had been created by action undertaken against Egypt. That is the subject we are considering. We are not considering the internationalization, the nationalization or anything else of the Suez Canal. We are considering the grave situation created by the action undertaken against Egypt. Then, because there was no unanimity in the Security Council, that matter came here. Therefore, the competence of the General Assembly is restricted to the consideration of that situation. That is one set of facts.

34. The other set of facts, to which the representative of Egypt has referred, and with the purport and purpose of which the representative of the United States is in agreement, is that what has now to be done is to remedy the situation created by action taken against Egypt — that, or similar, phraseology is what we used regarding the invasion of Egypt by the British-French alliance and the State of Israel. To try to introduce other matters — for example, the solution of the whole question of the Suez Canal by a vote of this Assembly — would in the first instance require the consent of the Egyptian Government, whose sovereignty and integrity

have to be respected. I do not want to go into the merits of those proposals. There are further questions to be considered: whether a complex matter of this kind is best decided by debate in the General Assembly or by diplomatic negotiations; whether the Security Council is still seized of the matter and unless that position is altered, whether the Assembly can consider it at all.

35. Finally, on that particular aspect, my Government cannot accept this matter of the future of the Suez Canal as being merely a matter for France, the United Kingdom and Egypt. I can understand a situation in which it is very largely a matter for Egypt, but I cannot understand how the rest of the world can be exhausted by the claims, the desires, the fears or the apprehensions of the United Kingdom and France alone. If they are users of the Canal, so are other people. If the economic life of the United Kingdom depends very largely upon the free and open navigation of the Suez Canal, I beg to submit with respect that the economic life and even the existence in any kind of reasonable way of my country depends even more on free passage through the Canal. So we cannot confine the situation to these two parties, even though difficulties have been created, either on the one hand by the action of Egypt, or on the other hand by the attitude taken by France and the United Kingdom in the first instance, and afterward by their actual acts of aggression.

36. My delegation, therefore, agrees with the purposes of the draft resolution as it stands; that is to say, that the Assembly, whether in special or regular session, must continue with the matters that it has been considering. Secondly, we want to try to rationalize procedures somehow — that apparently is the intention of the United States of America — so that we do not have the regular session of the Assembly sitting at the same time as two other sessions of the Assembly. I submit that this draft resolution should be altered so that this emergency special session will recommend to the eleventh regular session to place on its agenda this particular item. When that item comes before that Assembly, a delegation — in this particular case, the United States — would have to bring up these matters. Then it would be for the Assembly to decide whether they could be taken into account at all.

37. Furthermore, nothing should be considered which would detract — and the representative of the United States does not want to detract — from the urgency of the evacuation from Egypt of foreign troops, irrespective of what the Assembly here has done. The news about all this is conflicting. Some of it creates some degree of apprehension because, even when it is agreed that these foreign troops are to be withdrawn, there are responsible statements that they are going to be concentrated somewhere else. That being so, if we are to deal with the Security Council resolution of 31 October, which points out that a grave situation has been created by the action undertaken and that remedial procedures are to be adopted to meet it, we have to take all that into account. I am afraid that the present formulation of the United States draft resolution [A/3329] would not meet that purpose.

38. The representative of the United States will understand that we have had this draft resolution before us for just half an hour, while he has had the opportunity of thinking it over. But perhaps the United States delegation will now, in the light of what has

been said from this rostrum, try to put this in a way which conforms to procedures and which does not create all these difficulties, namely, refer to this item as the "Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings . . ." etc., and recommend to the eleventh session that the item be placed on its agenda, and then save our position by amending the last paragraph so it will say that notwithstanding this recommendation, if the situation should arise that it cannot be considered by that session or has to be considered before that session meets, then the emergency session may continue.

39. The purpose of my putting forward these suggestions is, on the one hand, that we should not be bogged down by procedural difficulties afterwards; secondly, that we may not, even for a good purpose, break rules that have been made to safeguard against lapses.

40. So far as the substance is concerned, we have very grave doubts with regard to trying to put other questions into the liquidation of the aggression that has taken place in Egypt.

41. I hope, and my delegation fervently hopes that the representative of the United States will take into serious consideration the submissions we have made after due consideration.

42. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of Belgium has asked to speak on a point of order.

43. Mr. NISOT (Belgium) (*translated from French*): The draft resolution before us is a purely procedural one, and leaves the Assembly's hand entirely free. There does not therefore seem to be any reason to continue this discussion. I move the closure of the debate.

44. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We have heard the proposal made by the representative of Belgium. Under rule 77 of our rules of procedure I may call upon two speakers opposing closure. I call on the representative of Saudi Arabia.

45. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I oppose the closure of the debate for obvious reasons: the draft resolution [A/3329] has entered into the substance of the deliberations that have taken place on the Egyptian question during the last few days. If the representatives of India and of Egypt and others have touched upon the substance, it was precisely because the substance was embedded in that draft resolution by the mention of two draft resolutions submitted by the United States [A/3272, 3273], and not pressed to the vote — for obvious reasons too.

46. I would, if I were to mention those reasons, be going into the substance of the debate, and that is why I will refrain from doing so. However, I cannot but mention that our delegation, among others, was dismayed at the attempts to save the faces of certain aggressors by submitting those draft resolutions at a time when Egypt was being subjected to invasion. That is why I believe that it is untimely to close the debate.

47. We should look at the discrepancy we find between the two procedural draft resolutions submitted this morning [A/3329, 3330] a discrepancy which has as its objective certain goals with which we do not agree. We commend the withdrawal by the United States of paragraph 3 of the draft resolution before us now [A/3329], but it would be futile if it does not also delete paragraph 2 of that text.

48. Since I am applying myself strictly to the closure of the debate — and I hope it will not be closed on this procedural question — I reserve my right to speak again to say what the intents and purposes of a draft resolution which refers to the United States draft resolutions [A/3272, 3273] would have in our deliberations when the General Assembly meets in its regular session on 12 November.

49. Mr. ASHA (Syria): I also come to this rostrum to oppose the motion made by the representative of Belgium. As we received the draft resolution only half an hour ago, we will certainly need much more time than that to look into it in order to ponder and see whether it meets the situation or not.

50. This Assembly has adopted a number of resolutions. The representative of Egypt has stated that foreign troops are still in his country. They have not been withdrawn. The representative of India stated that there are conflicting reports which disturb us from time to time. I do not understand the wisdom or the sagacity of the motion made by the representative of Belgium unless there is something being cooked up behind the scenes. I hope that that is not the case.

51. We should like to continue the consideration of this item before us now in a calm manner and in accordance with the existing rules of procedure. For these reasons we oppose the motion for the closure of the debate.

52. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Under rule 77 we must now proceed to vote on the motion for closure.

The motion was rejected by 27 votes to 8, with 26 abstentions.

53. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As the motion for closure has been rejected, the debate will continue.

54. Mr. QUIROGA GALDO (Bolivia) (*translated from Spanish*): The Bolivian delegation will support the draft resolution proposed by the United States delegation [A/3329].

55. The week now ending has been marked by two important events which will have far-reaching effects on international life in the immediate future. We have witnessed the beginning of victory for the United Nations in its resistance to aggression in the Middle East. We have seen the moral and political authority of this Assembly, supported by the most illustrious men of France and the United Kingdom, succeed in inducing reflection on the part of those who disregarded this international Organization and underestimated the effectiveness of the moral forces of the world. Another event whose importance should, in my opinion, be emphasized from this rostrum is the magnificent reaffirmation of confidence on the part of the American people in the policy of peace and conciliation untiringly pursued by President Eisenhower.

56. I think the events I have just mentioned allow us to entertain the hope that within a very few days not a single invading soldier will remain in Egyptian territory, and that the eleventh session of the General Assembly will make the necessary recommendations to ensure that the Egyptian people will receive, as soon as possible, the indemnity to which they are entitled for the destruction of human life and property committed by the aggressors and for the losses caused by the paralysation of the Suez Canal. This is a policy of rectification which we should set to work on conscientiously.

We should rectify what has been done in Egypt, although there is something which can never be rectified, which no one can rectify, namely, death.

57. Leaving aside all subtle technical considerations, I consider that the Egyptian question, as it has been considered by the General Assembly, should appear as a priority item on the agenda of the eleventh session of the General Assembly and that later, when the *status quo* prior to the aggression has been restored in Egypt, we may turn, in an atmosphere of calm, to the important problems of the Middle East, on the settlement of which the preservation of world peace largely depends. On the understanding that this will be done, the Bolivian delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution proposed by the United States delegation.

58. Mr. TSIANG (China): I have a very simple point to make. I draw the attention of the Assembly to the language of paragraph 1 of the United States draft resolution [A/3329], which reads: "1. *Decides* to place on the provisional agenda of the eleventh regular session . . .". We can only place this item on the provisional agenda of the regular session. We do not determine the agenda. All the items on the provisional agenda will be subject to the rigid procedures set out in our rules of procedure. All the items on the provisional agenda, in other words, will come before the General Committee of the Assembly and before the Assembly itself.

59. I therefore regard this draft resolution as proposing the simple transfer of the item to the regular session of the General Assembly, and I shall vote in favour of its adoption.

60. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to refer briefly to the procedural problem which has arisen as a result of the draft resolution proposed by the United States.

61. My delegation is prepared to vote for this draft resolution because it considers it absolutely necessary that, as the General Assembly is about to meet in regular session, this first emergency special session should take some action with regard to the very important problem which is still before it and which has not yet been resolved.

62. Objections have been voiced to paragraph 1 of the draft resolution on the ground that the Assembly cannot, in an emergency special session, decide on the inclusion of a particular item in the provisional agenda of a regular session. In my delegation's opinion, the special session cannot in strict law take any action relating to a matter within the competence of the regular session, namely the agenda, even though it is provisional and not final. We do not think that the President's reference to rule 13, paragraph (c), of the General Assembly's rules of procedure completely covers the situation, since that provision occurs in the chapter dealing with regular sessions. Rule 13, paragraph (c), states that the provisional agenda of a regular session shall include "All items the inclusion of which has been ordered by the General Assembly at a previous session". Since this provision appears in the chapter dealing with regular sessions, we believe that, in order to be included in the provisional agenda of a regular session, an item must have been placed on the agenda by a regular session.

63. We therefore find some procedural difficulty in the idea of a special session of the Assembly taking a decision concerning the business of a regular session.

For that reason we would have no objection if the wording of paragraph 1 were changed somewhat, to read as follows:

"The General Assembly

"1. Decides to recommend that the question on the agenda of its first emergency special session be placed on the provisional agenda of the eleventh regular session as a matter of priority."

64. We are not making a special point of this. We simply wish to indicate our views concerning the law on the subject. In any case we are prepared to support the draft resolution, because we consider it essential that some action should be taken on this matter.

65. Our interpretation of the law rests on the fact that when rule 13, paragraph (c), is used by a regular session of the Assembly to order the inclusion of a particular item in the provisional agenda of that body even though that agenda is provisional — then, inasmuch as the inclusion is the consequence of a decision of the Assembly, the removal of the item from the provisional agenda would be in the nature of a reconsideration of an earlier decision made by the Assembly itself.

66. I repeat that we are not prepared to vote against paragraph 1 of the United States draft resolution [A/3329] on that ground. As regards paragraph 2, which has also occasioned certain objections, we consider it perfectly natural that some decision should be reached with respect to the two draft resolutions proposed by the United States delegation [A/3272, 3273], which we did not have time to consider but which apply to the item we are discussing in this first emergency special session of the General Assembly. Consequently, if we propose that the General Assembly should continue to deal with the item, it would be natural to transfer the documents which are pending for consideration and decision to the regular session of the General Assembly.

67. With regard to paragraph 4, which would now become paragraph 3 since the original paragraph 3 has been withdrawn by the sponsoring delegation, we also feel that it is natural to think that if between now and 3 o'clock on 12 November, when the regular session of the General Assembly opens, something happens which changes the situation in Egypt, or makes immediate action by the Assembly essential, the Assembly should not be paralysed but should be able to take action with regard to the situation in Egypt.

68. Mr. MENON (India): I thank the President for his indulgence in allowing me to come back to the rostrum so soon. As I said a while ago, there really is no difference among all of us here with regard to the purposes of this draft resolution. My delegation, in making the observations that it did, was not trying to raise procedural objections, but to get this question considered in such a way that there would be no procedural or other difficulties afterwards.

69. The representative of the United States has kindly informed us that he is not insisting upon paragraph 3 of the draft resolution and also that all the words after the words "special session", in paragraph 2, can be dropped. So that the resolution would simply read:

" . . .

"1. Decides to place on the provisional agenda . . .

"2. Refers to its eleventh regular session for its consideration the records of the meetings and the

documents of its first emergency special session". The present paragraph 4 will then follow as paragraph 3.

70. My delegation is happy to support this draft resolution in those terms and in those circumstances. Our understanding is that its purpose is merely to enable this item to get on to the agenda of the eleventh session. Therefore, it must be presumed that those of us who may become members of the General Committee will, at the first opportunity, take the initiative in placing on the agenda of the eleventh session an item such as "Question considered by the first emergency session", or whatever the language might be.

71. As I said a while ago, it is not possible to place the whole contents of this draft resolution on the agenda. Under the rules of procedure, an emergency session cannot coexist with a regular session, and therefore the present procedure is a very necessary procedure that has to be adopted in order to take the matter further. I would therefore recommend that this draft resolution be accepted with the deletions mentioned, with the understanding that the normal procedures will be followed in the General Committee, by either the United States itself or by some or all the members of that Committee, to place this question which was considered by the first emergency session on the agenda of the eleventh session.

72. I would request that we should now hasten our proceedings. If that is the general view of the Assembly, I would support our proceeding to put the draft resolution to the vote. I am not, however, moving a closure of the debate. I think we have reached a stage where we can accept this draft resolution without spending further time in discussing matters which can be discussed thereafter. I appeal to all my friends to accept this draft resolution on the basis that I have set out.

73. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I have no other speakers on my list. We shall therefore proceed to a vote on the draft resolution before us [A/3329].

74. The delegation sponsoring the draft resolution has withdrawn paragraph 3 and has also agreed to the deletion of the last phrase of paragraph 2, which reads as follows: "including the draft resolutions contained in documents A/3272 and A/3273". We shall now proceed to vote on the text I have mentioned, with the amendments proposed by the sponsor of the draft resolution.

The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by 66 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

75. Mr. ARENALES CATALAN (Guatemala) (*translated from Spanish*): I feel that I should explain my delegation's abstention in the vote on the resolution just adopted. As another representative has already said, the purpose of the resolution is acceptable to all members of the Assembly, which is proved by the re-

sult of the vote. Nevertheless, there are two reasons why my delegation felt it should abstain.

76. Our first reason is based on rule 15 of the rules of procedure and on some of the arguments advanced by the Philippine representative from this rostrum. I agree with the representative of India that we should also aim at avoiding procedural difficulties when this item comes up in the regular session of the Assembly. Under rule 15 of the rules of procedure, a waiver of the seven-day rule and of the report of a committee requires a decision by a two-thirds majority of the Assembly. My delegation considered that the delicacy and importance of the problems to be discussed might make it necessary to consider this item before the end of the seven-day period and without the two-thirds majority vote provided for in rule 15.

77. The second reason for my delegation's abstention is the President's interpretation concerning the question of the compatibility of the procedure we have just adopted with the General Assembly's "Uniting for peace" resolution [377 A(V)].

78. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): I wish to explain briefly why I voted in favour of the resolution.

79. In my first intervention I expressed my views to the effect that an emergency special session could, constitutionally, coexist with a regular session. I also expressed the view that the items which are currently being discussed in this emergency special session might better be retained in such a session for psychological reasons. Lastly, I feared the effect of this resolution on paragraph 6 of the resolution adopted, on 2 November 1956 [997 (ES-I)], which requires that this Assembly should remain in emergency session "pending compliance with the present resolution".

80. However, after listening to the explanation by the President to the effect that an emergency special session is called only when no regular session is being held, I am inclined to think now that the basic motivation for this present resolution is the fear that unless we take the step contemplated by it, the General Assembly may cease to be seized of the item. That, as I say, is the fear which motivates this resolution.

81. Although I do not quite share this view up to the present moment, I have adopted a fixed form of conduct in my life according to which, when I entertain serious doubts between two conflicting solutions, one of which I think is safe although questionable as to its wisdom, and the other fraught with fatal consequences if it proves to be wrong, I always decide in favour of safety. That explains the reason why I voted in favour of the resolution.

82. Mr. CARAYANNIS (Greece): I just wish to state that I abstained in the vote on the resolution in view of the fact that it was not quite clear that a simple majority of the regular session of the Assembly would be sufficient for the consideration of this item at any time.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.

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Agenda item 3

ANNEXES

NEW YORK, 1956

FIRST EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

Agenda item 3: Appointment of the Credentials Committee

CONTENTS

Document No.	Title	Page
A/3321	Credentials of representatives to the first and second emergency special sessions of the General Assembly: report of the Credentials Committee.....	1
A/3300	Communications relating to the representation of China.....	2
	Action taken by the General Assembly	3
	Other document pertaining to agenda item 3.....	3

DOCUMENT A/3321

Credentials of representatives to the first and second emergency special sessions of the
General Assembly: report of the Credentials Committee[Original text: English]
[8 November 1956]

1. At its 561st plenary meeting, held on 1 November 1956, the General Assembly, in accordance with rule 28 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, appointed a credentials committee for its first emergency special session having the same membership as the credentials committee for the tenth session of the Assembly and consisting of the following Member States: Afghanistan, Australia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, France, Indonesia, Iraq, United States of America, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2. At its 564th plenary meeting held on 4 November 1956, the General Assembly decided that the Credentials Committee appointed for the first emergency special session should serve also for the second emergency special session and that the credentials of the representatives attending the first session would be considered valid for their participation in the second.

3. The Credentials Committee met on 8 November 1956.

4. Mr. Hashim Jawad (Iraq) was unanimously elected Chairman of the Committee.

5. The representative of France raised the question of the validity of the cabled credentials of the representatives of Hungary since, in his opinion, the new Government had been constituted as the result of military intervention by a foreign Power.

6. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics pointed out that the credentials of the representatives of Hungary had been issued in accordance with rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and that, therefore, there could be no question as to their validity.

7. The representatives of Indonesia and Afghanistan shared the views expressed by the representative of the USSR.

8. The representative of the Dominican Republic proposed that in the present circumstances the Committee should take no decision regarding the credentials of the representatives of Hungary pending further clarification.

9. The representatives of Australia, Colombia and the United States of America supported this view.

10. The Committee agreed not to take any decision regarding the credentials of the representatives of Hungary at this time pending further clarification.

11. The representative of the USSR stated that the credentials of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China should not be recognized as valid since China could be legally represented only by persons accredited by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

12. The representatives of Indonesia and Afghanistan stated that their Governments had recognized the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and therefore could not regard as valid the credentials submitted for the representatives of China by the Government of the Republic of China.

13. Statements were made by the representatives of France, the United States of America and the Dominican Republic, who stated that in their opinion the credentials of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China were in order.

14. A proposal was submitted by the representative of the Dominican Republic to accept the credentials of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China. This proposal was adopted by 6 votes to 3.

15. With the exception referred to in paragraph 10 above, the credentials of the representatives of all other Member States to the first and second emergency special sessions were found in order.

Recommendation of the Credentials Committee

16. The Credentials Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution:

[Text adopted without change by the General Assembly. See "Action taken by the General Assembly" below.]

DOCUMENT A/3300**Communications relating to the representation of China**

[Original text: English]
[5 November 1956]

NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL: The Secretary-General has the honour to transmit herewith to the members of the General Assembly the text of a communication from the delegation of Poland, addressed to the President of the General Assembly during its first emergency special session (see communication No. 1 below), and of seven communications addressed to the Secretary-General (see communications Nos. 2-8 below).

1. *Note verbale* DATED 1 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE
DELEGATION OF POLAND

The delegation of the Polish People's Republic presents its compliments to the President of the first emergency special session of the General Assembly and has the honour to draw his attention to the following question:

The only lawful representative of the Chinese people is the People's Republic of China, and it is therefore legitimately entitled to a seat in all United Nations organs. Taking this into account, the delegation of the Polish People's Republic categorically protests against the fact that the People's Republic of China was prevented from participating in this Assembly's work, and its place here was wrongly taken by persons who do not represent the people of China.

The delegation of Poland requests that this statement should be circulated to the members of the General Assembly for their information.

2. LETTER DATED 1 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ALBANIA

In connexion with the consideration of the question of the credentials of the delegations to the emergency special session of the General Assembly, I have the honour to advise the following:

As is known, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania considers that the only genuine legitimate Government of China is the Government of the People's Republic of China. That is why the Albanian delegation declares that it does not recognize as valid the credentials presented by the Kuomintang delegation and that the only representative of China can be only a delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

I request that this declaration of the Albanian delegation be entered in the records of the emergency special session of the General Assembly.

(Signed) Reis MALILE
Permanent Representative of the People's
Republic of Albania to the United Nations

3. LETTER DATED 1 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF BULGARIA

In connexion with the consideration of the question of the credentials of the delegations to the emergency special session of the General Assembly, I have the honour to advise the following:

As is known, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria considers that the only genuine legitimate Government of China is the Government of the People's Republic of China. That is why the Bulgarian delegation declares that it does not recognize as valid the credentials presented by the Kuomintang delegation and that the only representative of China can be only a delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

I request that this declaration of the Bulgarian delegation be entered in the records of the emergency special session of the General Assembly.

(Signed) Peter VUTOV
Permanent Representative of
the People's Republic of Bulgaria to
the United Nations

4. LETTER DATED 1 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

I have the honour to inform you of the following:

The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic deems it necessary to state that only a lawful representative appointed by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China can represent China at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic does not recognize the right of the Kuomintang representative to represent China at the special session of the General Assembly.

I would ask you to have this letter reproduced as an official General Assembly document.

(Signed) A. GURINOVICH
Representative of the Byelorussian SSR
at the special session of the United
Nations General Assembly

5. *Note verbale* DATED 1 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE
PERMANENT MISSION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Permanent Mission of Czechoslovakia to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Secretary-General and has the honour to inform him that the Czechoslovak Government will not recognize as lawful representatives of China at the emergency special session of the General Assembly called under

resolution S/3721 adopted by the Security Council on 31 October 1956,¹ any persons other than representatives duly appointed by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

6. LETTER DATED 31 OCTOBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ROMANIA

[Original text: French]

I have the honour to inform you that the delegation of the Romanian People's Republic considers that only the representatives of the People's Central Government of the People's Republic of China can legitimately represent China and that it therefore recognizes no other representation.

(Signed) Athanase JOJA
Permanent Representative of Romania
to the United Nations

7. LETTER DATED 1 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

I have the honour to inform you of the following:
The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic deems it necessary to state that only a lawful

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Eleventh Year*, 751st meeting.

representative appointed by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China can represent China at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The Ukrainian SSR does not recognize the right of the Kuomintang representative to represent China at the special session of the General Assembly.

I would ask you to have this letter reproduced as an official General Assembly document.

(Signed) V. SAPOZHNIKOV
Representative of the Ukrainian SSR at
the special session of the United
Nations General Assembly

8. LETTER DATED 1 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

I have the honour to state that the USSR delegation does not recognize the credentials of the Kuomintang representative as the representative of China at the special session of the General Assembly. China can be represented only by representatives accredited by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

I would ask you to have this letter reproduced as an official General Assembly document.

(Signed) A. SOBOLEV

Action taken by the General Assembly

At its 571st plenary meeting, on 9 November 1956, the General Assembly adopted the draft resolution submitted by the Credentials Committee (A/3321, para. 16). For the final text, see resolution 996 (ES-I and II) below.

Resolution 996 (ES-I and II)

[Document A/RES/402]

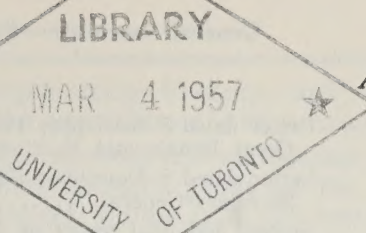
The General Assembly
Approves the report of the Credentials Committee (A/3321).

OTHER DOCUMENT PERTAINING TO AGENDA ITEM 3

Document No.	Title	Observation and reference
A/RES/402	Resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its 571st plenary meeting, on 9 November 1956	See above "Action taken by the General Assembly". The text of the resolution also appears in the <i>Official Records of the General Assembly, First emergency special session, Supplement No. 1</i> , as resolution 996 (ES-I and II)

MEETING AT WHICH AGENDA ITEM 3 WAS DISCUSSED

A/PV.561, 571	Verbatim records of the 561st and 571st plenary meetings of the General Assembly
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FIRST EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

**Agenda item 5: Question considered by the Security Council at its
 749th and 750th meetings on 30 October 1956**

C O N T E N T S

<i>Document No.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Page</i>
A/3213	Summoning of the first emergency special session of the General Assembly: note by the Secretary-General	2
A/3256	United States of America: draft resolution.....	2
A/3266	<i>Aide-mémoire</i> dated 2 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	3
A/3267	Report of the Secretary-General submitted in pursuance of resolution 997 (ES-I), para. 5, adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November 1956.....	3
A/3268	Letter dated 3 November 1956 from the Alternate Permanent Representative of France, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	4
A/3269	Letter dated 3 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	4
A/3270	Communication dated 3 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt, addressed to the President of the General Assembly and to the Secretary-General.....	5
A/3272	United States of America: draft resolution.....	6
A/3273	United States of America: draft resolution.....	6
A/3274	Letter dated 3 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	7
A/3275	Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand and Yemen: draft resolution	7
A/3276	Canada: draft resolution.....	8
A/3277	Letter dated 3 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Israel, addressed to the President of the General Assembly.....	8
A/3278	Letter dated 3 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Syria, addressed to the President of the General Assembly.....	8
A/3279	<i>Aide-mémoire</i> dated 3 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Israel, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	9
A/3282	Letter dated 4 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	10
A/3283	Cablegram dated 4 November 1956 from the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	10
A/3284	Second report of the Secretary-General submitted in pursuance of resolution 997 (ES-I), para. 5, adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November 1956.....	10
A/3287	Report of the Secretary-General on communications with the Governments of France, Egypt, Israel and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland concerning implementation of General Assembly resolutions 997 (ES-I) and 999 (ES-I) dated 2 and 4 November 1956	11
A/3288	Letter dated 4 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt, addressed to the Secretary-General	13
A/3289	First report of the Secretary-General on the plan for an emergency international United Nations Force requested in resolution 998 (ES-I) adopted by the General Assembly on 4 November 1956	14
A/3290	Canada, Colombia and Norway: draft resolution.....	15
A/3291	Letter dated 4 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Israel, addressed to the Secretary-General	15
A/3292	Letter dated 5 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt, addressed to the Secretary-General	15
A/3293	Letter dated 5 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	16
A/3294	Letter dated 5 November 1956 from the Alternate Permanent Representative of France, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	16
A/3295	Cablegram dated 5 November 1956 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	17
A/3296	Third report of the Secretary-General submitted in pursuance of resolution 997 (ES-I), para. 5, adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November 1956.....	17
A/3297	Letter dated 5 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Israel, addressed to the Secretary-General	18
A/3298	Letter dated 5 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	18

Document No.	Title	Page
A/3299	Letter dated 5 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	19
A/3301	Letter dated 5 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Israel, addressed to the Secretary-General	19
A/3302 and Add.1 through 16	Second and final report of the Secretary-General on the plan for an emergency international United Nations Force requested in resolution 998 (ES-I), adopted by the General Assembly on 4 November 1956.....	19
A/3303	Letter dated 6 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Saudi Arabia, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	26
A/3304	Letter dated 6 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt, addressed to the Secretary-General	26
A/3305	Letter dated 6 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt, addressed to the Secretary-General	27
A/3306	Letter dated 6 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	27
A/3307	Letter dated 6 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of France, addressed to the Secretary-General	28
A/3308	Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia and Sweden: draft resolution.....	28
A/3309	Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand and Yemen: draft resolution	29
A/3310	<i>Aide-mémoire</i> dated 5 November 1956 from the Secretary-General, addressed to the Governments of France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.....	29
A/3312	Cablegram dated 7 November 1956 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	30
A/3313	Letter dated 7 November 1956 from the Secretary-General, addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France.....	30
A/3314	Letter dated 7 November 1956 from the Secretary-General, addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.....	31
A/3317	Confirmation of the appointment of Major-General E. L. M. Burns as Chief of the United Nations Command for the emergency international Force.....	31
A/3320	Letter dated 8 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Israel, addressed to the Secretary-General	32
A/3329	United States of America: draft resolution.....	32
Action taken by the General Assembly		32
Other documents pertaining to agenda item 5		35

DOCUMENT A/3213

Summoning of the First Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly Note by the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[1 November 1956]

The Security Council, at its 751st meeting on 31 October 1956,¹ adopted the following resolution (S/3721):

"The Security Council,

"Considering that a grave situation has been created by action undertaken against Egypt,

"Taking into account that the lack of unanimity of its permanent members at the 749th and 750th meetings of the Security Council has prevented it from exercising its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security,

"Decides to call an emergency special session of the General Assembly as provided in the General Assembly's resolution 377 A (V) of 3 November 1950, in order to make appropriate recommendations."

Accordingly, the Secretary-General, acting under the provisions of rule 8 (b) of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, has, by telegram dated 31 October 1956, summoned the first emergency special session of the Assembly to meet on Thursday, 1 November 1956, at 5 p.m. in the General Assembly Hall, Headquarters, New York.

DOCUMENT A/3256²

United States of America: draft resolution

[Original text: English]
[1 November 1956]

The General Assembly,

Noting the disregard on many occasions by parties

to the Israel-Arab armistice agreements of 1949 of the terms of such agreements, and that the armed forces of Israel have penetrated deeply into Egyptian territory in violation of the General Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel,

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Eleventh Year.*

² Subsequently became resolution 997 (ES-I).

Noting that armed forces of France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland are conducting military operations against Egyptian territory,

Noting that traffic through the Suez Canal is now interrupted to the serious prejudice of many nations,

Expressing its grave concern over these developments,

1. *Urges* as a matter of priority that all parties now involved in hostilities in the area agree to an immediate cease-fire and, as part thereof, halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area;

2. *Urges* the parties to the armistice agreements promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines

into neighbouring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements;

3. *Recommends* that all Member States refrain from introducing military goods in the area of hostilities and in general refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of the present resolution;

4. *Urges* that, upon the cease-fire being effective, steps be taken to reopen the Suez Canal and restore secure freedom of navigation;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to observe and promptly report on the compliance with the present resolution to the Security Council and to the General Assembly, for such further action as they may deem appropriate in accordance with the Charter;

6. *Decides* to remain in emergency session pending compliance with the present resolution.

DOCUMENT A/3266

Aide-mémoire dated 2 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[2 November 1956]

The Egyptian Government instructed me to inform you that it accepts the resolution adopted this morning, 2 November 1956, by the special extraordinary session of the General Assembly; on the condition of course that it could not implement the resolution in case attacking armies continue their aggression.

DOCUMENT A/3267

Report of the Secretary-General submitted in pursuance of resolution 997 (ES-I), para. 5, adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November 1956

[Original text: English]
[3 November 1956]

1. Official information concerning compliance with the resolution has been received as of 11.30 a.m. on 3 November from only two of the parties involved in hostilities in the area, i.e. Egypt and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

2. An *aide-mémoire* from the Egyptian Mission to the United Nations received on the evening of 2 November (A/3266), states that the Egyptian Government accepts the resolution of the General Assembly "on the condition of course that it could not implement the resolution in case attacking armies continue their aggression".

3. According to word received this morning from the permanent representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations, the Governments of France and the United Kingdom continue to "maintain their view that police action must be carried through urgently to stop the hostilities which are now threatening the Suez Canal, to prevent a resumption of those hostilities and to pave the way for a definitive settlement of the Arab-Israel war which threatens the legitimate interests of so many countries. They would most willingly stop military action as soon as the following conditions could be satisfied:

"(a) Both the Egyptian and the Israel Governments agree to accept a United Nations Force to keep the peace;

"(b) The United Nations decides to constitute and maintain such a Force until an Arab-Israel peace

settlement is reached and until satisfactory arrangements have been agreed in regard to the Suez Canal, both agreements to be guaranteed by the United Nations;

"(c) In the meantime, until the United Nations Force is constituted, both combatants agree to accept forthwith limited detachments of Anglo-French troops to be stationed between the combatants."

4. The permanent representatives of France and the United Kingdom have indicated that *aide-mémoire* covering these views of their Governments may be expected to be received in the course of the day. These communications, when received, will be circulated as separate documents.

5. Official communiqués indicate that the air operations over Egyptian territory have continued without interruption. A communication received late this morning from the representative of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Cairo, Colonel Ely, and the other senior United Nations representatives in Egypt, is annexed. I have submitted this communication to the delegation of the United Kingdom. It is circulated to Members with a reservation as regards any clarification of the radio announcement which may be later received.

6. The Gaza strip, including the town of Gaza, has been occupied by Israel military forces. In the Gaza area, at my request, representatives of the United

Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East continue to perform their duties with regard to assistance to the refugees. I have informed the Israel Government, however, that this in no way implies any recognition of a state of affairs in contravention to the Egyptian-Israeli General Armistice Agreement or the provisions of the resolution of the emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly.

7. Truce Supervision Organization personnel in the area have been instructed to remain at their duty posts.

8. The Government of Israel has announced the capture of the two Red Sea islands of Tiran and Senafir.

ANNEX

Cairo, 3 November 1956

Urgent and immediate for Secretary-General Hammarskjöld. Intense British and French fighter bomber, medium bomber and heavy bomber attacks in Cairo area have until now to the best of our knowledge been directed at military targets such as Almaza and Cairo international airports. However British radio has announced an imminent switch to include communication centres, railway stations and telephone exchanges, many of which are located in densely populated areas. In spite of warning to civilian population to keep clear of these areas, implementation of this policy will result in a terrific loss of life. We urge you to use every means available to you to restrain implementation of this policy.

ELY
PEREZ GUERRERO
GORDON
SQUADRILLI

DOCUMENT A/3268

Letter dated 3 November 1956 from the Alternate Permanent Representative of France, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: French]
[3 November 1956]

I have the honour, on instructions from my Government, to communicate to you the following in response to resolution A/3256 adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November 1956 (resolution 997 (ES-I)), during its emergency special session:

"1. The British and French Governments have given careful consideration to the resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 2 November. They maintain their view that police action must be carried through urgently to stop the hostilities which are now threatening the Suez Canal, to prevent a resumption of those hostilities and to pave the way for a definite settlement of the Arab-Israel war which threatens the legitimate interests of so many countries.

"2. They would most willingly stop military action as soon as the following conditions could be satisfied:

"(a) Both the Egyptian and Israel Governments agree to accept a United Nations Force to keep the peace.

"(b) The United Nations decides to constitute and maintain such a Force until an Arab-Israel peace settlement is reached and until satisfactory arrangements have been agreed in regard to the Suez Canal, both agreements to be guaranteed by the United Nations.

"(c) In the meantime, until the United Nations Force is constituted, both combatants agree to accept forthwith limited detachments of Anglo-French troops to be stationed between the combatants."

I request you to be so good as to circulate this note immediately to all Members of the United Nations.

(Signed) L. DE GUIRINGAUD
Alternate Permanent Representative of
France to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3269

Letter dated 3 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[3 November 1956]

I have the honour, on instructions from Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, to communicate the following. This communication is made in response to the resolution A/3256 adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November 1956 (resolution 997 (ES-I)), during its emergency special session.

"1. The British and French Governments have given careful consideration to the resolution passed by the General Assembly on 2 November. They maintain their view that police action must be carried through urgently to stop the hostilities which are now threatening the Suez Canal, to prevent a resumption of those hostilities and to pave the way for a

definitive settlement of the Arab-Israel war which threatens the legitimate interests of so many countries.

"2. They would most willingly stop military action as soon as the following conditions could be satisfied:

"(a) Both the Egyptian and the Israeli Governments agree to accept a United Nations Force to keep the peace;

"(b) The United Nations decides to constitute and maintain such a Force until an Arab-Israel peace settlement is reached and until satisfactory arrangements have been agreed in regard to the Suez Canal,

both agreements to be guaranteed by the United Nations;

“(c) In the meantime, until the United Nations Force is constituted, both combatants agree to accept forthwith limited detachments of Anglo-French troops to be stationed between the combatants.”

I request you to be so good as to circulate this note immediately to all Members of the United Nations.

(Signed) Pierson DIXON
Permanent Representative of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3270

Communication dated 3 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt, addressed to the President of the General Assembly and to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[3 November 1956]

NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL: The Secretary-General has the honour to transmit herewith to the Members of the General Assembly the text of identic communications received from the permanent representative of Egypt to the United Nations, addressed to the President of the General Assembly during its first emergency special session and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

I have the honour to transmit the text of the following communication from the Egyptian Government and request meanwhile an immediate meeting of the first emergency special session of the General Assembly in order to take actions referred to in paragraph 5 of the General Assembly resolution 997 (ES-I) adopted on 2 November 1956:

“The whole world is aware of the treacherous and unprovoked aggression by the Israeli armed forces on Egyptian territory on 29 October. On 30 October the collusion between Israel on the one hand, and the United Kingdom and France on the other, appeared in the open. It was clear that the Israeli attack was launched with the approval and the connivance of France and the United Kingdom. It was again clear that France and the United Kingdom encouraged the Israeli attack to take it as a pretext to intervene in the area and to attack and try to occupy Egyptian territory. The plot was made clear by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom when he addressed an ultimatum to the Egyptian Government asking for the cessation of hostilities between Egypt and Israel, the withdrawal of military forces ten miles from the Suez Canal and, furthermore, asking the agreement of the Egyptian Government for the occupation of Port Said, Ismailia and Suez by French and British armed forces. The British ultimatum was calculated as not to be accepted by any sovereign State. The Egyptian Government used its right as a sovereign and independent State and refused the ultimatum. In spite of the indignation felt by world public opinion, the French and British Governments put their ultimatum in effect.

“On the night of 31 October, joint French and British forces began their attack on Egyptian people and territory. They launched systematic and barbarous attacks by air on all Egyptian airfields, destroying property and causing casualties among civilians without discrimination. So far casualties amount to 250 victims.

“The Anglo-French assault against Egypt aroused the indignation of public opinion everywhere and prompted the Security Council to call for an emergency session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Assembly, by an overwhelming majority, approved a draft resolution presented by the United States Government. The General Assembly’s resolution called for an immediate cease-fire, for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces behind the armistice demarcation lines, for the scrupulous observance of the provisions of the armistice agreement, for all Members to refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of this resolution, and for the reopening of the Suez Canal and restoration of the freedom of navigation in it. The resolution also requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to observe and promptly report on the compliance with this resolution to the General Assembly in order that it may take such further action as it may deem appropriate in accordance with the United Nations Charter. In spite of this resolution, which represents the deep conviction of the entire world, Anglo-French air attacks continued and even increased in intensity and frequency. Furthermore, it is also reported that Anglo-French armed forces are taking part in the fight against Egyptian troops on Egyptian territory in the Sinai peninsula.

“Faced with this continuous ruthless Anglo-French aggression, the Egyptian Government has decided to ask for an immediate meeting of the General Assembly in order to take the actions it pledged itself to undertake in order to uphold the principles of law and order and to stop the unprovoked attack to which Egypt is unlawfully subjected and to put an end to the deliberate massacre of peaceful civilians.”

(Signed) Omar LOUTFI
Permanent Representative of
Egypt to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3272³

United States of America: draft resolution

[Original text: English]
[3 November 1956]

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, by which the Assembly established the Palestine Conciliation Commission and laid down the functions of that Commission,

Noting that a final settlement of the questions outstanding between the Governments and authorities concerned with the problem of Palestine has not yet been achieved despite the efforts of the Palestine Conciliation Commission,

Noting the efforts of the Secretary-General undertaken under the Security Council resolutions of 4 April 1956 (S/3575) and 4 June 1956 (S/3605),

Recalling that the General Assembly, on 2 November 1956, adopted a resolution which noted the disregard on many occasions by parties to the Arab-Israel armistice agreements of 1949 of the terms of such agreements, and, *inter alia*, urged the parties to the armistice agreements promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements,

1. *Holds* that, in order to secure a just and lasting peace, it is necessary to remove the underlying causes of tension in the area and to achieve a final settlement between the parties to the general armistice agreements;

2. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Palestine Conciliation Commission, and discharges that Commission from the performance of further tasks;

3. *Establishes* a committee composed of
.,,,
.

(a) To prepare recommendations, after consultation with the parties to the general armistice agreements of 1949, regarding a settlement of the major problems outstanding between the Arab States and Israel, with a view to establishing conditions of permanent peace and stability in the area;

(b) To submit its recommendations to the parties concerned and to the General Assembly, or to the Security Council as appropriate, and to submit reports to the General Assembly on the status of its assigned task;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the committee, to continue his good offices with the parties;

5. *Requests* the Members of the United Nations to render all assistance to the Secretary-General and to the committee;

6. *Commends* the Secretary-General, the Chief of Staff and the members of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization for their efforts to enforce the general armistice agreements, and urges the parties directly concerned to co-operate fully with the Chief of Staff and members of the Truce Supervision Organization in carrying out the tasks assigned or which may be assigned to them by the Security Council; and

7. *Urges* the parties directly concerned, as a matter of humanity, to lend all possible assistance in caring for and assuring the safety of the Arab refugees under the continuing care of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, and recommends that Members consider and furnish what additional assistance may be required.

DOCUMENT A/3273³

United States of America: draft resolution

[Original text: English]
[3 November 1956]

The General Assembly,

Noting that the Security Council, on 13 October 1956,⁴ adopted the following resolution (S/3675):

"The Security Council,

"Noting the declarations made before it and the accounts of the development of the exploratory conversations on the Suez question given by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Foreign Ministers of Egypt, France and the United Kingdom,

"Agrees that any settlement of the Suez question should meet the following requirements:

"(1) There should be free and open transit through the Canal without discrimination, overt or covert—this covers both political and technical aspects;

"(2) The sovereignty of Egypt should be respected;

"(3) The operation of the Canal should be insulated from the politics of any country;

"(4) The manner of fixing tolls and charges should be decided by agreement between Egypt and the users;

"(5) A fair proportion of the dues should be allotted to development;

"(6) In case of disputes, unresolved affairs between the Suez Canal Company and the Egyptian Government should be settled by arbitration with suitable terms of reference and suitable provisions for the payment of sums found to be due";

Noting the position taken by the Government of Egypt in document S/3728,

Recalling that the General Assembly, on 2 November 1956, adopted a resolution which, *inter alia*, noted

³ At its 572nd plenary meeting, the General Assembly decided to defer examination of this text to its eleventh ordinary session.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Eleventh Year*, 743rd meeting.

that traffic through the Suez Canal was interrupted with serious prejudice to many nations, urged the parties to the hostilities in Egypt to agree to an immediate cease-fire and, as part thereof, to halt the movement of military forces into the area and urged that, upon the cease-fire being effected, steps be taken to reopen the Suez Canal and restore freedom of navigation,

Recognizing that the situation calls for a permanent solution consistent with the principles of justice and international law, the sovereignty of Egypt, and the rights of international users of the Suez Canal as guaranteed by the Convention of 1888,

1. *Establishes* a committee composed of,, and to assume responsibility for:

(a) The taking of measures for the immediate reopening of the Suez Canal as a secure international waterway;

(b) The preparation of a plan, in consultation with Egypt, France and the United Kingdom, for operation and maintenance of the Suez Canal and freedom of passage through it in accordance with the Convention of 1888, and with the six requirements unanimously agreed to by the Security Council, with the concurrence of Egypt, on 13 October 1956;

(c) The adoption and putting into effect of such a plan;

2. *Requests* the committee to report to the General Assembly and to the Security Council as appropriate, and invites the committee to make recommendations as it deems useful to promote a just and permanent settlement of the Suez problem, consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations;

3. *Requests* the Members of the United Nations to render all appropriate assistance to the committee.

DOCUMENT A/3274

Letter dated 3 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[3 November 1956]

I have the honour, on instructions from Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, to refer to the communication from the representative of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Cairo annexed to your report (A/3267), and to request you to circulate immediately to all Members of the United Nations the enclosed statement which has been issued tonight by the Ministry of Defence in London.

(Signed) Pierson DIXON
Permanent Representative of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland
to the United Nations

STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE IN
LONDON AT 11.45 P.M. (GMT) ON 3 NOVEMBER 1956

Reports have been circulated that Anglo-French forces now intend to attack centres of communication, including telephone exchanges and railway stations, where heavy civilian casualties would be inevitable. This is quite untrue. Anglo-French attacks are now being switched from air to army targets, and no such attacks are to be made where civilian casualties would be inevitable.

DOCUMENT A/3275⁵

Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand and Yemen: draft resolution

[Original text: English]
[3 November 1956]

The General Assembly,

Noting with regret that not all the parties concerned have yet agreed to comply with the provisions of its resolution of 2 November 1956,

Noting the special priority given in the resolution to an immediate cease-fire and as part thereof to the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area,

Noting further that the resolution urged the parties to the armistice agreements promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring territory,

and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements,

1. *Reaffirms* its resolution of 2 November 1956 and once again calls upon the parties immediately to comply with the provisions of the said resolution;

2. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General immediately to arrange with the parties concerned for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area and requests him to report compliance forthwith and, in any case, not later than twelve hours from the time of adoption of the present resolution;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General, with the assistance of the Chief of Staff and the members of the

⁵ Subsequently became resolution 997 (ES-I).

United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, to obtain compliance of the withdrawal of all forces behind the armistice lines;

4. *Decides* to meet again immediately on receipt of the Secretary-General's report referred to in operative paragraph 2 of the present resolution.

DOCUMENT A/3276⁶

Canada: draft resolution

[Original text: English]
[3 November 1956]

The General Assembly,

Bearing in mind the urgent necessity of facilitating compliance with resolution 997 (ES-I) adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November 1956,

Requests, as a matter of priority, the Secretary-General to submit to it within forty-eight hours a plan for the setting up, with the consent of the nations concerned, of an emergency international United Nations Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with the terms of the aforementioned resolution.

DOCUMENT A/3277

Letter dated 3 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Israel, addressed to the President of the General Assembly

[Original text: English]
[3 November 1956]

I have the honour, on instructions from my Government, to transmit to you the following communication:

"The Israel Government desires to draw the attention of the emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly to the declaration published by the Government of Syria of its purpose to initiate hostilities against Israel on the basis of its military alliance with Egypt. As part of this plan, Syrian troops have now crossed into Jordan territory.

"The Israel Government at the same time desires to draw the attention of the Assembly also to the entry of Iraqi troops into Jordan. Iraq is linked by a military agreement with Jordan and after participating, in 1948, in the joint aggression of the Arab States

against Israel, it has refused even to enter into an armistice agreement with her.

"In the present tense situation in the Middle East, the troop movements above referred to, accompanied as they are in the case of Syria by an explicit reference to an aggressive military pact aimed at Israel's destruction, arouse in Israel deep concern for the cause of peace. The Government of Israel feels in duty bound to bring this development to the notice of the emergency special session of the General Assembly."

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated to all the Members of the United Nations.

(Signed) Abba EBAN
Permanent Representative of Israel
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3278

Letter dated 3 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Syria, addressed to the President of the General Assembly

[Original text: English]
[4 November 1956]

I have the honour, on the basis of official information received from my Government, to communicate to you the following.

The letter dated 3 November 1956 from the Israeli Permanent Representative addressed to the President of the General Assembly during its first emergency special session and contained in document A/3277, is a clear distortion of the facts, for the following reasons:

1. The Government of Syria did not declare its purpose to initiate hostilities against Israel on the basis of its military alliance with Egypt. The Government of Syria declared that it is bound by the Joint Defence

Treaty concluded between Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria, and duly registered with the United Nations, to fulfil its obligations arising out of the above-mentioned treaty, regarding the implementation of the guarantee of mutual assistance in case of an armed attack directed against any one of the aforesaid countries;

2. The official information available so far does not indicate that Syrian troops entered Jordan. Such movements, however, would be amply justified by the reliable information already received that Israel is planning an armed aggression against Jordan;

3. The Joint Defence Treaty between Syria, Egypt and Saudi Arabia is not an aggressive military pact aimed at Israel's destruction but a defence treaty com-

⁶ Subsequently became resolution 998 (ES-I).

patible with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter and providing for mutual assistance in case of aggression, of the nature of the latest Israeli aggression, directed against only one of the three aforementioned countries;

4. The expression of Israeli deep concern for the cause of peace is hard to understand in the light of the Israeli armed aggression launched against Egypt in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the armistice convention;

5. The distortion of facts in the letter reproduced in document A/3277 may be aimed, according to our past and recent experience, at paving the way for a new Israeli armed aggression on Jordan.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated to all the Members of the United Nations.

(Signed) Rafik ASHA
Permanent Representative of Syria
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3279

Aide-mémoire dated 3 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Israel, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[4 November 1956]

With reference to the resolution adopted by the first emergency special session of the General Assembly on 2 November 1956, the Government of Israel made the following declaration on 3 November 1956 concerning the cease-fire:

"Israel agrees to an immediate cease-fire provided a similar answer is forthcoming from Egypt."

The Government of Israel concluded its declaration with the following general observations on the question now before the emergency special session:

"Egypt, by its repeated assertions over the years that a state of war exists between it and Israel, has distorted the motive and purpose of the armistice agreement, which, as stated in the agreement itself five times, is the restoration of permanent peace. Egypt has used this agreement, conceived as a transition to permanent peace, as a cover for murderous attacks against the population of Israel and for a relentless siege of the country by land, sea and air. Week after week and month after month, specially trained units of the Egyptian army known as *fedayeen* have entered Israel territory for murder and sabotage. Egypt has organized and directed similar gangs in other Arab countries for action against Israel. Egypt has closed the Gulf of Eilat and the Suez Canal to Israel shipping. Egypt maintains a complete economic boycott against Israel and by threat and intimidation presses commercial interests throughout the world to abstain from legitimate trade with Israel.

"Moreover, in preparation for an all-out attempt to eliminate Israel by force, Egypt has concluded military alliances with Israel's neighbours. Egypt has contravened her solemn obligation under the United Nations Charter, under the Constantinople Convention of 1888, and under the Security Council's resolutions of 1 September 1951 (S/2298/Rev.1) and 13 October 1956 (S/3675) with reference to the Suez Canal. By this and other hostile acts, Egypt has undermined the peace and deprived the armistice

agreement of all its functions. The armistice agreement has, under this policy, become a fiction to which Egypt still pays lip service in so far as it thinks this may serve a destructive design.

"Thus, a return to the armistice agreement would be a return to a system which has served as a cover for the victimization, the boycott and the blockade of Israel and for a policy aimed at Israel's ultimate annihilation.

"Egypt having thus destroyed the armistice agreement, the Government of Israel suggests that paragraph 2 of the General Assembly's resolution adopted on 2 November does not serve the basic purpose of the United Nations as expressed in its Charter: to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations amongst nations and to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems.

"Moreover, Egypt interprets the armistice as a state of war, and it cannot be the function of the General Assembly to promote or to foster a system of war.

"Accordingly, the Government of Israel feels that the only answer to this situation is the establishment of peace between Israel and Egypt by direct negotiations between the two countries, and it notifies the General Assembly that it would welcome the immediate opening of negotiations to that end, for which it is prepared forthwith to send representatives for discussions with Egypt. Israel would also welcome similar negotiations with the Governments of other Arab States.

"The crucial question with which, in the interests of all the world's peoples, the Egyptian Government must be confronted is: Does it want peace or war? Israel appeals to the United Nations to lend its entire authority to the establishment of a freely negotiated peace between the Governments and peoples of the Middle East."

DOCUMENT A/3282

Letter dated 4 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[4 November 1956]

I have the honour to convey to you the following message from the Right Honourable Selwyn Lloyd, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in reply to your telegram of 4 November:

"Your telegram and text of the Canadian and nineteen-Power resolutions have only just reached us. Ministers are considering them urgently. Consultation with the French Government will be necessary.

You may expect reply as soon as possible."

I request you to be so good as to circulate this message immediately to all Members of the United Nations.

(Signed) Pierson DIXON
Permanent Representative of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3283

Cablegram dated 4 November 1956 from the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[4 November 1956]

Should be grateful if you would convey the following summary report to the General Assembly:

"In accordance with resolution 916 (X) of 3 December 1955, UNRWA is continuing to pursue its task of assisting governments to care for the Palestine refugees, of whom 218,169 in the Gaza strip, 513,020 in Jordan, 102,957 in Lebanon and 90,400 in Syria were registered with the Agency at the end of September 1956.

"I have told our staff that our duty is to carry on our work as long as it is physically possible, and we are continuing to do so in spite of the fact that for security reasons we have been obliged to reduce to some extent our numbers in the field. For the time

being, distribution of essential supplies is assured. It is clear, however, that stocks are not inexhaustible and that the interruption of communications and transport will quickly affect the very livelihood of almost one million refugees.

"In calling the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that the continuation of unrest and hostilities in the area will inevitably affect adversely the carrying out of the Agency's mandate as given by the General Assembly, I wish to stress urgently that the majority of the refugees have no means of subsistence other than those provided for them by the United Nations.

LABOUISSSE

DOCUMENT A/3284⁷

Second report of the Secretary-General submitted in pursuance of resolution 997 (ES-I), para. 5, adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November 1956

[Original text: English]
[4 November 1956]

1. Information concerning the position of Israel on compliance with resolution 997 (ES-I) was received in the early morning of 4 November 1956 (A/3279).

2. With relation to the annex to the first report of the Secretary-General of 3 November (A/3267) attention is drawn to a letter dated 3 November 1956 addressed to the Secretary-General by the permanent representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (A/3274).

3. The Secretary-General was informed by General Burns, Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Israel, in communication of 4 November, said "Israel representative stated in the Assembly last night the Government's position that the

General Armistice Agreement had become a fiction and no longer had validity. The Government did not intend to return to the General Armistice Agreement with Egypt. United Nations Truce Supervision Organization personnel had no function to perform in Gaza or Beer-sheba and I was asked to give orders for their withdrawal." In his reply dated 4 November, General Burns referred to the instructions of the Secretary-General (see A/3267, para. 7), and stated that in view of his instructions he was unable to accede to the demand for withdrawal. General Burns added that if the Government of Israel disagreed with his decision their representative might be instructed to take up the matter with the Secretary-General. General Burns also informed the Secretary-General that the Israel prohibition of United Nations military observers entering the Gaza area was put into effect on 4 November, when two military observers were refused entrance. A convoy of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East over the road from Lydda arrived at Gaza at 16.00 GMT.

⁷ The report of the Secretary-General in pursuance of paragraph 2 of resolution 999 (ES-I) adopted at the first emergency special session of the General Assembly on 4 November 1956 on the proposal of the nineteen Powers (A/3275), will be issued separately (see document A/3287, below).

DOCUMENT A/3287

Report of the Secretary-General on communications with the Governments of France, Egypt, Israel and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland concerning implementation of General Assembly resolutions 997 (ES-I) and 999 (ES-I) dated 2 and 4 November 1956

[Original text: English]
[4 November 1956]

1. In its resolution 999 (ES-I) of 4 November 1956, the General Assembly authorized the Secretary-General immediately to arrange with the parties concerned for implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area as requested in its resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956. The General Assembly also requested him to report on compliance forthwith and in any case not later than twelve hours from the time of adoption of the resolution.

2. In fulfilment of the task thus entrusted to him, the Secretary-General addressed communications to the four Governments directly concerned. These communications, the texts of which are annexed (annexes 1 to 4), were sent directly by cable a few hours after the adoption of the resolution.

3. Taking into account the practical difficulties which were bound to arise in the course of the operation, both for the Governments and for the Secretary-General, the latter felt entitled to suggest as the time for a cease-fire 20.00 GMT (15.00 New York time). This proposal made it obviously impossible for him to report within twelve hours as requested. However, in order to increase the chances for a successful outcome and in the light of observations made by a sponsor of the resolution of 4 November 1956, the Secretary-General followed this course, which would still enable the General Assembly to take the matter up for renewed consideration during the evening of 4 November.

4. In the course of his contacts with Governments, the Secretary-General's attention has been drawn to difficulties which would follow from the very narrow margin allowed in the time-limit which had been set. In the light of these difficulties, which it would have been harmful to the operation not to take fully into account, the Secretary-General later addressed to the four Governments identic cables, stating that the time-limit set for the cease-fire was changed from 20.00 GMT, 4 November 1956, to 05.00 GMT, 5 November 1956 (24.00 4 November 1956, New York time). The text of these identic cables is annexed (annex 5). The extension of the time-limit does not, of course, in any way influence the request made to the four Governments for the earliest possible reply.

5. At the time of the preparation of the present report (16.00, 4 November 1956) the Secretary-General has received a reply to the questions raised in his cables to the four Governments early this morning only from the Government of Egypt. The message from this Government is annexed (annex 6). Communications received later will be circulated as separate documents.

ANNEX 1

CABLEGRAM DATED 4 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, ADDRESSED TO THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF EGYPT

1. The first emergency special session of the General Assembly at its meeting of 3-4 November 1956 adopted the following resolution:

[For this text, see resolution 999 (ES-I) below.]

2. In this regard, I note the information conveyed in the *aide-mémoire* of 2 November transmitted to the Secretary-General by the permanent representative of Egypt to the United Nations (A/3266) to the effect that the Egyptian Government accepts the resolution of 2 November "on the condition . . . that it could not implement the resolution in case attacking armies continue their aggression".

3. In connexion with my responsibilities under the above-mentioned resolution of 4 November, I trust that the acceptance by the Government of Egypt of the resolution of 2 November, subject to the condition stated, applies equally to the resolution of 4 November.

4. In pursuance of the provision in operative paragraph 2 of the resolution (999 (ES-I)) authorizing the Secretary-General "immediately to arrange with the parties concerned for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area," I am notifying the other three parties now involved in hostilities in the area of Egypt's acceptance, as stated, of the resolution of 2 November, and am requesting all four parties, which of course includes Egypt, to bring to a halt all hostile military actions in the area by 20.00 GMT Sunday, 4 November 1956. May I further request that your Government's decision in this matter be communicated to me at the earliest possible moment, and at all events so early as to render it possible to inform the other parties concerned about your decision prior to the said hour. The decisions of the other parties in this regard will be transmitted to the Government of Egypt without delay.

5. In pursuance of operative paragraph 2 of the resolution of 2 November and operative paragraph 3 of the resolution of 4 November, the Government of Israel is being requested promptly to withdraw its forces behind the armistice demarcation lines.

6. In view of the urgency of the situation, which accounts for the short time-limit fixed in the resolution of 4 November, I request again that a definitive reply be given at the earliest possible hour.

Dag HAMMARSKJÖLD
Secretary-General

ANNEX 2

CABLEGRAM DATED 4 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, ADDRESSED TO THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF FRANCE

1. The first emergency special session of the General Assembly at its meeting of 3-4 November 1956 adopted the following resolution:

[For this text, see resolution 999 (ES-I) below.]

2. In this regard, I note the information conveyed in the letter of 3 November addressed to the Secretary-General by the alternate permanent representative of France to the United Nations (A/3268), and particularly the conditions under which military action would be stopped.

3. I wish to make the following comments on the three conditions established by your Government for a cessation of your action. (a) In the voting on the resolution contained in document A/3276 requesting the Secretary-General to submit within forty-eight hours a plan for the setting up of an emergency international United Nations Force, the delegations of Egypt and Israel abstained. (b) The request to which I have just referred, and which was approved by the Assembly, establishes that the Secretary-General should submit his proposal within forty-eight hours. In a separate resolution at the same meeting the Assembly established a time-limit of twelve hours for a report on the cease-fire. It thus follows that the General Assembly did not accept the decision on the establishment of a

United Nations Force as a condition for the cease-fire (c) The statements made prior to the adoption of the resolution on the United Nations Force made it clear that it was a widespread view that none of the parties engaged in the present operations in the area should participate in the Force. This has a direct and obvious bearing on any possibility of stationing Anglo-French troops between the combatants, pending the establishment of a United Nations Force. I must assume the decision in question to have been taken on the basis of an interpretation which if maintained would exclude such an arrangement as a possible condition for a cease-fire.

4. In pursuance of the functions entrusted to me by operative paragraph 2 of the resolution of 4 November, quoted above; in view of the provision in paragraph 2 of the resolution of 2 November and operative paragraph 3 of the resolution of 4 November; and in view, further, of the Canadian-sponsored resolution, also adopted on 4 November, concerning the plan for a United Nations Force, and the indications it gives as to the attitude of the General Assembly to the three conditions established by your Government, I must inquire whether the Government of France will accept the provisions set forth in operative paragraphs 1 and 3 of the resolution of 2 November and will be willing to make arrangements with the Secretary-General for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area, in accordance with operative paragraph 2 of the resolution of 4 November.

5. I wish to draw to your attention that the Government of Israel has accepted the cease-fire on the condition of reciprocal acceptance by Egypt, while Egypt has accepted the cease-fire provided that military actions against Egypt are stopped. With the stands thus taken by Israel and Egypt, it is obvious that the position of your Government and the Government of Great Britain will determine whether or not it will be possible to achieve a cease-fire between Egypt and Israel.

6. In pursuance of the provision in operative paragraph 2 of the resolution (999 (ES-I)) of 4 November authorizing the Secretary-General "immediately to arrange with the parties concerned for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area," I am requesting all four parties, which of course includes France, to bring to a halt all hostile military actions in the area by 20.00 GMT Sunday, 4 November 1956. May I further request that your Government's decision in this matter be communicated to me at the earliest possible moment, and at all events so early as to render it possible to inform the other parties concerned about your decision prior to the said hour. The decisions of the other parties in this regard will be transmitted to the Government of France without delay.

7. In view of the urgency of the situation, which accounts for the short time-limit fixed in the resolution of 4 November, I request again that a definitive reply be given at the earliest possible hour.

Dag HAMMARSKJOLD
Secretary-General

ANNEX 3

CABLEGRAM DATED 4 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, ADDRESSED TO THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF ISRAEL

1. The first emergency special session of the General Assembly at its meeting of 3-4 November 1956 adopted the following resolution:

[For this text, see resolution 999 (ES-I) below.]

2. In this regard, I note the statement conveyed in the *aide-mémoire* of 4 November 1956 (A/3279) to the effect that "Israel agrees to an immediate cease-fire provided a similar answer is forthcoming from Egypt."

3. It is noted from the *aide-mémoire*, 4 November 1956, that the Government of Israel has not stated its acceptance of the implementation of operative paragraph 2 of the resolution (999 (ES-I)) of 2 November, urging the parties to the armistice agreements "promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements."

4. I may call to your attention that the Government of Egypt had, before the meeting of the Assembly of 3-4 November, accepted the resolution of 2 November, "on the condition . . . that it could not implement the resolution in case attacking armies continue their aggression."

5. In connexion with my responsibilities under the above-mentioned resolution of 4 November, I trust that the statement by the Government of Israel concerning a cease-fire applies to the resolution of 4 November.

6. In pursuance of the provision in operative paragraph 2 of the resolution (999 (ES-I)) of 4 November authorizing the Secretary-General "immediately to arrange with the parties concerned for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area," I am requesting all four parties, which of course includes Israel, to bring to a halt all hostile military actions in the area by 20.00 GMT, Sunday 4 November 1956. May I further request that your Government's decision in this matter be communicated to me at the earliest possible moment, and at all events so early as to render it possible to inform the other parties concerned about your decision prior to the said hour. The decisions of the other parties in this regard will be transmitted to the Government of Israel without delay.

7. In view of the urgency of the situation, which accounts for the short time-limit fixed in the resolution of 4 November, I request again that a definitive reply be given at the earliest possible hour.

8. In pursuance of the function entrusted to me by operative paragraph 2 of the resolution of 4 November, and in view of the provisions of operative paragraph 2 of the resolution of 2 November and operative paragraph 3 of the resolution of 4 November, I must inquire whether the Government of Israel will accept these provisions and accordingly will be willing to make arrangements with the Secretary-General, assisted by the Chief of Staff and the members of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, for the withdrawal of the armed forces of Israel behind the armistice lines.

Dag HAMMARSKJOLD
Secretary-General

ANNEX 4

CABLEGRAM DATED 4 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

1. The first emergency special session of the General Assembly at its meeting of 3-4 November 1956 adopted the following resolution:

[For this text, see resolution 999 (ES-I) below.]

2. In this regard, I note the information conveyed in the letter of 3 November addressed to the Secretary-General by the permanent representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations (A/3269), and particularly the conditions under which military action would be stopped.

3. I wish to make the following comments on the three conditions established by your Government for a cessation of your action. (a) In the voting on the resolution contained in document A/3276 requesting the Secretary-General to submit within forty-eight hours a plan for the setting up of an emergency international United Nations Force, the delegations of Egypt and Israel abstained. (b) The request to which I have just referred, and which was approved by the Assembly, establishes that the Secretary-General should submit his proposal within forty-eight hours. In a separate resolution at the same meeting the Assembly established a time-limit of twelve hours for a report on the cease-fire. It thus follows that the General Assembly did not accept the decision on the establishment of a United Nations Force as a condition for the cease-fire. (c) The statements made prior to the adoption of the resolution on the United Nations Force made it clear that it was a widespread view that none of the parties engaged in the present operations in the area should participate in the Force. This has a direct and obvious bearing on any possibility of stationing Anglo-French troops between the combatants, pending the establishment of a

United Nations Force. I must assume the decision in question to have been taken on the basis of an interpretation which if maintained would exclude such an arrangement as a possible condition for a cease-fire.

4. In pursuance of the functions entrusted to me by operative paragraph 2 of the resolution of 4 November, quoted above; in view of the provision in paragraph 2 of the resolution of 2 November and operative paragraph 3 of the resolution of 4 November; and in view, further, of the Canadian-sponsored resolution, also adopted on 4 November, concerning the plan for a United Nations Force, and the indications it gives as to the attitude of the General Assembly to the three conditions established by your Government, I must inquire whether the Government of the United Kingdom will accept the provisions set forth in operative paragraphs 1 and 3 of the resolution of 2 November and will be willing to make arrangements with the Secretary-General for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area, in accordance with operative paragraph 2 of the resolution of 4 November.

5. I wish to draw to your attention that the Government of Israel has accepted the cease-fire on the condition of reciprocal acceptance by Egypt, while Egypt has accepted the cease-fire provided that military actions against Egypt are stopped. With the stands thus taken by Israel and Egypt, it is obvious that the position of your Government and the Government of France will determine whether or not it will be possible to achieve a cease-fire between Egypt and Israel.

6. In pursuance of the provision in operative paragraph 2 of the resolution (999 (ES-I)) of 4 November authorizing the Secretary-General "immediately to arrange with the parties concerned for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area," I am requesting all four parties, which of course includes the United Kingdom, to bring to a halt all hostile military actions in the area by 20.00 GMT, Sunday, 4 November 1956. May I further request that your Government's decision in this matter be communicated to me at the earliest possible moment, and at all events so early as to render it possible to inform the other parties concerned about your decision prior to the said hour. The decisions of the other parties in this regard will be trans-

mitted to the Government of the United Kingdom without delay.

7. In view of the urgency of the situation, which accounts for the short time-limit fixed in the resolution of 4 November, I request again that a definitive reply be given at the earliest possible hour.

Dag HAMMARSKJÖLD
Secretary-General

ANNEX 5

TEXT OF FOUR IDENTIC CABLEGRAMS DATED 4 NOVEMBER FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, ADDRESSED TO THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF EGYPT, FRANCE, ISRAEL AND THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

Since the dispatch to you of my earlier cable today, my attention has been drawn to certain practical difficulties in connexion with the time-limit of 20.00 GMT, Sunday 4 November, stated in that message. Accordingly, I am extending the time-limit hour from 20.00 on Sunday, 4 November, to 05.00 GMT on Monday, 5 November.

Dag HAMMARSKJÖLD
Secretary-General

ANNEX 6

REPLY DATED 4 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT

With reference to your communication dated 4 November 1956 and in light of your explanations therein I wish to inform you that Government of Egypt

1. Accepts the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its meeting of 4 November 1956 as mentioned in your communication;

2. Is ready to bring to a halt all hostile military actions in the area by 20.00 GMT.

3. Takes note of paragraph 5 of your communication in connexion with operative paragraph 2 of the resolution of the General Assembly of 2 November and operative paragraph 3 of its resolution of 4 November 1956 relating to the withdrawal of all Israeli forces behind the armistice lines.

Mahmoud FAWZI

DOCUMENT A/3288

Letter dated 4 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[4 November 1956]

I have the honour to transmit the text of a communication from my Government:

"On 2 November the General Assembly of the United Nations, reflecting world conscience, adopted a resolution concerning the flagrant Anglo-French aggression against Egypt.

"The resolution (997 (ES-I)) urged 'as a matter of priority that all parties now involved in hostilities in the area agree to an immediate cease-fire and, as part thereof, halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area'. The Assembly further recommended 'that all Member States refrain from introducing military goods in the area of hostilities and in general refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of the present resolution'.

"In spite of the fact that Egypt is the victim of the unprovoked Anglo-French aggression, it has agreed, in its determination to restore law and order in relations between peoples and nations, to abide by the United Nations resolution. The Egyptian Government has proclaimed its acceptance of the appeal of world public opinion.

"However, the United Kingdom and France, in utmost disregard for world opinion, choose to ignore the will of peoples and nations at large by refusing to abide by the world appeal for the cessation of hostilities. On the contrary, British and French attacks have been continued and the military operations have widened in scope and ferocity. For five consecutive days and nights Egyptian territory and people have been subjected to the relentless Anglo-French assault. Egyptian airfields, civilian targets, radio stations, railroads, factories, hospitals and places of worship did not escape the onslaught. The result was very serious destruction of property and a large loss in human lives.

"Only last night the United Nations reaffirmed its previous resolution, and once again called upon the parties immediately to comply with the resolution of 2 November. It also authorized the Secretary-General immediately to arrange with the parties concerned for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area and to report compliance forthwith and in any case not later than eighteen

hours from the time of the adoption of the resolution. Again France and the United Kingdom have revealed, by attacking Egypt, that they are determined to ignore the law of nations. Their attacks have continued and only last night and this morning they subjected the peaceful cities of Port Said and Suez to heavy bombarding. This resulted in the obstruction of navigation in the Suez Canal. In the meantime the Egyptian people continue to suffer casualties and hardships at the hand of the aggressors.

"Faced with the United Nations appeal, the United Kingdom proclaimed its determination to uphold its responsibilities. We can ask whether those responsibilities consist of attacking a peaceful and law-abiding country.

"Egypt is resisting aggression and will continue to uphold the rule of law and to defend its independence and sovereignty. We are confident in the outcome of the struggle because we feel strong by our determination to fight for the restoration of peace. We are confident that our case will continue to be the case of all peace-loving peoples and nations."

I have the honour to request that the contents of this letter be brought to the attention of the President of the General Assembly, the President of the Security Council, and all Members of the United Nations.

(Signed) Omar LOUTFI
Permanent Representative of Egypt
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3289

First report of the Secretary-General on the plan for an emergency international United Nations Force requested in resolution 998 (ES-I) adopted by the General Assembly on 4 November 1956

[Original text: English]
[4 November 1956]

1. In resolution 998 (ES-I) of 4 November 1956 concerning an emergency international United Nations Force, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General, as a matter of priority, to submit to it within forty-eight hours a plan for the setting up, with the consent of the nations concerned, of such a Force, in order to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956. In pursuance of this request I have the honour to submit this first report.

2. In the course of the day I consulted the representatives of various Member States in order to explore the possibility of assistance from those countries in the setting up of a United Nations Force. The contacts will be continued, and the Assembly will be informed about the results in my final report. I am, however, in a position to state that, among the representatives so far consulted, the representatives of Colombia and Norway have, on behalf of their Governments, accepted participation in the projected Force. The representative of New Zealand has confirmed the declaration to the same effect that he made in the Assembly debate during the 563rd plenary meeting. Other representatives have submitted the question to their Governments with their recommendation.

3. In the course of my consideration of the matter I have arrived at the conclusion that a step which should be taken immediately is the setting up of a United Nations Command for the purpose in question. The first elements of such a Command can be drawn from the staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization. If the General Assembly were to decide on the immediate establishment of a United Nations Command, the decision, therefore, could be put partially into effect without any delay.

4. In accordance with the view just expressed, I submit that the General Assembly, without waiting for my final report, should now decide that a United Nations Command for "an emergency international United Nations Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms" of its resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956, be established; that the Assembly should further appoint,

on an emergency basis, General Burns, at present Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, to be Chief of the new Command; that General Burns, in that capacity, should be authorized immediately to organize a small staff by recruitment from the observer corps of the Truce Supervision Organization of a limited number of officers, drawn from countries which are not permanent members of the Security Council; that, further, General Burns should be authorized, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to recruit directly from various Member States, with the same limitation, the additional number of officers of which he may be in need; and that the Secretary-General should be authorized to take such administrative measures as would prove necessary for the speedy implementation of this decision.

5. In the continuing consultations which, in my view, will be considerably facilitated in case the General Assembly should decide immediately on the establishment of a United Nations Command, I would try to determine from which countries the necessary troops might be drawn without delay, as well as from which countries recruitment may be possible for a somewhat later stage. For both stages I would endeavour to develop a plan where, as a matter of principle, troops should not be drawn from countries which are permanent members of the Security Council.

6. The first of the stages referred to seems in a natural way to coincide with the stage immediately envisaged in resolution 999 (ES-I) of 4 November 1956. The later stage is likely to correspond to a period where the functions would be of a somewhat different nature, and should be viewed in the light of efforts over a longer range. While mentioning this point in the present report I reserve my right to elaborate the considerations, briefly mentioned here, in my final report.

7. In keeping with the terms of the resolution, the explorations, undertaken in order to establish the requested plan, are concerned only with the situation which would follow from the implementation of General Assembly resolution 997 (ES-I).

DOCUMENT A/3290⁸

Canada, Colombia, and Norway: draft resolution

[Original text: English]
[4 November 1956]

The General Assembly,

Having requested the Secretary-General in its resolution 998 (ES-I) adopted on 4 November 1956, to submit to it a plan for an emergency international United Nations Force, for the purposes stated,

Noting with satisfaction the first report of the Secretary-General on the plan (A/3289), and having in mind particularly paragraph 4 of that report,

1. *Establishes* a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of the General Assembly resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956;

2. *Appoints*, on an emergency basis, the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organi-

zation, Major-General E. L. M. Burns, as Chief of the Command;

3. *Authorizes* the Chief of the Command immediately to recruit, from the observer corps of the Truce Supervision Organization, a limited number of officers who shall be nationals of countries other than those having permanent membership in the Security Council; and further authorizes him, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to undertake the recruitment directly, from various Member States other than the permanent members of the Security Council, of the additional number of officers needed; and

4. *Invites* the Secretary-General to take such administrative measures as may be necessary for the prompt execution of the actions envisaged in the present resolution.

DOCUMENT A/3291

Letter dated 4 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Israel, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[5 November 1956]

I have the honour to transmit to you the following communication from the Foreign Minister of Israel:

"In reply to your cable of yesterday (A/3287, annex 3), received by me during the evening, the Government of Israel would appreciate immediate clarification on the following five questions:

"1. Is there clear and unequivocal agreement on the part of the Government of Egypt to a cease-fire? The answer referred to in paragraph 4 of your cable is obscure and does not indicate that that is the case. In the meanwhile Egyptian troops are continuing to fire and *fedayeen* attacks continue. In clashes with Israel security forces tonight four *fedayeen* were killed and two apprehended.

"2. Does Egypt still adhere to the position declared and maintained by her over years that she is in a state of war with Israel?

"3. Is Egypt prepared to enter into immediate negotiation with Israel with a view to the establishment of peace between the two countries as indicated in the *aide-mémoire* (A/3279) of the Government of Israel of 4 November 1956 to the Secretary-General of the United Nations?

"4. Does Egypt agree to cease economic boycott against Israel and lift the blockade of Israel shipping in the Suez Canal?

"5. Does Egypt undertake to recall *fedayeen* gangs under her control in other Arab countries?
"Jerusalem, 5 November 1956"

(Signed) Abba EBAN
Permanent Representative of
Israel to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3292

Letter dated 5 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[5 November 1956]

I have the honour to transmit the following communication from the Egyptian Government:

"In the utmost disregard for world public opinion, the United Kingdom and France have refused to comply with the United Nations cease-fire order.

"Last night British and French airplanes continued

their raids on the civilian population in Cairo, Alexandria and Port Said.

"This morning they began their attempted invasion of Egyptian territory on the Mediterranean coast. The first waves of paratroopers dropped in Egyptian soil in the Port Said area having been annihilated, British and French forces began a bombardment of the city of Port Said, thus attacking the civilian population. The Cyprus-controlled radio station, *The Voice of Britain*, admitted the attacks

⁸ Subsequently became resolution 1000 (ES-I).

on civilians in Port Said after the failure of the attempted landing.

“Meanwhile air attacks on civilians are continuing this morning on Cairo, Port Said and Alexandria.”

I have the honour to request that the above com-

munication be brought to the attention of the President of the General Assembly, the President of the Security Council, and all Members of the United Nations.

(Signed) Omar LOUFTI
Permanent Representative of Egypt
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3293

Letter dated 5 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[5 November 1956]

I have the honour on instructions from Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to transmit the following reply to your communication of 4 November 1956 (A/3287, annex 4).

1. The Governments of the United Kingdom and France have studied carefully the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly passed on 4 November. They warmly welcome the idea, which seems to underlie the request to the Secretary-General in the resolution sponsored by Canada and adopted by the Assembly at its 563rd meeting, that an international Force should be interpolated as a shield between Israel and Egypt, pending a Palestine settlement and a settlement of the question of the Suez Canal. But, according to their information, neither the Israeli nor the Egyptian Government has accepted such a proposal. Nor has any plan for an international Force been accepted by the General Assembly or endorsed by the Security Council.

2. The composition of the staff and contingents of the international Force would be a matter for discussion.

3. The two Governments continue to believe that it is necessary to interpose an international Force to prevent the continuance of hostilities between Egypt and Israel, to secure the speedy withdrawal of Israeli forces, to take the necessary measures to remove ob-

structions and restore traffic through the Suez Canal, and to promote a settlement of the problems of the area.

4. Certain Anglo-French operations with strictly limited objectives are continuing. But as soon as the Israeli and Egyptian Governments signify acceptance of, and the United Nations endorses a plan for, an international Force with the above functions, the two Governments will cease all military action.

5. In thus stating their views, the United Kingdom and French Governments would like to express their firm conviction that their action is justified. To return deliberately to the system which has produced continuing deadlock and chaos in the Middle East is now not only undesirable but impossible. A new constructive solution is required. To this end they suggest that an early Security Council meeting at the ministerial level should be called in order to work out an international settlement which would be likely to endure, together with the means to enforce it.

I request you to be so good as to circulate this reply to all Members of the United Nations.

(Signed) Pierson DIXON
Permanent Representative of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3294

Letter dated 5 November 1956 from the Alternate Permanent Representative of France, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: French]
[5 November 1956]

I have the honour, on instructions from the Government of the French Republic, to transmit to you the following reply to your communication of 4 November 1956 (A/3287, annex 2).

1. The French Government and the Government of the United Kingdom have studied carefully the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly passed on 4 November. They warmly welcome the idea, which seems to underlie the request to the Secretary-General in the resolution sponsored by Canada and adopted by the Assembly at its 563rd meeting, that an international Force should be interposed between Israel and Egypt, pending a Palestine settlement and a settlement of the question of the Suez Canal. But according to their information neither the Government of Israel nor the Egyptian Government has accepted such a proposal. Nor has any plan for an international Force been

accepted by the General Assembly or endorsed by the Security Council.

2. The composition of the staff and contingents of the international Force would be a matter for discussion.

3. The two Governments continue to believe that it is necessary to interpose an international Force to prevent the continuance of hostilities between Egypt and Israel, to secure the speedy withdrawal of Israeli forces, to take the necessary measures to remove obstructions to traffic through the Suez Canal, and to promote a settlement of the problems of the area.

4. Certain Franco-British operations with strictly limited objectives are continuing. But as soon as the Governments of Israel and Egypt signify acceptance of, and the United Nations endorses a plan for, an international Force with the above functions, the two Governments will cease all military action.

5. In thus stating their views the French and United Kingdom Governments would like to express their firm conviction that their action is justified. To return deliberately to the system which has produced continuing deadlock and chaos in the Middle East is not only undesirable but impossible. A new constructive solution is required. To this end they suggest that an early Security Council meeting at the ministerial level should be called in order to work out an international

settlement which would be likely to endure, together with the means to enforce it.

I request you to be so good as to circulate this reply to all Members of the United Nations.

(Signed) LOUIS DE GUIRINGAUD
Alternate Permanent
Representative of France
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3295

**Cablegram dated 5 November 1956 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt,
addressed to the Secretary-General**

[Original text: English]
[5 November 1956]

I have the honour to inform you that the Egyptian Government accepts the resolution (1000 (ES-I)) adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 5 November 1956.

Mahmoud FAWZI
Minister of Foreign Affairs
of Egypt

DOCUMENT A/3296

**Third report of the Secretary-General submitted in pursuance of resolution 997 (ES-I), para. 5,
adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November 1956**

[Original text: English]
[5 November 1956]

1. The Secretary-General has received this morning from Mr. Fawzi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt, the following message:

"In spite of the resolution of the General Assembly of 2 November and its resolutions of 4 and 5 November, which were accepted by Egypt, and in spite of your request to bring to a halt all military hostile actions in the area by 20.00 GMT 4 November, extended to 05.00 GMT 5 November, which was also accepted by Egypt, the acts of aggression perpetrated by British, French and Israeli forces against Egypt have not been halted. Instead they have increased. In fact, British and French paratroops have attempted to occupy Port Said and when they failed their air forces bombarded brutally and indiscriminately the civilians and their residential quarters, causing extremely heavy casualties amongst civilians, particularly women and children."

2. Information available here does not permit a definite conclusion concerning the situation in Port Said. According to an official British statement earlier today a flash signal was received from the British Commander-in-Chief in the Eastern Mediterranean to the effect that the Governor and Military Commander of Port Said were now discussing surrender terms with Brigadier Butler, the British Paratroop Commander on the scene. A cease-fire had been ordered, it was added, though it was not known how wide or narrow was the area covered by the cease-fire. The signal was subject to confirmation. This report has been officially denied at United Nations Headquarters by a spokesman for the Egyptian delegation. Official British Radio later announced from Nicosia that Egyptian troops at Port Said have laid down their arms, following agreement on terms of surrender, to Franco-British paratroop forces.

3. The Secretary-General received this morning from General Burns a message which is annexed to the present report.

4. The Secretary-General received this morning a message from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt stating Egypt's acceptance of resolution 1000 (ES-I) adopted by the General Assembly on 5 November 1956. This message has been circulated as document A/3295.

5. Letters dated 5 November 1956 were received by the Secretary-General this morning from the permanent representatives of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of France, in reply to his communication of 4 November relating to the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on 4 November. These letters have been circulated as documents A/3293 and A/3294.

6. In reply to the Secretary-General's communication of 4 November, a letter dated 4 November has been received from the permanent representative of Israel. This letter has been circulated as document A/3291.

7. A further communication dated 5 November from the permanent representative of Israel confirms the readiness of Israel to agree to a cease-fire in the light of Egypt's declaration of willingness to do so. This letter is being circulated as document A/3297.

ANNEX

Jerusalem, 5 November 1956

Secretary-General from Burns. Following messages received from Ely, Cairo, at 05.06 GMT. At 06.30 local this morning, Colonel Ely and Mr. Gordon left Cairo for Heliopolis to observe the conditions which would exist there at 07.00 local. At 06.25 a bomb fell on the main railwayline 500 metres north-east of

Cairo central station and within 200 yards of United Nations Information Centre. On reaching outskirts of Heliopolis intense fighter bomber action was observed in the area of Abbassiah barracks, which is located in densely populated area. Mr. Gordon and Colonel Ely forced to remain in Abbassiah area and at

06.55 local the attack was still going on.

Further message received at 06.55 GMT. Fighter bomber attacks on Almaza airport and outskirts of Heliopolis continue.

At 07.55 GMT Colonel Ely reports constant air activities on Almaza and district.

DOCUMENT A/ 3297

Letter dated 5 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Israel, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[5 November 1956]

I refer to my letter of 4 November 1956 (A/3291) in which I conveyed a request by the Minister for Foreign Affairs for the clarification of five points in the Egyptian attitude.

I wish to make it clear that this request does not affect the cease-fire undertaking which I gave to the General Assembly on 3 November.

In the light of Egypt's declaration of willingness to cease fire, Israel herewith confirms its readiness to agree to a cease-fire.

At the same time, we would still welcome clarification of the five points raised in the Foreign Minister's letter of 4 November.

(Signed) Abba EBAN
Permanent Representative of Israel
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3298

Letter dated 5 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: Russian]
[5 November 1956]

I have the honour to request you hereby to circulate as an official document of the first emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly a note dated 4 November 1956 from the Government of the USSR to the Government of the United Kingdom. A similar note has been sent to the Government of France.

(Signed) A. SOBOLEV
Permanent Representative of the
USSR
to the United Nations

NOTE DATED 4 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, ADDRESSED TO THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND IN MOSCOW

On the instructions of the Soviet Government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR requests the United Kingdom Embassy to bring the following matter to the attention of the Government of the United Kingdom.

The Soviet Government has already stated its position with regard to the aggressive actions undertaken by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt, a position which has been outlined in the Soviet Government's declaration of 31 October and in the statements made by the Soviet representative in the United Nations, the majority of whose Members have called for the cessation of the unprovoked aggression launched against Egypt. The continuing bombing of Egyptian towns and installations by British and French aircrafts is being justly condemned by the peace-loving peoples of all countries, who categorically demand the cessation of aggression against the Egyptian people.

The Government of the Soviet Union has just received news that the British and French naval command has declared certain areas of the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea and the northern part of the Red Sea closed to commercial shipping.

These actions by the United Kingdom and France are contrary to the universally recognized principle of freedom of navigation on the high seas, which include the Mediterranean and Red Seas, and in reality constitute a blockade by the Governments of the United Kingdom and France of the coasts of Egypt and a number of other Mediterranean States.

The establishment of zones closed to shipping in the Mediterranean and Red Seas prevents any use of the Suez Canal and consequently represents a flagrant violation by the United Kingdom and France of the Constantinople Convention of 1888 concerning the Suez Canal. It is well known that under article 1 of the Convention, the parties, among which are the United Kingdom and France, agree not in any way to interfere with the free use of the Canal, in time of war as in time of peace. The Convention provides that the Canal shall never be subjected to the exercise of the right of blockade.

The Soviet Government regards the aforesaid actions by the United Kingdom and France as an act of aggression affecting the interests not only of Egypt, but of other States also. The Soviet Government cannot disregard these illegal actions by the United Kingdom and France, particularly in view of the fact that they were taken after the overwhelming majority of the Members of the General Assembly of the United Nations, in the debate on the hostilities undertaken by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt, had declared themselves in favour of an immediate cease-fire, the cessation of military operations and the resumption of navigation through the Suez Canal.

In establishing closed zones preventing free navigation in the Mediterranean and Red Seas, the Governments of the United Kingdom and France are flouting the decision of the United Nations and are taking a course which will further aggravate the situation in the Near East.

The Government of the Soviet Union emphatically protests against these illegal actions by the United Kingdom and France and declares that the responsibility for all the possible consequences of those actions rests with the Governments of the United Kingdom and France.

DOCUMENT A/3299

Letter dated 5 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[5 November 1956]

I have the honour, on instructions from Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, to inform you of the following points:

1. Despite any reports to the contrary, bombing has been conducted with the utmost consideration for civilians. Photographs of results show that little civilian loss of life can have been caused. This is proved by the fact that Egyptian army units are known to be sheltering in towns and villages in the knowledge that they are there immune from air attacks;

2. At Port Said a cease-fire has been ordered today;

3. In consequence, orders have been given that all bombing should cease forthwith throughout Egypt. Any other form of air action as opposed to bombing will be confined to the support of any necessary operation in the Canal area.

(Signed) Pierson DIXON
Permanent Representative of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3301

Letter dated 5 November 1956, from the Permanent Representative of Israel, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[5 November 1956]

I have received the following cable from my Government:

"6 November 01.46. Inform Secretary-General immediately that Israel agrees unconditionally to cease-fire. Since this morning, 5 November, all fighting has ceased between Israel and Egyptian forces on land, sea and air and full quiet prevails."

(Signed) Abba EBAN
Permanent Representative of Israel
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3302 AND ADD.1 TO 16⁹

Document A/3302

[Original text: English]
[6 November 1956]

Second and final report of the Secretary-General on the plan for an emergency international United Nations Force requested in resolution 998 (ES-I), adopted by the General Assembly on 4 November 1956

1. In resolution 998 (ES-I) of 4 November 1956, concerning an emergency international United Nations Force, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General, as a matter of priority, to submit to it within forty-eight hours a plan for the setting up, with the consent of the nations concerned, of such a Force in order to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of resolution 997

(ES-I) of 2 November 1956. In pursuance of this request I have the honour to submit this second and final report.

2. In my first report on this matter (A/3289), submitted on 4 November 1956 to the General Assembly, I gave an account of the initial consultations with delegations and submitted for consideration a proposal for the immediate establishment of a United Nations Command for the purpose in question. A draft resolution sponsored by Canada, Colombia and Norway (A/3290) based on this report, was adopted by the General Assembly on 5 November 1956 (resolution 1000 (ES-I)).

3. In my first report, I touched briefly on various questions which would arise in setting up the projected United Nations Force. After further consideration and consultations, I have the honour to submit herewith the

⁹ For the addenda contained in documents A/3302/Add.17 et seq., see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Session, Annexes*, agenda item 66.

conclusions which I have been able to reach within the short time at my disposal.

QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE

4. An emergency international United Nations Force can be developed on the basis of three different concepts:

(a) It can, in the *first* place, be set up on the basis of principles reflected in the constitution of the United Nations itself. This would mean that its chief responsible officer should be appointed by the United Nations, and that he, in his functions, should be responsible ultimately to the General Assembly and/or the Security Council. His authority should be so defined as to make him fully independent of the policies of any one nation. His relations to the Secretary-General of the United Nations should correspond to those of the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization;

(b) A *second* possibility is that the United Nations charge a country, or a group of countries, with the responsibility to provide independently for an emergency international Force serving for purposes determined by the United Nations. In this case it would obviously be impossible to achieve the same independence in relation to national policies as would be established through the first approach;

(c) Finally, as a *third* possibility, an emergency international Force may be set up in agreement among a group of nations, later to be brought into an appropriate relationship to the United Nations. This approach is open to the same reservation as the second one, and possibly others.

Variations of form, of course, are possible within a wide range, but the three concepts mentioned seem to circumscribe the problem.

5. In the decision on the establishment of the United Nations Command, on an emergency basis, which the General Assembly took on 5 November 1956, the Assembly chose to follow the first of the three types mentioned in paragraph 4 above. The second type was that followed in the case of the Unified Command in Korea. There is no precedent for the use of the third type, but it would seem to represent one of the possible forms for implementation of the suggestion in the replies of 5 November 1956 of the Governments of France and the United Kingdom (A/3294, A/3293) to my request for a cease-fire. In attempting to work out a plan for setting up an emergency international United Nations Force, I have based my considerations on the legal situation created by the decision in principle of the General Assembly, implied in the request of the Assembly to me to submit within forty-eight hours a plan for such a Force, and in its later decision to establish a United Nations Command, in implementation of this first resolution.

6. In its resolution 1000 (ES-I) on the United Nations Command, the General Assembly authorized the Chief of Command, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to recruit officers from the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, or directly from various Member States other than the permanent members of the Security Council. This recruitment procedure affords an important indication of the character of the Force to be set up. On the one hand, the independence of the Chief of Command in recruiting officers is recognized. On the other hand, the principle is established that the Force should be recruited from Member

States other than the permanent members of the Security Council. The first of these elements in the new approach has an important bearing on the interpretation of the status of the Chief of Command. The second point has an equally important bearing on the character of the whole Command. It may in this context be observed that the Franco-British proposal, to which I have already referred, may imply that the question of the composition of the staff and contingents should be subject to agreement by the parties involved, which it would be difficult to reconcile with the development of the international Force along the course already being followed by the General Assembly.

7. Resolution 998 (ES-I), in which the General Assembly requests the Secretary-General to submit a plan for the international Force, gives further guidance. Thus, it is said that the Force should be set up on an "emergency" basis. The situation envisaged is more clearly defined in the terms of reference of the Force (resolution 998 (ES-I)) which are "to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms" of the General Assembly resolution of 2 November 1956.

8. A closer analysis of the concept of the emergency international United Nations Force, based on what the General Assembly has stated in its resolution on the matter, indicates that the Assembly intends that the Force should be of a temporary nature, the length of its assignment being determined by the needs arising out of the present conflict. It is further clear that the General Assembly, in its resolution 1000 (ES-I) of 5 November 1956, by the reference to its resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November, has wished to reserve for itself the full determination of the tasks of this emergency Force and of the legal basis on which it must function in fulfilment of its mission. It follows from its terms of reference that there is no intent in the establishment of the Force to influence the military balance in the present conflict and, thereby, the political balance affecting efforts to settle the conflict. By the establishment of the Force, therefore, the General Assembly has not taken a stand in relation to aims other than those clearly and fully indicated in its resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956.

9. Functioning, as it would, on the basis of a decision reached under the terms of the resolution 337 (V) "Uniting for Peace", the Force, if established, would be limited in its operations to the extent that consent of the parties concerned is required under generally recognized international law. While the General Assembly is enabled to *establish* the Force with the consent of those parties which contribute units to the Force, it could not request the Force to be *stationed* or *operate* on the territory of a given country without the consent of the Government of that country. This does not exclude the possibility that the Security Council could use such a Force within the wider margins provided under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. I would not for the present consider it necessary to elaborate this point further, since no use of the Force under Chapter VII, with the rights in relation to Member States that this would entail, has been envisaged.

10. The point just made permits the conclusion that the setting up of the Force should not be guided by the needs which would have existed had the measure been considered as part of an enforcement action directed against a Member country. There is an obvious difference between establishing the Force in order to

secure the cessation of hostilities, with a withdrawal of forces, and establishing such a Force with a view to enforcing a withdrawal of forces. It follows that while the Force is different in that, as in many other respects, from the observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, it is, although para-military in nature, not a Force with military objectives.

QUESTIONS OF FUNCTIONS

11. The question of determining the functions of the emergency international United Nations Force has been dealt with in part in the preceding paragraphs. It is difficult in the present situation and without further study to discuss it with any degree of precision. However, the general observations which are possible should at this stage be sufficient.

12. In the General Assembly resolution 998 (ES-I) the terms of reference are, as already stated, "to secure . . . the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms" of resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956. This resolution urges that "all parties now involved in hostilities in the area agree to an immediate cease-fire and, as part thereof, halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area;" and also "urges the parties to the armistice agreements promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements." These two provisions combined indicate that the functions of the United Nations Force would be, when a cease-fire is being established, to enter Egyptian territory with the consent of the Egyptian Government, in order to help maintain quiet during and after the withdrawal of non-Egyptian troops, and to secure compliance with the other terms established in the resolution of 2 November 1956. The Force obviously should have no rights other than those necessary for the execution of its functions, in co-operation with local authorities. It would be more than an observers' corps, but in no way a military force temporarily controlling the territory in which it is stationed; nor, moreover, should the Force have military functions exceeding those necessary to secure peaceful conditions on the assumption that the parties to the conflict take all necessary steps for compliance with the recommendations of the General Assembly. Its functions can, on this basis, be assumed to cover an area extending roughly from the Suez Canal to the armistice demarcation lines established in the armistice agreement between Egypt and Israel.

QUESTIONS OF SIZE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE FORCE

13. Time has so far not permitted the necessary technical studies. It is therefore not yet possible to say what should be the size of the Force. In my first report, I pointed out that the situation is likely to involve two stages: the first one when certain immediate tasks have to be fulfilled, the second one when somewhat different tasks, although within the framework set out in paragraph 12 above, will fall upon the Force. It is likely that the size of the Force will require some adjustment to the development of the tasks. Further study of such matters is required, and I have invited the Chief of the United Nations Command, General Burns, to present his views urgently.

14. It is not possible at this time to make any proposals as to the general organization of the Force beyond those clearly following from resolution 998

(ES-I) of 4 November 1956. General experience seems to indicate that it is desirable that countries participating in the Force should provide self-contained units in order to avoid the loss of time and efficiency which is unavoidable when new units are set up through joining together small groups of different nationalities. The question requires additional study and is obviously closely linked to the condition that various Member States will provide sufficiently large units. The difficulty in presenting a detailed plan of organization need not delay the establishment of the Force. It is likely that during the first period, at all events, the Force would have to be composed of a few units of battalion strength, drawn from countries or groups of countries which can provide such troops without delay. It is my endeavour in the approaches to Governments to build up a panel sufficiently broad to permit such a choice of units as would provide for a balanced composition in the Force. Further planning and decisions on organization will to a large extent have to depend on the judgement of the Chief of Command and his staff.

QUESTIONS OF FINANCING

15. The question of how the Force should be financed likewise requires further study. A basic rule which, at least, could be applied provisionally, would be that a nation providing a unit would be responsible for all costs for equipment and salaries, while all other costs should be financed outside the normal budget of the United Nations. It is obviously impossible to make any estimate of the costs without a knowledge of the size of the corps and the length of its assignment. The only practical course, therefore, would be for the General Assembly to vote a general authorization for the cost of the Force on the basis of general principles such as those here suggested.

QUESTIONS OF RECRUITMENT

16. Time permitted me to discuss the question of participation in the Force with only a limited number of Member Governments. Offers of assistance in writing so far received are annexed to the present report. In cases other than those covered by the annexed letters, the question of participation is under consideration by the Governments. It is my hope that broader participation will be possible as soon as a plan is approved, so that a more definite judgement may be possible concerning the implications of participation. The reactions so far received lead me to believe that it should be possible to meet quickly at least the most basic need for personnel. The possibilities, as finally established, may call for an adjustment later of the size and organization of the Force in relation to what would in principle be the most satisfactory solution.

GENERAL QUESTIONS

17. In my first report it was stated that the later stage in the development to which I referred in paragraph 13 above "is likely to correspond to a period where the functions . . . should be viewed in the light of efforts over a longer range" (A/3289, para. 6). While mentioning this point I reserved my right to elaborate the consideration briefly dealt with. After further reflection, I would not for the present wish to go beyond what I have said on the subject in previous parts of the present report, especially concerning the functions of the Force. It would be premature to ex-

press views on problems likely to arise after the immediate crisis is past.

18. On several matters mentioned above it has been necessary to leave the question open. This is explained in part by a lack of time and in part by the need for further study. I suggest that these open matters be submitted to exploration by a small committee of the General Assembly; this body, if established, might also serve as an advisory committee to the Secretary-General for questions relating to the operations. On the other hand, on all points where a decision of significance to the further development of the plan seems possible now, the General Assembly should proceed to action forthwith.

19. I am fully aware of the exploratory character of this plan in many respects. Time is vital and this is some excuse not only for the lack of detail in this first approach but also for decisions by the General Assembly reached in more general terms than is customary. If the Force is to come into being with all the speed indispensable to its success, a margin of confidence must be left to those who will carry the responsibility for putting the decisions of the General Assembly into effect.

ANNEX 1

LETTER DATED 4 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CANADA, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

[Original text: English]

With respect to the proposed international United Nations Force referred to in resolution A/3276 (resolution 998 (ES-I)), approved by the General Assembly on 4 November 1956, the Canadian Government has decided to make an appropriate contribution, the details of which will be communicated to you shortly, subject to the required constitutional action which will be put in motion without delay.

(Signed) L. B. PEARSON
Secretary of State for
External Affairs

ANNEX 2

LETTER DATED 4 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF COLOMBIA, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

[Original text: Spanish]

I beg to inform you that my Government, faithful to its tradition of respect for international commitments, is ready to send the military forces for which you asked me this morning, in pursuance of resolution A/3275 (resolution 999 (ES-I)) adopted by the first emergency Assembly in the early hours of today.

It will of course be necessary, in conformity with resolutions A/3256 and A/3275 (resolution 997 (ES-I) and 999 (ES-I)) and the ideas on solidarity and collective measures discussed in the committees of the United Nations, to agree upon the details, conditions and methods of co-operation to be afforded to the United Nations by those countries contributing armed forces to the establishment of the proposed emergency Force.

(Signed) FRANCISCO URRUTIA
Permanent Representative of Colombia
to the United Nations

ANNEX 3

LETTER DATED 5 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF DENMARK, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

[Original text: English]

In reply to your inquiry yesterday concerning the possibility of assistance from Denmark in the setting up of an emergency international United Nations Force to secure and supervise the

cessation of hostilities in the Suez Canal area in accordance with the terms of resolution A/3276 of 4 November 1956 (resolution 998 (ES-I)). I hereby have the honour to state that the Danish Government accepts participation in the projected Force on condition that the Danish Parliament gives its consent, which will be sought on Tuesday, 6 November.

(Signed) KARL I. ESKELUND
Permanent Representative of
Denmark to the United Nations

ANNEX 4

LETTER DATED 4 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF NORWAY, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

[Original text: English]

In response to your request I have the honour to inform you that my Government has given immediate consideration to the question of the dispatch of a Norwegian military unit to the area of conflict in the Middle East, to be put at the disposal of the United Nations Command. Such a unit will be available at the earliest possible moment and will be transferred in accordance with directions which may be issued to my Government by the United Nations Command.

(Signed) HANS ENGEN
Permanent Representative of Norway
to the United Nations

ANNEX 5

LETTER DATED 5 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF NORWAY, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

[Original text: English]

I have the honour to inform you about the following message which I received today from my Government:

"The Storting (Parliament) today, 5 November, unanimously approved a bill authorizing the Government to put at the disposal of the United Nations Command for an emergency international Force one infantry company (some 190 men). The company is ready for dispatch to the area tonight and stands ready for immediate dispatch upon the receipt of instructions with respect to time of departure and means of transportation. The Government feels that it is of utmost importance that the emergency international forces be established at the earliest possible moment in order to facilitate the prompt cessation of hostility and evacuation of foreign troops in the area."

(Signed) HANS ENGEN
Permanent Representative of Norway
to the United Nations

ANNEX 6

LETTER DATED 5 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF PAKISTAN, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

[Original text: English]

I have the honour, upon instructions from my Government, to inform you with reference to resolution A/3290 adopted on 5 November 1956 at the first emergency special session of the General Assembly (resolution 1000 (ES-I)) that the Government of Pakistan offers to contribute a contingent of Pakistan armed forces for the emergency international United Nations Force.

(Signed) M. MIR KHAN
Permanent Representative of Pakistan
to the United Nations

ANNEX 7

LETTER DATED 5 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF SWEDEN, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

[Original text: English]

In reply to our conversation yesterday I have the honour to inform you that I am directed by my Government to state the following.

The Swedish Government are prepared, in principle, to establish a Swedish military unit, to be included in the emergency international Force which is to be organized in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly of 4 and 5 November 1956, in order to secure and supervise the cessation of the hostilities in the Middle East in accordance with the resolution of the General Assembly of 2 November.

The Swedish Government presume that the task of the Force should be limited to the objective set out in the above-mentioned resolutions of 4 and 5 November, and that it should not imply that the Force should remain on watch duty in the area for an unspecified period of time, or pending the solution of the political questions affecting that area.

Further, the Swedish Government presume that the Swedish unit shall not be stationed in foreign territory without the consent of the State concerned, and that the costs involved will, to a considerable extent, be borne by the United Nations in accordance with a specific agreement to be concluded for that purpose with the United Nations.

(Signed) Gunnar JARRING
Permanent Representative of Sweden
to the United Nations

Document A/3302/Add.1

Addendum

[Original text: English]
[6 November 1956]

LETTER DATED 5 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF FINLAND, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to inform you that immediately after our conversation yesterday regarding Finnish assistance in the setting up of an emergency international United Nations Force I contacted my Government.

This morning I received a communication from the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs stating that my Government in principle gladly agree to your suggestion. They would thus be willing to authorize and facilitate recruitment on a voluntary basis of Finnish military personnel for such a Command, and preferably for a unit consisting of troops from the northern countries of Europe.

(Signed) G. A. GRIPENBERG
Permanent Representative of Finland
to the United Nations

Document A/3302/Add.2

Addendum

[Original text: English]
[6 November 1956]

LETTER DATED 6 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF DENMARK, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

In continuation of my letter of 5 November 1956 (A/3302, annex 3), I have the honour to inform you that the Danish Parliament today unanimously has given its consent to put a military force at the disposal of the United Nations Command for the emergency international Force.

(Signed) Karl I. ESKELUND
Permanent Representative of Denmark
to the United Nations

Document A/3302/Add.3

Addendum

[Original text: English]
[6 November 1956]

LETTER DATED 6 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CEYLON, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

With respect to the proposed international United Nations Force referred to in resolution A/3276, approved by the General Assembly on 4 November 1956 (resolution 998 (ES-I)), the Ceylon Government will be glad to make an appropriate contribution, the details of which will be communicated to you shortly, subject to the required constitutional action which will be put in motion without delay.

(Signed) R. S. S. GUNewardENE
Permanent Representative of Ceylon
to the United Nations

Document A/3302/Add.4/Rev.1

Addendum

[Original text: English]
[7 November 1956]

LETTER DATED 6 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF INDIA, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to confirm the agreement of the Government of India, in principle, communicated to you today by Mr. Krishna Menon, to participate in the United Nations international emergency Force to be organized in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly of 4 and 5 November 1956 with a view to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with the terms of the resolution of the General Assembly of 2 November 1956.

In conversation with Mr. Krishna Menon on 5 November 1956 you were good enough to set out for his information the conditions and circumstances of participation by Member States in such a Force. These were communicated to the Government of India who have accepted them as the context and conditions in which they are invited to participate. You will also recall that the formulation of them as in the enclosure was confirmed by you this morning to Mr. Krishna Menon.

We would be glad to know what immediate steps are now required to implement our acceptance in principle. The Government of India are prepared to use their best efforts for the implementation of their participation as soon as the details are settled and on the assumption that the General Assembly will approve the plan.

(Signed) Arthur S. LALL
Permanent Representative of India
to the United Nations

UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY INTERNATIONAL FORCE

1. The emergency Force is set up in the context of the withdrawal of Anglo-French forces from Egypt and on the basis of the call to Israel to withdraw behind the armistice lines.

2. The Force is not in any sense a successor to the invading Anglo-French forces, or in any sense to take over its functions.

3. It is understood the Force may have to function through Egyptian territory. Therefore, there must be Egyptian consent for its establishment.

4. The Force is a temporary one for an emergency. Its purpose is to separate the combatants, namely, Egypt and Israel, with the latter withdrawing as required by the resolution.

5. The Force must be a balanced one in its composition.

6. The agreement would be in principle and the position in regard to actual participation is reserved until the full plan is before us.

It is understood that the size of Indian participation is about a battalion strength.

It is also understood that transport, including airlift and all facilities, will be provided by or through the United Nations.

Document A/3302/Add.5

Addendum

[Original text: English]
[6 November 1956]

LETTER DATED 6 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF DENMARK, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

In continuation of my letter of today (A/3302/Add.2) concerning the Danish contribution to the emergency international Force, I hereby have the honour to inform you that the Danish Government intends in one or two days to get ready for dispatch one or two companies.

According to an urgent request from my Government, I beg to ask you to let me know as soon as possible at what time the departure of the military units will be wanted, which means of transportation will be available, and which will be the tasks of the Danish force.

An urgent communication of all such other information which might be given in order to facilitate the prompt effectuation will be appreciated.

(Signed) Karl I. ESKELUND
Permanent Representative of Denmark
to the United Nations

Document A/3302/Add.6

Addendum

[Original text: English]
[6 November 1956]

CABLEGRAM DATED 6 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I wish to advise you that under the United Nations resolution the Czechoslovak Republic will take part in the action of the United Nations Organization to stop war activities in Egypt, and places at the disposal of the armed forces of the United Nations one battalion.

David VACLAV
Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the Czechoslovak Republic

Document A/3302/Add.7

Addendum

[Original text: French]
[6 November 1956]

LETTER DATED 6 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ROMANIA, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

On the instructions of the Government of the Romanian People's Republic, I have the honour to transmit to you the following communication:

"With reference to the resolution adopted on 4 November 1956 by the emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly concerning the setting up of an emergency international Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities on Egyptian territory, the Romanian Government requests that the Romanian People's Republic, as a Member of the United Nations, be included among the Powers contributing military units towards the formation of the aforementioned international Force."

I have the honour to request that this communication be brought to the knowledge of the President of the General Assembly, the President of the Security Council and all Members of the United Nations.

(Signed) Athanase JOJA
Permanent Representative of the Romanian
People's Republic to the United Nations

Document A/3302/Add.8

Addendum

[Original text: English]
[7 November 1956]

LETTER DATED 7 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF NEW ZEALAND, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour, upon instructions, formally to confirm my statement in the General Assembly at the 563rd meeting concerning the readiness of the New Zealand Government to contribute to the emergency international United Nations Force.

I shall inform you of the nature of the proposed New Zealand contribution as soon as possible.

(Signed) L. K. MUNRO
Permanent Representative of New Zealand
to the United Nations

Document A/3302/Add.9

Addendum

[Original text: English]
[7 November 1956]

LETTER DATED 6 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honor, on behalf of the the United States, to express to you the readiness of the United States to assist in the establishment of an emergency interna-

tional Force under the General Assembly resolution contained in document A/3276 of 3 November 1956 (resolution 998 (ES-I)).

As I stated at the 564th meeting of the General Assembly meeting in its first emergency special session on 5 November, the United States is prepared to help as regards airlifts, shipping, transport and supplies.

(Signed) Henry Cabot LODGE
Permanent Representative of
the United States of America
to the United Nations

Document A/3302/Add.10

Addendum

[Original text: English]
[8 November 1956]

LETTER DATED 8 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF BURMA, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

In confirmation of the statement made by me in the General Assembly at the 567th meeting on 7 November 1956, I have the honour, upon instructions, to inform you, in compliance with resolution A/3290 adopted on 5 November 1956 (resolution 1000 (ES-I)), of the readiness of the Government of the Union of Burma to contribute its share to the emergency United Nations Force.

I shall inform you of the nature of the proposed Burmese contribution as soon as possible.

(Signed) Pe KIN
Permanent Representative of Burma
to the United Nations

Document A/3302/Add.11

Addendum

[Original text: English]
[8 November 1956]

LETTER DATED 8 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF YUGOSLAVIA, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour, upon instructions of my Government, to inform you, with reference to the resolution of 4 November 1956 concerning the establishment of an emergency international Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities on Egyptian territory, that the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia is prepared to contribute a contingent of the Yugoslav armed forces to the emergency international Force.

It is, of course, the understanding of my Government that, in accordance with the aforementioned resolution, this Force will enter Egyptian territory with the consent of the Egyptian Government and that all armed forces will be withdrawn from Egyptian territory.

(Signed) Joza BRILEJ
Permanent Representative of the
Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia
to the United Nations

Document A/3302/Add.12

Addendum

[Original text: English]
[9 November 1956]

LETTER DATED 9 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF NEW ZEALAND, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to refer to my letter of 7 November (A/3302/Add.8) concerning a New Zealand contribution to an emergency international United Nations Force.

I have now been asked to inform you that my Government contemplates a contribution consisting of units of land forces. The total strength of these units would be up to approximately 300 men. The contribution would be made upon the determination of acceptable conditions, and on the clear understanding that the New Zealand contingent would be of a para-military character and not an operational entity.

(Signed) L. K. MUNRO
Permanent Representative of New Zealand
to the United Nations

Document A/3302/Add.13

Addendum

[Original text: English]
[9 November 1956]

LETTER DATED 9 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF BRAZIL, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to inform you that the Brazilian Government, in response to the appeal formulated in the resolution approved by the emergency session of the General Assembly, has decided to contribute 500 men to the international forces of the United Nations, this contribution being still dependent upon approval by the Brazilian Congress.

As soon as I have received definitive information on this matter, I shall bring it to your knowledge.

(Signed) C. DE FREITAS VALLE
Permanent Representative of Brazil
to the United Nations

Document A/3302/Add.14

Addendum

[Original text: French]
[9 November 1956]

LETTER DATED 9 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF IRAN, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

On the instructions of my Government, I have the honour to inform you that Iran is ready, in principle, to participate in the United Nations emergency international Force to be set up in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on 2, 4 and 5 November 1956.

(Signed) Djalal ABDOH
Permanent Representative of Iran
to the United Nations

Document A/3302/Add.15**Addendum**

[Original text: English]
[10 November 1956]

LETTER DATED 9 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CEYLON, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I confirm the offer I made of Ceylon's participation in the emergency international Force under United Nations command (A/3302/Add.3). The Ceylon contingent will be composed of an infantry company and a small administrative staff totalling 150 men under the command of an Infantry Major. This contingent will be equipped with personal weapons and transport for one infantry company. It will include two motorcycles, three jeeps and five 3-ton vehicles. It will be ready to move in approximately two weeks from now.

I shall be glad if you will inform me whether my Government's offer is accepted. If it is accepted I trust that arrangements for transport from Colombo of the men and equipment would be made by you.

I presume that logistical support for this contingent will be provided by you.

(Signed) R. S. S. GUNewardENE
Permanent Representative of Ceylon
to the United Nations

Document A/3302/Add.16**Addendum**

[Original text: English]
[10 November 1956]

LETTER DATED 9 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF ETHIOPIA, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to inform you that, by cable of 8 November 1956, I have been instructed by my Government to inform you that the Government of Ethiopia has offered to contribute armed forces to be put at the disposal of the United Nations Command for an emergency international Force, in order to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with resolution A/3290 adopted on 5 November 1956 (resolution 1000 (ES-I)). The size and composition of the force will be communicated to you in due course.

(Signed) Yilma DERESSA
Head of the Delegation of Ethiopia

DOCUMENT A/3303

**Letter dated 6 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Saudi Arabia,
addressed to the Secretary-General**

[Original text: English]
[6 November 1956]

I have the honour to transmit to you, upon instructions from my Government, the following official *communiqué*:

"In view of the armed aggression directed by the United Kingdom and French Governments on our sister country, Egypt, who has been the victim of aggression by Israeli forces, and in consequence of the fact that the aforementioned Powers have refused to cease fire in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations and are pursuing their aggression without any justification, the Government of Saudi Arabia has accordingly decided to sever its diplomatic relations with both the United Kingdom and France, effective from the date of the receipt of this communication.

"The Saudi Arabian Government has furthermore issued instructions to the appropriate authorities to refuse to ship and supply British and French vessels and also other boats that carry Saudi Arabian petroleum products to those two countries."

I hereby request that the contents of this letter be brought to the attention of the President of the General Assembly, the President of the Security Council and all Members of the United Nations.

(Signed) Abdullah AL-KHAYYAL
Permanent Representative of Saudi Arabia
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3304

**Letter dated 6 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt,
addressed to the Secretary-General**

[Original text: English]
[6 November 1956]

I have the honour to transmit herewith the following communication from the Egyptian Government containing an appeal in the name of the people of Egypt:

"At this historic hour of decision when the best values of humanity's heritage are at stake and the human race is pushed back toward chaos and sav-

agery, when France, Israel and the United Kingdom are launching a treacherous attack against Egypt and are defiantly bearing the standard of lawlessness and of shame, Egypt appeals for help by volunteers, arms or otherwise, to all those all over the world who care still for the dignity of man and the rule of law in international relations.

"The people of Egypt are fighting a battle of survival and of honour. They are fighting it not only for themselves and their country but equally for the civilized world.

"As long as aggression continues against Egypt on her own territory and in defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations, Egypt shall go on fighting in all determination and with every shred of its being against the forces of evil and in behalf of decency and a life worth living.

"She needs your help."

I have the honour to request that the contents of the above communication be brought to the attention of the President of the General Assembly, the President of the Security Council, and all the Members of the United Nations.

(Signed) Omar LOUTFI
Permanent Representative of Egypt
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3305

**Letter dated 6 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt,
addressed to the Secretary-General**

[Original text: English]
[6 November 1956]

With reference to the letter delivered to you and contained in document A/3299, I have the honour to inform you that:

1. Port Said is still courageously fighting and no cease-fire "has been ordered" as was alleged by the representative of the United Kingdom.

2. Cairo, Alexandria, Ismailia, Suez, Port Said and many other cities, as well as civilian population, have been and still are the subject of the severest bombardment, against the elementary rules of humanity, which inflicted since only yesterday lives of thousands of

innocent civilians; and this contrary to "orders have been given that all bombardment should cease forthwith throughout Egypt" as was alleged by the representative of the United Kingdom.

I have the honour to request that the contents of this letter be brought to the attention of the President of the General Assembly, the President of the Security Council, and all the Members of the United Nations.

(Signed) Omar LOUTFI
Permanent Representative of Egypt
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3306

**Letter dated 6 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great
Britain and Northern Ireland, addressed to the Secretary-General**

[Original text: English]
[6 November 1956]

I have the honour, on instructions from Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, to inform you that they have received and most carefully considered the communication which you addressed to them yesterday evening (A/3310) and your second and final report to the General Assembly (A/3302) which was issued this morning.

I have been instructed to convey to you at once the following message from Her Majesty's Government:

"Her Majesty's Government welcome the Secretary-General's communication, while agreeing that a further clarification of certain points is necessary.

"If the Secretary-General can confirm that the Egyptian and Israeli Governments have accepted an unconditional cease-fire, and that the international Force to be set up will be competent to secure and supervise the attainment of the objectives set out in the operative paragraphs of the resolution passed by the General Assembly on November 2, Her Majesty's Government will agree to stop further military operations.

"They wish to point out however that the clearing of the obstructions in the Suez Canal and its approaches, which is in no sense a military operation, is a matter of great urgency in the interests of world shipping and trade. The Franco-British force is equipped to tackle this task. Her Majesty's Government therefore propose that the technicians accompanying the Franco-British force shall begin this work at once.

"Pending the confirmation of the above points, Her Majesty's Government are ordering their forces to cease fire at midnight GMT unless they are attacked."

I request you to be so good as to circulate this reply to all Members of the United Nations.

(Signed) Pierson DIXON
Permanent Representative of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3307

Letter dated 6 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of France,
addressed to the Secretary-General[Original text: French]
[6 November 1956]

I have the honour, on instructions from the Government of the French Republic, to transmit to you the following reply to the communication which you addressed to it on 5 November (A/3310).

"The French Government has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the memorandum which the Secretary-General of the United Nations has addressed to it through the permanent representative of France to the United Nations.

"Its position with regard to the question raised in this memorandum is as follows:

"1. If the Secretary-General can confirm that the Egyptian and Israel Governments have accepted the cease-fire unconditionally and that the international Force to be set up will be capable of carrying out the tasks assigned to it under paragraphs 1, 3 and 4 of the General Assembly resolution of 2 November, the French Government is prepared to cease military operations.

"2. It wishes to point out, however, that the reopening of the Suez Canal and its approaches, which is in no sense a military operation, is a matter

of great urgency in the interests of world trade. The Franco-British forces have the necessary equipment and specialists for this purpose, and it appears essential that they should be assigned to this task at once.

"3. The French Government considers it necessary, in accordance with the suggestion made to you by Mr. Christian Pineau in his letter of 5 November (A/3294) that a meeting of the Security Council should be called at the ministerial level as soon as possible in order to work out the conditions for a final cease-fire and a settlement of the problems of the Middle East.

"4. Pending receipt from the Secretary-General of the information requested above, the French Government has ordered its forces to cease fire at midnight GMT tonight unless they are attacked."

I should be grateful if you would circulate the text of this reply to all Members of the United Nations.

(Signed) B. CORNUT-GENTILE
Permanent Representative of France
to the United Nations

DOCUMENT A/3308¹⁰

Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia and Sweden: draft resolution

[Original text: English]
[6 November 1956]

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956 concerning the cease-fire, withdrawal of troops, and other matters related to the military operations in Egyptian territory; as well as its resolution 998 (ES-I) of 4 November 1956 concerning the request to the Secretary-General to submit a plan for an emergency international United Nations Force,

Having established in its resolution 1000 (ES-I) of 5 November 1956 a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force; having appointed the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization as Chief of the Command with authorization to him to begin the recruitment of officers for the Command; and having invited the Secretary-General to take the administrative measures necessary for the prompt execution of that resolution,

Noting with appreciation the second and final Report of the Secretary-General on the plan for an emergency international United Nations Force (A/3302) as requested in the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 4 November 1956, and having examined that plan,

1. *Expresses its approval* of the guiding principles for the organization and functioning of the Force as expounded in paragraphs 6 to 9 of the Secretary-General's report;

2. *Concurs* in the definition of the functions of the Force as stated in paragraph 12 of the Secretary-General's report;

3. *Invites* the Secretary-General to continue discussions with Member Governments concerning offers of participation in the Force, toward the objective of its balanced composition;

4. *Requests* the Chief of Command, in consultation with the Secretary-General as regards size and composition, to proceed with the full organization of the Force;

5. *Approves, provisionally*, the basic rule concerning the financing of the Force laid down in paragraph 15 of the Secretary-General's report;

6. *Establishes* an Advisory Committee composed of one representative from each of the following countries: Brazil, Canada, Colombia, India, Iran, Norway and Pakistan, and requests this Committee, whose Chairman shall be the Secretary-General, to undertake the development of those aspects of the planning for the Force and its operation not already dealt with by the General Assembly and which do not fall within the area of the direct responsibility of the Chief of Command;

7. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General to issue all regulations and instructions which may be essential to the effective functioning of the Force, following consultation with the Advisory Committee aforementioned; and to take all other necessary administrative and executive actions;

8. *Determines* that, following the fulfilment of the immediate responsibilities defined for it in operative paragraphs 6 and 7 above, the Advisory Committee appointed by the General Assembly shall continue to assist the Secretary-General in the responsibilities

¹⁰ Subsequently became resolution 1001 (ES-I).

falling to him under the present and other relevant resolutions;

9. *Decides* that the Advisory Committee, in the performance of its duties, shall be empowered to request the convening of the General Assembly and to report to it whenever matters arise which, in its opinion,

are of such urgency and importance as to require their consideration by the General Assembly itself; and

10. *Requests* all Member States to afford assistance as necessary to the United Nations Command in the performance of its functions, including arrangements for passage to and from the area involved.

DOCUMENT A/3309¹¹

Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand and Yemen: draft resolution

[Original text: English]
[7 November 1956]

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions adopted by overwhelming majorities on 2, 4 and 5 November 1956,

Noting in particular that the General Assembly, by its resolution dated 5 November 1956, established a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of its resolution of 2 November 1956,

1. *Reaffirms* the above-mentioned resolutions;

2. *Calls upon* Israel once again to withdraw immediately all its forces behind the armistice lines established by the Armistice Agreement of 24 February 1949;¹²

3. *Calls upon* the United Kingdom and France once again immediately to withdraw all their forces from Egyptian territory, consistently with the above-mentioned resolutions;

4. *Urges* the Secretary-General to communicate the present resolution to the parties concerned and requests him promptly to report to the General Assembly on the compliance with this resolution.

DOCUMENT A/3310

***Aide-mémoire* dated 5 November 1956 from the Secretary-General, addressed to the Governments of France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland**

[Original text: English]
[7 November 1956]

NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL: The Secretary-General circulates the following *aide-mémoire* which is the communication referred to in the first paragraph of the messages received by the Secretary-General on 6 November from the Government of France and the United Kingdom (A/3307, A/3306). The *aide-mémoire* was given to the delegations for immediate transmittal to their Governments in the late afternoon of 5 November, after receipt of the Israeli acceptance of a cease-fire (A/3297), later supplemented through a further communication (A/3301).

1. In replies received to the request for a cease-fire, effective 4 November 1956, 24.00 GMT the Governments of France and the United Kingdom informed the Secretary-General (A/3293, A/3294) that as soon as the Governments of Israel and Egypt signify acceptance of, and the United Nations endorses a plan for, an international Force with the functions prescribed, the two Governments would cease all military action.

2. By adoption of the resolution, 5 November 1956, providing for the establishment of a United Nations Command, the United Nations General Assembly has taken the first decisive step in implementation of its previous acceptance in principle of a United Nations Force to secure cessation of hostilities under all the terms established in its resolution on the subject of 2 November 1956.

3. The Government of Egypt has, through a message to the Secretary-General of 5 November 1956 (A/3295), accepted the resolution of the General Assembly of 5 November 1956, and may thus be considered as having accepted the establishment of an international Force under the terms fixed by the

United Nations. No similar declaration is yet available from the Government of Israel.

4. The Government of Egypt has, 4 November 1956, accepted the request of the Secretary-General for a cease-fire, without any attached conditions. It is to be assumed that this acceptance (A/3287, annex 6), although referring to the time-limit set in the request of the Secretary-General, is generally valid.

5. The Government of Israel has now, in a clarification (A/3297) of its first reply to the request of the Secretary-General for a cease-fire, stated that in the light of Egypt's declaration of willingness to a cease-fire Israel confirms its readiness to agree to a cease-fire.

6. The conditions for a general cease-fire would thus seem to be established and a new request warranted, provided that the Governments of France and the United Kingdom would recognize the decision of the General Assembly, establishing a United Nations Command, as meeting the condition they have made for a cessation of hostilities, and if, further, the Government of Israel were to endorse the same General Assembly decision.

¹¹ Subsequently became resolution 1002 (ES-I).

¹² *Official Records of the Security Council, Fourth Year, Special Supplement No. 3.*

7. In view of the urgent request from the General Assembly for a cease-fire, in view of the attitudes on a cease-fire taken by the Governments of Egypt and Israel, in view of the General Assembly decision to establish a United Nations Command and its acceptance by the Government of Egypt, and in pursuance of the General Assembly resolution (A/3275) adopted on 4 November 1956 (resolution 999 (ES-I) operative paragraph 2), I wish to ask the Governments of France and the United Kingdom whether they would recognize

the decision of the General Assembly, establishing a United Nations Command, as meeting their condition for a cease-fire. I likewise wish to ask the Government of Israel if it finds itself in a position to accept the General Assembly resolution on the establishment of a United Nations Command.

8. In case of affirmative replies to the questions in paragraph 7 I intend to address again a proposal for an agreed cease-fire to the four Governments concerned.

DOCUMENT A/3312

Cablegram dated 7 November 1956 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[7 November 1956]

I have the honour to inform you that the Government of Egypt has carried out the cease-fire since 02.00 local time today, 7 November 1956, according to the resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, and following your request. Nevertheless, according to a communiqué issued by the Egyptian Army General Headquarters at 15.15 local time, the French and British armed forces are continuing their hostile military action and are firing at both military

and civilians at Port Said. They have furthermore encircled the city and severed its communication from the rest of the country.

I shall be grateful if you order the circulation of this letter as United Nations document.

Mahmoud FAWZI
Minister of Foreign Affairs
of Egypt

DOCUMENT A/3313

Letter dated 7 November 1956 from the Secretary-General, addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France

[Original text: French]
[7 November 1956]

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your message of 6 November (A/3307), transmitted to me through the permanent representative of France, in reply to my communication of 5 November (A/3310).

I note that the French Government desires further information on three points referred to in its letter

The Egyptian and Israel Government have transmitted to me messages stating acceptance of an unconditional cease-fire. These messages have been circulated as General Assembly documents. I gave immediate verbal confirmation of these acceptances. The Egyptian and Israel Governments were informed of this confirmation. I now wish to repeat it to you in writing.

The General Assembly adopted this afternoon a resolution fully implementing the recommendations contained in my second and final report on an emergency international United Nations Force (A/3302). It is my conviction, in the light of the promises of participation received from the Governments of various Member States, that this Force, when established in accordance with the General Assembly resolution now adopted, will be capable of carrying out the tasks assigned to it under the resolution of 2 November.

In this connexion I have to draw your attention to a statement made by Mr. Ben Gurion, the Prime Minister of Israel, in his address to the Knesset on 7 November. According to a report received from the Chief of the United Nations Command, the Prime Minister stated in this address: "the Armistice lines between Israel and Egypt have no validity", and "on no account will Israel agree to the stationing of a foreign force, no matter how called, in her territory or in any of the areas occupied by her".

If maintained in violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly on these matters, this position, while not affecting the cease-fire arrangements, would seriously complicate the task of giving effect to the resolution of 2 November 1956.

I shall as soon as possible revert to your offer to assist in the technical operations for reopening the Suez Canal. I am at present exploring the possibility of having this work carried out under United Nations auspices by agents from countries not involved in the present conflict.

(Signed) Dag HAMMARSKJÖLD
Secretary-General

DOCUMENT A/3314

Letter dated 7 November 1956 from the Secretary-General, addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

[Original text: English]
[7 November 1956]

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt, in reply to my communication, dated 5 November (A/3310), of your message dated 6 November (A/3307), transmitted to me by letter from the permanent representative of the United Kingdom the same day.

I note the wish of Her Majesty's Government to have my confirmation on three points, referred to in the letter.

Messages stating acceptance of an unconditional cease-fire have been received from the Governments of Egypt and Israel. These messages have been circulated as General Assembly documents. I gave immediately, verbal confirmation of these acceptances. The Governments of Egypt and Israel were informed about the confirmation thus given. I now wish to repeat it to you in writing.

The General Assembly this afternoon approved a resolution fully implementing the recommendations in my second and final report on an emergency international United Nations Force (A/3302). It is my conviction, in the light of the promises of participation received from various Member Governments, that the Force, when established in accordance with the General Assembly resolution now adopted, will be capable of

the tasks assigned to it under the resolution of 2 November.

I have in this context to draw attention to a statement of the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Ben Gurion, in his address to the Knesset on 7 November. According to a report received from the Chief of the United Nations Command, the Prime Minister in this statement declared: "the Armistice lines between Israel and Egypt have no validity", and "on no account will Israel agree to the stationing of a foreign force, no matter how called, in her territory or in any of the areas occupied by her".

This position, if maintained in violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly on these matters, while not affecting the cease-fire arrangement, would seriously complicate the task of carrying out the resolution of 2 November 1956.

I shall as soon as possible revert to your offer to assist in the technical work to be undertaken in order to reopen the Suez Canal. At present I am exploring the possibility of undertaking this task under United Nations auspices through agents from nations not engaged in the present conflict.

(Signed) Dag HAMMARSKJOLD
Secretary-General

DOCUMENT A/3317

Confirmation of the appointment of Major-General E. L. M. Burns as Chief of the United Nations Command for the emergency international Force

[Original text: English]
[8 November 1956]

NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL: The Secretary-General has the honour to transmit herewith to the Members of the General Assembly a notice of confirmation of the appointment of Major-General E. L. M. Burns as Chief of the United Nations Command for the emergency international Force established under General Assembly resolutions 1000 (ES-I) and 1001 (ES-I) of 5 and 7 November 1956, as well as the announcement of Colonel Byron V. Leary as Acting Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization for Palestine. The notice includes biographical data regarding the two officers mentioned.

The Secretary-General today confirmed, in a telegram to Major-General E. L. M. Burns, D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C., of Canada, his appointment as Chief of the United Nations Command for the emergency international Force established under resolutions 1000 (ES-I) and 1001 (ES-I) adopted by the General Assembly on 5 and 7 November. General Burns has been placed on leave of absence from his post of Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine. The Secretary-General at the same time appointed Colonel Byron V. Leary, U.S.M.C., as Acting Chief of Staff to fill the vacancy created by the transfer of General Burns.

General Burns was born in 1897 in Westmount, Quebec, and received his education at Lower Canada College, Montreal, Quebec, and the Royal Military College, Kingston, Ontario.

He served during the First World War (1914-1918) with the Royal Canadian Engineers and was awarded

the Military Cross in 1916. Between the wars he held various staff and regimental posts in the permanent force and was President of the Canadian Institute of Survey, 1936-1937, and an associate member of the Committee for Survey Research of the National Research Council. He was awarded the O.B.E. for his services in air survey development.

During the Second World War (1939-1945), General Burns held various senior staff appointments and commands. In Italy, he commanded the 5th Canadian Armoured Division in January-February 1944 and the 1st Canadian Corps during the operations in the Liri Valley when it broke through the Hitler line and during the operations on the Adriatic coast when it broke through the Gothic line and captured Rimini. Later, he was General Officer in Charge, Canadian Section, Headquarters 21st Army Group, in North-West Europe.

After serving as Director-General of Rehabilitation, General Burns was appointed Assistant Deputy Minister

of Veterans' Affairs in 1946, and Deputy Minister in July 1950.

General Burns was President of the Ottawa Branch of the United Nations Association in Canada and National President in 1952 and 1953. He attended the fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly, 1949, as an alternate delegate for Canada.

General Burns was appointed Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine on 2 August 1954.

Colonel Byron V. Leary, the Acting Chief of Staff, was born in February 1916 in Massachusetts. He received his B.A. from Boston College in 1938 in eco-

nomics. Between 1939 and 1950 he attended a number of Marine Corps courses, including that at the Air War College in Alabama. Colonel Leary began his career with the United States Marine Corps as a marine with a detachment on board ship. During the war he served as a combat pilot in the Pacific area with Marine Fighter Squadron 213. In addition he has held many commands and staff appointments. He joined the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization on 14 July 1956 as Assistant Chief of Staff.

Among other awards, Colonel Leary holds the Legion of Merit (with combat V), the Distinguished Flying Cross, and has been awarded the Air Medal five times.

DOCUMENT A/3320

Letter dated 8 November 1956 from the Permanent Representative of Israel, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[8 November 1956]

I have the honour to transmit to you the enclosed message from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel.

(Signed) Abba EBAN
Permanent Representative of
Israel to the United Nations

"Jerusalem 8 November 1956.

"I thank you for your cable of 5 November and also of yesterday transmitting the two resolutions passed yesterday by the first emergency special session of the General Assembly. I have the honour on behalf of the Government of Israel to inform you that the Government of Israel will willingly withdraw its forces from Egypt immediately upon the conclusion of satisfactory arrangements with the United Nations in connection with the emergency international Force.

"At the same time, and without prejudice to this undertaking, I wish to state that while as a result of the Sinai operations we have succeeded in destroying many of the *fedayeen* gangs and the bases from which they were planned and directed, we must repeat our urgent request to the United Nations to call upon Egypt, which has consistently maintained that it is in a state of war with Israel, to renounce that position, to abandon its policy of boycott and blockade, to cease the sending into Israel of murder gangs, and, in accordance with its obligations under the United Nations Charter to live at peace with Member States, to enter into direct peace negotiations with Israel."

"(Signed) Golda MEIR
"Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel"

DOCUMENT A/3329¹³

United States of America: draft resolution

[Original text: English]
[10 November 1956]

The General Assembly,

1. *Decides* to place on the provisional agenda of the eleventh regular session as a matter of priority the question on the agenda of its first emergency special session;

2. *Refers* to its eleventh regular session for its consideration the records of the meetings and the documents of its first emergency special session, including

the draft resolutions contained in documents A/3272 and A/3273;

3. *Requests* the General Assembly at its eleventh regular session to give urgent consideration to documents A/3272 and A/3273;

4. *Decides* that notwithstanding paragraph 1 above, the first emergency special session may continue to consider the question, if necessary, prior to the eleventh regular session of the Assembly.

ACTION TAKEN BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

On 2 November 1956, at its 562nd plenary meeting, the General Assembly adopted the draft resolution submitted by the United States of America. (A/3256). For the final text, see resolution 997 (ES-I) below.

On 4 November 1956, at its 563rd plenary meeting, the General Assembly adopted the draft resolution submitted by Canada (A/3276) and the draft resolution submitted by Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand and Yemen (A/3275). For the final text, see resolutions 998 (ES-I) and 999 (ES-I) respectively, below.

On 5 November 1956, at its 565th plenary meeting, the General Assembly adopted the draft resolution submitted by Canada, Colombia and Norway (A/3290). For the final text, see resolution 1000 (ES-I) below.

¹³ Subsequently became resolution 1003 (ES-I).

On 7 November 1956, at its 567th plenary meeting, the General Assembly adopted the draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia and Sweden (A/3308) as amended verbally, and the draft resolution submitted by Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand and Yemen (A/3309). For the final text, see resolutions 1001 (ES-I) and 1002 (ES-I) respectively, below.

On 10 November 1956, at its 572nd plenary meeting, the General Assembly adopted the draft resolution submitted by the United States of America (A/3329) as amended verbally. For the final text, see resolution 1003 (ES-I) below.

Resolution 997 (ES-I)

[Document A/RES/390]

The General Assembly,

Noting the disregard on many occasions by parties to the Israel-Arab armistice agreements of 1949 of the terms of such agreements, and that the armed forces of Israel have penetrated deeply into Egyptian territory in violation of the General Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 24 February 1949,¹⁴

Noting that armed forces of France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland are conducting military operations against Egyptian territory,

Noting that traffic through the Suez Canal is now interrupted to the serious prejudice of many nations,

Expressing its grave concern over these developments,

1. *Urges* as a matter of priority that all parties now involved in hostilities in the area agree to an immediate cease-fire and, as part thereof, halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area;

2. *Urges* the parties to the armistice agreements promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements;

3. *Recommends* that all Member States refrain from introducing military goods in the area of hostilities and in general refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of the present resolution;

4. *Urges* that, upon the cease-fire being effective steps be taken to reopen the Suez Canal and restore secure freedom of navigation;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to observe and report promptly on the compliance with the present resolution to the Security Council and to the General Assembly, for such further action as they may deem appropriate in accordance with the Charter;

6. *Decides* to remain in emergency session pending compliance with the present resolution.

Resolution 998 (ES-I)

[Document A/RES/391]

The General Assembly,

Bearing in mind the urgent necessity of facilitating compliance with its resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956,

Requests, as a matter of priority, the Secretary-General to submit to it within forty-eight hours a plan for the setting up, with the consent of the nations concerned, of an emergency international United Nations

Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of the aforementioned resolution.

Resolution 999 (ES-I)

[Document A/RES/392]

The General Assembly,

Noting with regret that not all the parties concerned have yet agreed to comply with the provisions of its resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956,

Noting the special priority given in that resolution to an immediate cease-fire and, as part thereof, to the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area,

Nothing further that the resolution urged the parties to the armistice agreements promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements,

1. *Reaffirms* its resolution 997 (ES-I) and once again calls upon the parties immediately to comply with the provisions of the said resolution;

2. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General immediately to arrange with the parties concerned for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area, and requests him to report compliance forthwith and, in any case, not later than twelve hours from the time of adoption of the present resolution;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General, with the assistance of the Chief of Staff and the members of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, to obtain compliance of the withdrawal of all forces behind the armistice lines;

4. *Decides* to meet again immediately on receipt of the Secretary-General's report referred to in paragraph 2 of the present resolution.

Resolution 1000 (ES-I)

[Document A/RES/394]

The General Assembly,

Having requested the Secretary-General, in its resolution 998 (ES-I) of 4 November 1956, to submit to it a plan for an emergency international United Nations Force, for the purposes stated,

Noting with satisfaction the first report of the Secretary-General on the plan (A/3289), and having in mind particularly paragraph 4 of that report,

1. *Establishes* a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of General Assembly resolution, 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956;

¹⁴ Official Records of the Security Council, Fourth Year, Special Supplement No. 3.

2. *Appoints*, on an emergency basis, the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, Major-General E. L. M. Burns, as Chief of the Command;

3. *Authorizes* the Chief of the Command immediately to recruit, from the observer corps of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, a limited number of officers who shall be nationals of countries other than those having permanent membership in the Security Council, and further authorizes him, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to undertake the recruitment directly, from various Member States other than the permanent members of the Security Council, of the additional number of officers needed;

4. *Invites* the Secretary-General to take such administrative measures as may be necessary for the prompt execution of the actions envisaged in the present resolution.

Resolution 1001 (ES-I)

[Document A/RES/395]

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956 concerning the cease-fire, withdrawal of troops and other matters related to the military operations in Egyptian territory, as well as its resolution 998 (ES-I) of 4 November 1956 concerning the request to the Secretary-General to submit a plan for an emergency international United Nations Force,

Having established by its resolution 1000 (ES-I) of 5 November 1956 a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force, having appointed the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization as Chief of the Command with authorization to him to begin the recruitment of officers for the Command, and having invited the Secretary-General to take the administrative measures necessary for the prompt execution of that resolution.

Noting with appreciation the second and final report of the Secretary-General (A/3302) on the plan for an emergency international United Nations Force as requested in General Assembly resolution 998 (ES-I), and having examined that plan,

1. *Expresses its approval* of the guiding principles for the organization and functioning of the emergency international United Nations Force as expounded in paragraphs 6 to 9 of the Secretary-General's report;

2. *Concurs* in the definition of the functions of the Force as stated in paragraph 12 of the Secretary-General's report;

3. *Invites* the Secretary-General to continue discussions with Governments of Member States concerning offers of participation in the Force, toward the objective of its balanced composition;

4. *Requests* the Chief of the Command, in consultation with the Secretary-General as regards size and composition, to proceed forthwith with the full organization of the Force;

5. *Approves provisionally* the basic rule concerning the financing of the Force laid down in paragraph 15 of the Secretary-General's report;

6. *Establishes* an Advisory Committee composed of one representative from each of the following countries: Brazil, Canada, Ceylon, Colombia, India, Norway and Pakistan, and requests this Committee, whose Chairman shall be the Secretary-General, to undertake the

development of those aspects of the planning for the Force and its operation not already dealt with by the General Assembly and which do not fall within the area of the direct responsibility of the Chief of the Command;

7. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General to issue all regulations and instructions which may be essential to the effective functioning of the Force, following consultation with the Committee aforementioned, and to take all other necessary administrative and executive action;

8. *Determines* that, following the fulfilment of the immediate responsibilities defined for it in operative paragraphs 6 and 7 above, the Advisory Committee shall continue to assist the Secretary-General in the responsibilities falling to him under the present and other relevant resolutions;

9. *Decides* that the Advisory Committee, in the performance of its duties, shall be empowered to request, through the usual procedures, the convening of the General Assembly and to report to the Assembly whenever matters arise which, in its opinion, are of such urgency and importance as to require consideration by the General Assembly itself;

10. *Requests* all Member States to afford assistance as necessary to the United Nations Command in the performance of its functioning, including arrangements for passage to and from the area involved.

Resolution 1002 (ES-I)

[Document A/RES/396]

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956, 998 (ES-I) and 999 (ES-I) of 4 November 1956 and 1000 (ES-I) of 5 November 1956, adopted by overwhelming majorities,

Noting in particular that the General Assembly, by its resolution 1000 (ES-I), established a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of its resolution 997 (ES-I),

1. *Reaffirms* the above-mentioned resolutions;

2. *Calls once again upon* Israel immediately to withdraw all its forces behind the armistice lines established by the General Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 24 February 1949,¹⁵

3. *Calls once again upon* the United Kingdom and France immediately to withdraw all their forces from Egyptian territory, consistently with the above-mentioned resolutions;

4. *Urges* the Secretary-General to communicate the present resolution to the parties concerned, and requests him promptly to report to the General Assembly on the compliance with this resolution.

Resolution 1003 (ES-I)

[Document A/RES/400]

The General Assembly

1. *Decides* to place on the provisional agenda of its eleventh regular session, as a matter of priority, the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

question on the agenda of its first emergency special session;

2. *Refers* to its eleventh regular session, for consideration, the records of the meetings and the documents of its first emergency special session;

3. *Decides* that, notwithstanding paragraph 1 above, the first emergency special session may continue to consider the question, if necessary, prior to the eleventh regular session of the Assembly.

OTHER DOCUMENTS RELATING TO AGENDA ITEM 5

<i>Document No.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Observations and references</i>
A/3199	Fifteenth progress report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine for the period from 1 January 1955 to 30 September 1956	See <i>Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Session, annexes</i> , agenda item 23
A/RES/390	Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November 1956 at its 562nd plenary meeting	See above "Action taken by the General Assembly". The text of the resolution also appears in the <i>Official Records of the General Assembly, first emergency special session, Supplement No. 1</i> , as resolution 997 (ES-I)
A/RES/391	Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 4 November 1956 at its 563rd plenary meeting	<i>Idem</i> , resolution 998 (ES-I)
A/RES/392	Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 4 November 1956 at its 563rd plenary meeting	<i>Idem</i> , resolution 999 (ES-I)
A/RES/394	Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 5 November 1956 at its 565th plenary meeting	<i>Idem</i> , resolution 1000 (ES-I)
A/RES/395	Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 7 November 1956 at its 567th plenary meeting	<i>Idem</i> , resolution 1001 (ES-I)
A/RES/396	Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 7 November 1956 at its 567th plenary meeting	<i>Idem</i> , resolution 1002 (ES-I)
A/RES/400	Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 10 November 1956 at its 572nd plenary meeting	<i>Idem</i> , resolution 1003 (ES-I)
S/2298/Rev.1	France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America: revised joint draft resolution on the Palestine question	<i>Official Records of the Security Council, Sixth Year, 558th meeting</i>
S/2322	Resolution concerning the Palestine question, adopted by the Security Council at its 558th meeting on 1 September 1951	Same text as S/2298/Rev.1
S/3575	Resolution concerning the Palestine question, adopted by the Security Council at its 722nd meeting on 4 April 1956	<i>Official Records of the Security Council, Eleventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1956</i>
S/3605	Resolution concerning the Palestine question, adopted by the Security Council at its 728th meeting on 4 June 1956	<i>Ibid.</i>
S/3665	Letter dated 5 October 1956 from the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, addressed to the President of the Security Council	<i>Ibid.</i> , <i>Supplement for October, November and December 1956</i>
S/3675	Resolution adopted by the Security Council at its 743rd meeting on 13 October 1956	<i>Ibid.</i>
S/3710	United States of America: draft resolution	<i>Ibid.</i>
S/3712	Letter dated 30 October 1956 from the representative of Egypt, addressed to the President of the Security Council	<i>Ibid.</i>
S/3713/Rev.1	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: draft resolution	<i>Ibid.</i>
S/3721	Resolution adopted by the Security Council at its 751st meeting on 31 October 1956	<i>Ibid.</i>
S/3728	Exchange of correspondence between the Secretary-General and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, concerning the Suez Canal	<i>Ibid.</i>

MEETINGS AT WHICH AGENDA ITEM 5 WAS DISCUSSED

A/PV.561, 562, 563, Verbatim records of the 561st, 562nd, 563rd, 565th, 567th and 572nd plenary
565, 566, 567, and meetings of the General Assembly
572

UNITED



NATIONS

RESOLUTIONS

adopted by the General Assembly

during its

FIRST EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

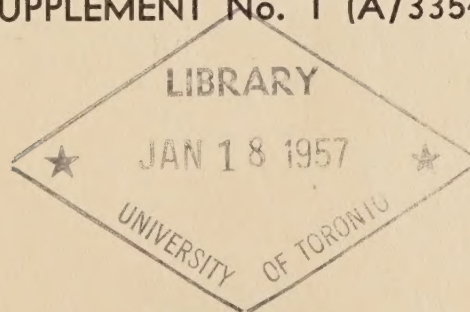
from 1 to 10 November 1956

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS

FIRST EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 1 (A/3354)



NEW YORK

UNITED NATIONS

RESOLUTIONS

adopted by the General Assembly

during its

FIRST EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

from 1 to 10 November 1956



GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS

FIRST EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 1 (A/3354)

New York

UNITED NATIONS

RESOLUTIONS

adopted by the General Assembly

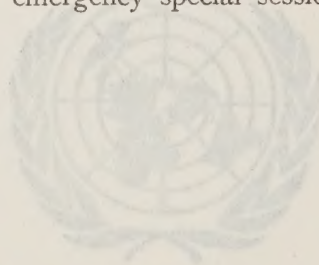
during its

FIRST EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

The arabic and roman numerals identifying each resolution indicate, respectively, the number of the resolution and the number of the session at which it was adopted. In the case of an emergency special session, the letters "ES" precede the roman numerals.



GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS

FIRST EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 1 (A/3251)

New York

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Appointment of the Credentials Committee.....	iv
President and Vice-Presidents.....	iv
Agenda	iv
Resolution adopted on the report of the Credentials Committee:	
996 (ES-I and II). Credentials of representatives to the first and second emergency special sessions of the General Assembly (item 3)	
Resolution of 9 November 1956.....	1
Resolutions adopted without reference to a Committee:	
QUESTION CONSIDERED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT ITS 749TH AND 750TH MEETINGS, HELD ON 30 OCTOBER 1956 (item 5)	
997 (ES-I). Resolution of 2 November 1956.....	2
998 (ES-I). Resolution of 4 November 1956.....	2
999 (ES-I). Resolution of 4 November 1956.....	2
1000 (ES-I). Resolution of 5 November 1956.....	2
1001 (ES-I). Resolution of 7 November 1956.....	3
1002 (ES-I). Resolution of 7 November 1956.....	3
1003 (ES-I). Resolution of 10 November 1956.....	4

APPOINTMENT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

The General Assembly appointed, in accordance with rule 28 of the rules of procedure, a Credentials Committee to examine the credentials of representatives and decided that the Committee would have the same composition as that of the Committee appointed for the tenth regular session.¹

The Committee was constituted as follows: AFGHANISTAN, AUSTRALIA, COLOMBIA, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, FRANCE, INDONESIA, IRAQ, UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS and UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

561st plenary meeting,
1 November 1956.

PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS

In accordance with rule 65 of the rules of procedure, the President and Vice-Presidents were as follows:

(a) *President of the General Assembly:*

His Excellency Mr. Rudecindo Ortega (Chile).

(b) *Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly:*

The representatives of the following Member States: CHINA, ETHIOPIA, FRANCE, LUXEMBOURG, UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND and UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

*
* *

AGENDA

1. Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Chile.
2. Minute of silent prayer or meditation.
3. Appointment of a Credentials Committee.
4. Adoption of the agenda.
5. Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings, held on 30 October 1956.²

¹ For the resolution adopted on the report of the Credentials Committee, see page 1.

² In accordance with rule 65 of the rules of procedure, the General Assembly met in plenary session only and considered the item without reference to a Committee.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED ON THE REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

996 (ES-I and II). Credentials of representatives to the first and second emergency special sessions of the General Assembly

The General Assembly

Approves the report of the Credentials Committee.³

*571st plenary meeting,
9 November 1956.*

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, First Emergency Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 3, document A/3321.*

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED WITHOUT REFERENCE TO A COMMITTEE

Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings,
held on 30 October 1956

Resolution 997 (ES-I)

The General Assembly,

Noting the disregard on many occasions by parties to the Israel-Arab armistice agreements of 1949 of the terms of such agreements, and that the armed forces of Israel have penetrated deeply into Egyptian territory in violation of the General Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 24 February 1949,⁴

Noting that armed forces of France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland are conducting military operations against Egyptian territory,

Noting that traffic through the Suez Canal is now interrupted to the serious prejudice of many nations,

Expressing its grave concern over these developments,

1. *Urges* as a matter of priority that all parties now involved in hostilities in the area agree to an immediate cease-fire and, as part thereof, halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area;

2. *Urges* the parties to the armistice agreements promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements;

3. *Recommends* that all Member States refrain from introducing military goods in the area of hostilities and in general refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of the present resolution;

4. *Urges* that, upon the cease-fire being effective, steps be taken to reopen the Suez Canal and restore secure freedom of navigation;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to observe and report promptly on the compliance with the present resolution to the Security Council and to the General Assembly, for such further action as they may deem appropriate in accordance with the Charter;

6. *Decides* to remain in emergency session pending compliance with the present resolution.

*562nd plenary meeting,
2 November 1956.*

Resolution 998 (ES-I)

The General Assembly,

Bearing in mind the urgent necessity of facilitating compliance with its resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956,

Requests, as a matter of priority, the Secretary-General to submit to it within forty-eight hours a plan for the setting up, with the consent of the nations concerned, of an emergency international United Nations Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of the aforementioned resolution.

*563rd plenary meeting,
4 November 1956.*

Resolution 999 (ES-I)

The General Assembly,

Noting with regret that not all the parties concerned have yet agreed to comply with the provisions of its resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956,

Noting the special priority given in that resolution to an immediate cease-fire and, as part thereof, to the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area,

Noting further that the resolution urged the parties to the armistice agreements promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements,

1. *Reaffirms* its resolution 997 (ES-I), and once again calls upon the parties immediately to comply with the provisions of the said resolution;

2. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General immediately to arrange with the parties concerned for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area, and requests him to report compliance forthwith and, in any case, not later than twelve hours from the time of adoption of the present resolution;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General, with the assistance of the Chief of Staff and the members of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, to obtain compliance of the withdrawal of all forces behind the armistice lines;

4. *Decides* to meet again immediately on receipt of the Secretary-General's report referred to in paragraph 2 of the present resolution.

*563rd plenary meeting,
4 November 1956.*

Resolution 1000 (ES-I)

The General Assembly,

Having requested the Secretary-General, in its resolution 998 (ES-I) of 4 November 1956, to submit to it a plan for an emergency international United Nations Force, for the purposes stated,

⁴ Official Records of the Security Council, Fourth Year, Special Supplement No. 3.

Noting with satisfaction the first report of the Secretary-General on the plan,⁵ and having in mind particularly paragraph 4 of that report,

1. *Establishes* a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of General Assembly resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956;

2. *Appoints*, on an emergency basis, the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, Major-General E. L. M. Burns, as Chief of the Command;

3. *Authorizes* the Chief of the Command immediately to recruit, from the observer corps of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, a limited number of officers who shall be nationals of countries other than those having permanent membership in the Security Council, and further authorizes him, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to undertake the recruitment directly, from various Member States other than the permanent members of the Security Council, of the additional number of officers needed;

4. *Invites* the Secretary-General to take such administrative measures as may be necessary for the prompt execution of the actions envisaged in the present resolution.

*565th plenary meeting,
5 November 1956.*

Resolution 1001 (ES-I)

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956 concerning the cease-fire, withdrawal of troops and other matters related to the military operations in Egyptian territory, as well as its resolution 998 (ES-I) of 4 November 1956 concerning the request to the Secretary-General to submit a plan for an emergency international United Nations Force,

Having established by its resolution 1000 (ES-I) of 5 November 1956 a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force, having appointed the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization as Chief of the Command with authorization to him to begin the recruitment of officers for the Command, and having invited the Secretary-General to take the administrative measures necessary for the prompt execution of that resolution,

Noting with appreciation the second and final report of the Secretary-General⁶ on the plan for an emergency international United Nations Force as requested in General Assembly resolution 998 (ES-I), and having examined that plan,

1. *Expresses its approval* of the guiding principles for the organization and functioning of the emergency international United Nations Force as expounded in paragraphs 6 to 9 of the Secretary-General's report;

2. *Concurs* in the definition of the functions of the Force as stated in paragraph 12 of the Secretary-General's report;

3. *Invites* the Secretary-General to continue discussions with Governments of Member States concerning offers of participation in the Force, toward the objective of its balanced composition;

4. *Requests* the Chief of the Command, in consultation with the Secretary-General as regards size and composition, to proceed forthwith with the full organization of the Force;

5. *Approves provisionally* the basic rule concerning the financing of the Force laid down in paragraph 15 of the Secretary-General's report;

6. *Establishes* an Advisory Committee composed of one representative from each of the following countries: Brazil, Canada, Ceylon, Colombia, India, Norway and Pakistan, and requests this Committee, whose Chairman shall be the Secretary-General, to undertake the development of those aspects of the planning for the Force and its operation not already dealt with by the General Assembly and which do not fall within the area of the direct responsibility of the Chief of the Command;

7. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General to issue all regulations and instructions which may be essential to the effective functioning of the Force, following consultation with the Committee aforementioned, and to take all other necessary administrative and executive action;

8. *Determines* that, following the fulfilment of the immediate responsibilities defined for it in operative paragraphs 6 and 7 above, the Advisory Committee shall continue to assist the Secretary-General in the responsibilities falling to him under the present and other relevant resolutions;

9. *Decides* that the Advisory Committee, in the performance of its duties, shall be empowered to request, through the usual procedures, the convening of the General Assembly and to report to the Assembly whenever matters arise which, in its opinion, are of such urgency and importance as to require consideration by the General Assembly itself;

10. *Requests* all Member States to afford assistance as necessary to the United Nations Command in the performance of its functions, including arrangements for passage to and from the area involved.

*567th plenary meeting,
7 November 1956.*

Resolution 1002 (ES-I)

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 997 (ES-I) of 2 November 1956, 998 (ES-I) and 999 (ES-I) of 4 November 1956 and 1000 (ES-I) of 5 November 1956, adopted by overwhelming majorities,

Noting in particular that the General Assembly, by its resolution 1000 (ES-I), established a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of its resolution 997 (ES-I),

1. *Reaffirms* the above-mentioned resolutions;

2. *Calls once again upon* Israel immediately to withdraw all its forces behind the armistice lines established by the General Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 24 February 1949;⁷

3. *Calls once again upon* the United Kingdom and France immediately to withdraw all their forces from Egyptian territory, consistently with the above-mentioned resolutions;

⁵ Official Records of the General Assembly, First Emergency Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 5, document A/3289.

⁶ Ibid., document A/3302.

⁷ Official Records of the Security Council, Fourth Year, Special Supplement No. 3.

4. *Urges* the Secretary-General to communicate the present resolution to the parties concerned, and requests him promptly to report to the General Assembly on the compliance with this resolution.

567th plenary meeting,
7 November 1956.

Resolution 1003 (ES-I)

The General Assembly,

1. *Decides* to place on the provisional agenda of its eleventh regular session, as a matter of priority, the

question on the agenda of its first emergency special session;

2. *Refers* to its eleventh regular session, for consideration, the records of the meetings and the documents of its first emergency special session;

3. *Decides* that, notwithstanding paragraph 1 above, the first emergency special session may continue to consider the question, if necessary, prior to the eleventh regular session of the Assembly.

572nd plenary meeting,
10 November 1956.

UNITED NATIONS



OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SECOND EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

4-10 NOVEMBER 1956

PLENARY MEETINGS

and

ANNEX

NEW YORK



INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The *Official Records of the General Assembly* consist of records of meetings, annexes to those records and supplements. The verbatim records in this volume include corrections requested by delegations and such editorial modifications as were considered necessary.

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Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Telegram of convocation.....	iv	570th plenary meeting	
List of delegations.....	v	<i>Friday, 9 November 1956, at 10.30 a.m.</i>	
President and Vice-Presidents.....	viii	AGENDA ITEM 5:	
Agenda	viii	The situation in Hungary (<i>continued</i>).....	47
564th plenary meeting (opening meeting)		571st plenary meeting	
<i>Sunday, 4 November 1956, at 4 p.m.</i>		<i>Friday, 9 November 1956, at 3 p.m.</i>	
AGENDA ITEM 1:		AGENDA ITEM 5:	
Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Chile.....	1	The situation in Hungary (<i>continued</i>).....	59
AGENDA ITEM 2:		AGENDA ITEM 3:	
Minute of silent prayer or meditation.....	1	Appointment of a Credentials Committee (<i>concluded</i>)	
STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT.....	1	Report of the Credentials Committee.....	81
AGENDA ITEM 3:		573rd plenary meeting (closing meeting)	
Appointment of a Credentials Committee.....	1	<i>Saturday, 10 November 1956, at 12.25 p.m.</i>	
AGENDA ITEM 4:		AGENDA ITEM 5:	
Adoption of the agenda.....	1	The situation in Hungary	
AGENDA ITEM 5:		Transfer of the item to the provisional agenda of the eleventh regular session of the Gen- eral Assembly	83
The situation in Hungary.....	4	STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT.....	88
568th plenary meeting		* * *	
<i>Thursday, 8 November 1956, at 10.30 a.m.</i>		ANNEX	
AGENDA ITEM 5:		Agenda item 5: The situation in Hungary.	
The situation in Hungary (<i>continued</i>).....	21		
569th plenary meeting			
<i>Thursday, 8 November 1956, at 3 p.m.</i>			
AGENDA ITEM 5:			
The situation in Hungary (<i>continued</i>).....	33		

TELEGRAM OF CONVOCATION

4 November 1956

I HAVE THE HONOUR TO INFORM YOU THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL TODAY REQUESTED THE CONVENING OF AN EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN PURSUANCE OF ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 377 A (V) TO CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING MATTER "THE SITUATION IN HUNGARY" STOP I HAVE THE HONOUR TO NOTIFY YOU IN ACCORDANCE WITH RULE 8 (b) OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THAT THIS SECOND EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION WILL OPEN ON SUNDAY 4 NOVEMBER 1956 AT 4 P.M. IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HALL AT HEADQUARTERS NEW YORK STOP CREDENTIALS ALREADY ISSUED TO REPRESENTATIVES TO THE FIRST EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION WILL BE CONSIDERED VALID FOR THOSE ATTENDING THE SECOND SESSION.

DAG HAMMARSKJOLD
SECRETARY-GENERAL

LIST OF DELEGATIONS

Member States

AFGHANISTAN

Mr. Abdul Hamid Aziz

ALBANIA

Mr. Reis Malile

ARGENTINA

Mr. Anibal Osvaldo Olivieri

Mr. Alfredo Atilio Lavalle

Mr. Roberto E. Guyer

AUSTRALIA

Mr. E. Ronald Walker

Mr. William Douglas Forsyth

Mr. J. D. L. Hood

Mr. Brian C. Hill

Mr. T. Wakeham Cutts

Mr. R. N. Hamilton

Mr. Michael J. Wilson

AUSTRIA

Mr. Franz Matsch

BELGIUM

Mr. Fernand van Langenhove

Mr. Joseph Nisot

BOLIVIA

Mr. Germán Quiroga Galdo

BRAZIL

Mr. Cyro de Freitas Valle

Mr. Jayme de Barros

Mr. Carlos Alfredo Bernardes

Mr. Donatello Grieco

Mr. Fernando Abbott Galvão

BULGARIA

Mr. Peter G. Vutov

Mr. Bogomil Todorov

Mr. Baruk Grinberg

Mr. Grigor Pavlov

BURMA

U Win

U Pe Kin

U Paw Htin

U Kyaw Min

BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Mr. A. E. Gurinovich

CAMBODIA

Mr. Nong Kimny

Mr. Ly Chinly

CANADA

Mr. Lester B. Pearson

Mr. R. A. MacKay

Mr. John Holmes

CEYLON

Mr. R. S. S. Gunewardene

Mr. A. Basnayake

Mr. Y. Duraiswamy

CHILE

Mr. Rudecindo Ortega

Mr. Alfonso Grez

Mr. Miguel Bravo

Mr. O. Pinochet

Mr. Octavio Allende

CHINA

Mr. Tingfu F. Tsiang

Mr. Liu Chieh

Mr. Chiping H. C. Kiang

Mr. Cheng Paonan

Mr. Chun-ming Chang

COLOMBIA

Mr. Francisco Urrutia Holguín

Mr. Eduardo Carrizosa

Mr. Jaime Canal Rivas

COSTA RICA

Mr. Alberto F. Cañas

Mr. Raúl Trejos Flores

Mrs. María Lilia Montejo Ortuño

CUBA

Mr. Emilio Núñez Portuondo

Mr. Carlos Blanco y Sánchez

Mr. Francisco García Amador

Miss Uldarica Mañas

Mr. Rafael García Navarro

Miss Silvia Shelton

Mr. Juan O'Naghten

Miss Josefina García Sierra

Miss Ana María Perera

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Mr. Josef Ullrich

DENMARK

Mr. Karl I. Eskelund

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Mr. Enrique de Marchena

Mr. Ambrosio Alvarez Aybar

Miss Minerva Bernardino

Mr. Kémil L. Dipp Gómez

ECUADOR

Mr. José Vicente Trujillo

Mr. Alberto Barriga

EGYPT

Mr. Omar Loutfi

EL SALVADOR

Mr. Miguel Rafael Urquía
Mr. Roberto E. Quirós
Mr. Miguel Angel Magaña

ETHIOPIA

Mr. Yilma Deressa
Miss Judith Imru

FINLAND

Mr. George de Gripenberg
Mr. Björn Alholm

FRANCE

Mr. Bernard Cornut-Gentille
Mr. Louis de Guiringaud

GREECE

Mr. Christian X. Palamas
Mr. Dennis N. Carayannis

GUATEMALA

Mr. Emilio Arenales Catalán
Mr. Isidro Lemus Dimas
Mr. José Rölz Bennett
Mr. Maximiliano Kestler
Mr. Manuel Rubio Sánchez

HAITI

Mr. Jacques N. Léger
Mr. Max H. Dorsinville
Mr. Ernest G. Chauvet
Mr. Georges Salomon

HONDURAS

Mr. Tiburcio Carías, Jr.
Mr. Humberto López Villamil

HUNGARY

Mr. Jozef Marjai
Mr. János Szabó

ICELAND

Mr. Thor Thors
Mr. Thórarinn Thórarinsson

INDIA

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon
Mr. Arthur S. Lall
Mr. B. Rajan
Mr. M. E. Chacko
Mr. V. R. Bhatt
Mr. M. B. Nair

INDONESIA

Mr. Sudjarwo Tjondronegoro

IRAN

Mr. Nasrollah Entezam
Mr. Djalal Abdoh

IRAQ

Mr. Hashim Jawad
Mr. Kadhim M. Khalaf
Mr. Usamah T. Kadry

IRELAND

Mr. Frederick H. Boland

ISRAEL

Mr. Abba Eban
Mr. Moshe A. Tov
Mr. Jacob Robinson
Mr. Mordecai R. Kidron
Mr. Yoseph Tekoah
Mr. Arthur C. Liveran

ITALY

Mr. Leonardo Vitetti
Mr. Remigio D. Grillo
Mr. Eugenio Plaja
Mr. Vincenzo Tornetta

JORDAN

Mr. Abdul Monem Rifa'i
Mr. Thabet Khalidi

LAOS

Mr. Ourot R. Souvannavong

LEBANON

Mr. Victor Khouri
Mr. Edward Rizk

LIBERIA

Miss Angie Brooks
Mr. John D. Cox
Mr. John Grigsby

LIBYA

Mr. Fathi Abidia

LUXEMBOURG

Mr. Hugues Le Gallais
Mr. Jean-Pierre Kremer

MEXICO

Mr. Rafael de la Colina
Mr. Luciano Joubanc Rivas

NEPAL

Mr. Rishikesh Shaha

NETHERLANDS

Mr. C. W. A. Schürmann

NEW ZEALAND

Sir Leslie Munro
Mr. M. J. C. Templeton
Mr. Richard Brian Atkins

NICARAGUA

Mr. Luis Mena Solórzano

NORWAY

Mr. Hans Engen

PAKISTAN

Mr. Mohammad Mir Khan

PANAMA

Mr. Roberto de la Guardia
Mr. Ernesto de la Ossa

PARAGUAY

Mr. Pacífico Montero de Vargas
Mr. Fernando A. Caballero Marsal

PERU

Mr. Víctor A. Belaúnde
Mr. Carlos Holguín

PHILIPPINES

Mr. Felixberto M. Serrano

POLAND

Mr. Jerzy Michalowski
Mr. Antoni Czarkowski
Mr. Jacek Machowski
Mr. Jerzy Sztucki

PORTUGAL

Mr. Vasco Vieira Garin

ROMANIA

Mr. Athanase Joja
Mr. Mircea Gherman
Mr. Mircea Malitza
Mr. Constantin Dumitrachescu

SAUDI ARABIA

Mr. Jamil M. Baroody

SPAIN

Mr. José Félix de Lequerica
Mr. Diego Buigas de Dalmau

SWEDEN

Mr. Gunnar Jarring

SYRIA

Mr. Rafik Asha

THAILAND

Prince Wan Waithayakon Krommün Naradhip Bong-
sprabandh
Mr. Thanat Khoman

TURKEY

Mr. Selim Sarper

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Mr. V. I. Sapozhnikov

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. D. B. Sole

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Mr. V. V. Kuznetsov
Mr. A. A. Sobolev

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND
NORTHERN IRELAND

Sir Pierson Dixon

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Mr. John Foster Dulles
Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
Mr. James J. Wadsworth

URUGUAY

Mr. Enrique Rodríguez Fabregat
Mr. César Montero Bustamante
Mr. Américo Paz Aguirre

VENEZUELA

Mr. Santiago Pérez Pérez
Mr. Martín Pérez Matos
Mr. Víctor M. Rivas
Mr. Francisco Alfonzo Ravard
Mr. Ignacio Silva Sucre

YEMEN

Prince Sayful Islam Al-Hassan
Mr. Ahmad Zabarah
Mr. Mohammed Al-Haifi
Mr. Mohammed Abou-Taleb
Mr. Tawfik Chamandi

YUGOSLAVIA

Mr. Joža Brilej
Mr. Djura Ninčić
Mr. Dimče Belovski
Mr. Aleksander Božović

PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS

In accordance with rule 65 of the rules of procedure, the President and Vice-Presidents were as follows:

President of the General Assembly:

His Excellency Mr. Rudecindo Ortega (Chile).

Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly:

The representatives of the following Member States: CHINA, ETHIOPIA, FRANCE, LUXEMBOURG, UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

AGENDA

1. Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Chile.
2. Minute of silent prayer or meditation.
3. Appointment of a Credentials Committee.
4. Adoption of the agenda.¹
5. The situation in Hungary.²

¹ The agenda of the second emergency special session was adopted by the General Assembly at its 564th plenary meeting on 4 November 1956.

² In accordance with rule 65 of the rules of procedure, the General Assembly considered this item in plenary session only, without previous reference to a Committee.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**
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PLENARY MEETING. 564th
(OPENING MEETING)
Sunday, 4 November 1956,
at 4 p.m.

SECOND EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

New York

CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 1: Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Chile	1
Agenda item 2: Minute of silent prayer or meditation.....	1
Statement by the President.....	1
Agenda item 3: Appointment of a Credentials Committee.....	1
Agenda item 4: Adoption of the agenda.....	1
Agenda item 5: The situation in Hungary.....	4

President: Mr. Rudecindo ORTEGA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 1

**Opening of the session by the Chairman of the
delegation of Chile**

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I declare open the second emergency special session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

2. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): In accordance with rule 64 of the rules of procedure, I invite the representatives to stand and observe one minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Statement by the President

3. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Before we proceed with the appointment of a Credentials Committee, I should like to call to the attention of the members of the Assembly a letter from the President of the Security Council to the Secretary-General [A/3280], communicating the text of the resolution adopted by the Security Council on 4 November 1956. In that resolution it is requested that an emergency special session of the General Assembly be called as provided in General Assembly resolution 377 (V), in order to make appropriate recommendations concerning "The situation in Hungary".

AGENDA ITEM 3

Appointment of a Credentials Committee

4. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As regards the appointment of a Credentials Committee, as provided for in rule 28 of our rules of procedure, I suggest that the Committee which was appointed for the first emergency special session should act for this second emergency special session. If there is no objec-

tion, I shall take it that the Assembly approves this suggestion.

It was so decided.

5. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I should like to point out that the Secretary-General, in his telegram convening this emergency special session, indicated that credentials of representatives participating in the first emergency special session would be considered valid for their participation in the second emergency special session.

6. In this connexion, we have recently received a letter from the representative of Hungary, and it is at present being reproduced so that it can be distributed to the members of the Assembly. In the meantime, I shall ask Mr. Cordier to read it to the Assembly.

7. Mr. CORDIER (Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General): The letter reads as follows:

"The permanent mission of the Hungarian People's Republic presents its compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and has the honour to inform him that the Hungarian Government has not as yet authorized any of the members of the mission to take part at the emergency special session convened to discuss the item entitled: 'The situation in Hungary'. Furthermore, the mission communicates that it could not obtain official information and instructions from the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic. As soon as it receives official information and instructions from its Government, it will immediately bring them to the knowledge of the Secretary-General and the Members of the United Nations.

"The Hungarian mission would be very grateful if the Secretary-General would shortly circulate this note among the Members of the United Nations."¹

AGENDA ITEM 4

Adoption of the agenda

8. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Bearing in mind the provisions of rule 65 of the rules of procedure, I should like to determine whether there

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After the close of the session, collated sets of fascicles will be placed on sale to the general public.

¹ This letter was reproduced as document A/3285.

is any objection to having this emergency special session meet only in plenary meeting, and take up the item before it directly, without previously referring it to any Committee. If there is no objection, this course will be adopted.

It was so decided.

9. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The item which appears on the provisional agenda of the second emergency special session is entitled "The situation in Hungary". Is there any objection to its inclusion in the agenda?

10. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet Union delegation objects to the inclusion in the agenda and to any discussion of the item entitled "The situation in Hungary", on the ground that such a discussion would be a gross breach of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, which prohibits any intervention by the Organization in the domestic affairs of Member States.

11. For the same reasons, the Soviet delegation opposed the discussion of this question in the Security Council. It is regrettable that the majority of the members of the Council, acting in contravention of the United Nations Charter, tried to impose a discussion of this question on the Council. And now attempts are being made to impose the discussion of this question on the General Assembly.

12. It must be pointed out that the Security Council's decision to raise the question of the situation in Hungary was adopted in spite of the statement issued on 28 October 1956 by the legal government of the Hungarian People's Republic [S/3691], categorically protesting against the discussion of any matters relating to the domestic affairs of Hungary in the United Nations, since the discussion of such questions in the United Nations would be a serious violation of the sovereign rights of the Hungarian People's Republic.

13. With regard to Mr. Nagy's communications to the United Nations [A/3251 and S/3726], it must be borne in mind that these were unconstitutional, and are therefore invalid. The Nagy government has in fact collapsed, and a Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government has been formed, which includes several ministers of the Nagy cabinet who have remained loyal servants of the Hungarian people. This Workers' and Peasants' Government has sent the Secretary-General a telegram [A/3311] to the effect that all communications from Mr. Nagy are invalid. The Government of Hungary, this declaration states, objects to any discussion of the situation in Hungary in the United Nations, either in the Security Council or in the General Assembly, since this is a matter within the domestic jurisdiction of Hungary.

14. Thus, the proposal for placing on the agenda and discussing the question of the situation in Hungary is motivated not by a desire to promote a return to normal conditions in the Hungarian People's Republic but, on the contrary, by a desire to aggravate the situation and to support fascist elements which have risen against the Hungarian people and its lawful government. Nor would such a step contribute in any way to furthering the high purposes and principles proclaimed in the United Nations Charter. This provocative move is really aimed not at the maintenance of international peace and security, in accordance with the Charter, but at aggravating the international situation.

15. The reasons for the attempt to involve the General Assembly in a discussion of the situation in Hun-

gary just at this particular time are quite clear. The initiative in raising this issue was taken by the United Kingdom and France, which are engaging in open aggression against the Egyptian people, and by the United States, where certain groups have done everything in their power to prepare the way for the criminal attacks of fascist elements against the Hungarian people. By imposing a discussion of the item entitled "The situation in Hungary" on the General Assembly, they are hoping to distract the attention of the United Nations and of world public opinion from the aggressive action undertaken by the United Kingdom and France against Egypt. The Governments of the United Kingdom and France have rejected the General Assembly's cease-fire decision [resolution 997 (ES-I)], thus flouting the wishes of the sixty-four States which resolutely supported the demand for the cessation of military operations.

16. Only yesterday, our Organization adopted a new decision calling for an immediate halt to military action against Egypt [resolution 999 (ES-I)]. By trying, in contravention of the Charter, to involve the General Assembly in a discussion of the situation in Hungary, the United Kingdom and France, together with the United States, are attempting to gain time and to enable the British-French forces to settle accounts with the Egyptian people.

17. The Soviet delegation expresses the hope that those who are genuinely concerned for the immediate cessation of British and French aggression against Egypt will refuse to allow the attention of the General Assembly and of our Organization as a whole to be distracted from the necessity of ensuring the implementation of its decision on the cessation of military activities against Egypt, or to authorize United Nations intervention in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic.

18. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): In order to facilitate and expedite our deliberations, I should like to suggest that, in accordance with rule 23 of the rules of procedure, this debate should be limited to three speakers in favour of the inclusion of the item and three against. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly approves this procedure.

It was so decided.

19. Mr. WALKER (Australia): This extraordinary session of the General Assembly has been called under the "Uniting for peace" procedure, provided for in resolution 377 (V), to deal with the situation in Hungary.

20. Following the statement that I and others, including of course the representative of the United States, made yesterday in the Security Council [754th meeting], it is quite apparent that it is our desire that this matter should be placed on the agenda of this meeting and that we should proceed to deal with the situation.

21. I intervene at this point because Australia is a country that has always attached very great importance to the very consideration that the Soviet representative raised in his argument as to why this matter should not be dealt with, namely, the restrictions upon the right of the United Nations to deal with matters that are of purely domestic concern. I say that is a consideration that we always take very seriously in Australia, but we have no doubts that, in this particular matter, that objection is not a relevant one.

22. This matter was discussed in the Australian Parliament a few days ago, and what I have to say on this point represents the firm views of the Australian Government as expressed by the Australian Prime Minister at that time. The position briefly is as follows.

23. Under the Treaty of Peace with Hungary of 10 February 1947, to which the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States and the other Allied and Associated Powers, including Australia, were parties, the Soviet Union was required to withdraw its troops from Hungary when Soviet occupation forces had been withdrawn from Austria. The Soviet forces in fact withdrew from Austria last year.

24. Article 2 of the political clauses of the Peace Treaty provides that:

"1. Hungary shall take all necessary measures to secure to all persons under Hungarian jurisdiction, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, the enjoyment of human rights and of the fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression, of Press and publication, of religious worship, of political opinion and of public meeting."

These provisions were, of course, plainly inserted for the protection of the Hungarian people, who had and have a perfect right to require that they should be honoured. It is quite clear that in fact these provisions have over the years been substantially disregarded.

25. In order to circumvent these provisions about the withdrawal of its forces, the Soviet Union entered into a pact with the satellite countries, including Hungary. The Warsaw Pact of May 1955 provided for the use of Soviet troops to repel foreign aggression against the satellites. That this represented an intention to disregard the provisions of the Peace Treaty is now made clear, for it is the Warsaw Pact which the Hungarian Communist leaders have purported to invoke in calling into Hungary Soviet forces to suppress the present popular movement, and it is the Warsaw Pact that has been invoked in the discussions of the Security Council on occasion by the Soviet representative to justify the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary.

26. It is important to mention these facts in view of the argument advanced by the Soviet representative today.

27. It is the opinion of the Australian Government that it is quite impossible to contend that so clear a violation of a treaty as is constituted by the use of foreign forces to repress rights established by the Peace Treaty could be regarded as of no concern to the other nations parties to the Treaty. In other words, the setting at nought of a treaty provision does not become a domestic matter simply because the conflicts so engendered take place within the boundaries of one nation.

28. In the Security Council, our consideration of this matter has been continuously obstructed by the Soviet representative. Attempts have been made to keep it off the agenda of the Security Council. Attempts have been made to have the Security Council's examination of the matter postponed. Even yesterday we were urged to postpone it because negotiations were in progress. The Soviet representative confirmed that negotiations were in progress regarding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Budapest, and we are all aware of the course of the tragic events of the last few days, and of the necessity that the Security Council has felt of taking action on this matter, where we again encountered the Soviet veto, so that the matter is before this extraordinary session of the General Assembly today.

29. I would conclude by reading the following statement issued by the Prime Minister of Australia last night. Mr. Menzies stated:

"We have all been much occupied during the last few days by the events in Egypt about which I have

already expressed the views of the Government, but I do hope that attention will not be diverted from the tragic events now occurring in Hungary. In Parliament last week I pointed out that the Hungarian problem was not merely a domestic issue, but such as to attract the attention and action of the United Nations. I hope that such decisions will be promptly taken as will demonstrate the sympathy of the world for the Hungarian people and their right to freedom."

30. Mr. SOLE (Union of South Africa): The representative of the Soviet Union, in objecting to the inscription of this item, has invoked the well-known Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. This is an article with which, as members of the Assembly are aware, my delegation in particular is very familiar indeed. The South African delegations, at successive sessions of the General Assembly, have had occasion, I think on practically every occasion we have met in New York, to protest against what we have regarded as intervention in the affairs of South Africa, affairs which we regard as falling essentially within our domestic jurisdiction.

31. In these circumstances, we would be most careful before deciding to lend our support to any motion which might seem to run contrary to the principles which we have consistently applied since the first session of the General Assembly in 1946, the principles which we have applied even when it has been a most unpopular course to follow. I might recall, for example, that in 1946 South Africa was one of the very few countries which declined to support the resolution adopted by the Assembly in that year on conditions in Franco Spain.

32. It is against this background that we lend our earnest support to the proposal for the inscription of this item, because we are thoroughly satisfied in our own minds that Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter does not apply in this instance. We regret that the item has been designated "situation in Hungary". We feel that it would have been more appropriate to describe it as "external intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary".

33. We base our support for the inscription of this item not on the terms of the Peace Treaty to which reference has been made by the representative of Australia. They may or may not be relevant. We base our support for the inscription of the item on Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter which, *inter alia*, provides:

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State."

34. In our view, the events of the past few hours have demonstrated clearly that both the threat of force and force have been employed against the political independence of Hungary, and we have received from the Soviet delegation no convincing arguments to the contrary. The Soviet delegation has stated that a new government is in power. But only yesterday, as Mr. Walker reminded us, the Soviet delegation stated in the Security Council that its Government was in negotiation with the Nagy government over the question of the withdrawal of troops. Hence, only twenty-four hours ago the Soviet Government recognized the Nagy government.

35. As far as my delegation is aware, the United Nations Assembly has provisionally recognized hitherto representatives of the Nagy Government, and we see no reason in the present circumstances to make any change in that decision. I hope, accordingly, that the

Assembly will overwhelmingly endorse the inscription of this item.

36. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I shall now put to the vote the question of the inclusion in the agenda of item 5.

The item was included in the agenda by 53 votes to 8, with 7 abstentions.

The agenda was adopted.

AGENDA ITEM 5

The situation in Hungary

37. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (*translated from Spanish*): Those of us who worked for the adoption of the "Uniting for peace" resolution cannot fail to be moved by the fact that the resolution has been applied in two noteworthy cases. The resolution represented, to my mind, the consolidation of the United Nations functions with respect to world peace and the solution of a problem which, if left unsettled, could well have jeopardized the harmonious relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly. It was also a recognition of the irrefutable fact that if for any reason one of the organs of the United Nations is prevented from acting on vital questions, the General Assembly, which represents all mankind—the more so today as we are approaching and have virtually achieved the desired universality—should, acting on behalf of sovereign States assume the primary function of restoring world peace and security. It is with that thought in mind that we have taken part in these two emergency special sessions. Although the problems are indeed grievous, our heaviness of heart and the distress we feel because of the human suffering involved are mitigated by the successful and irreproachable manner in which the Assembly has discharged that function which, in accordance with the Charter, we decided to recognize—not to give, for it is implicit in the spirit of the Charter—as belonging to the Assembly.

38. In these circumstances, I shall be brief. I admire human speech when it is brief and direct, because it reflects a state of mind, but I do not like prolixity which holds back action, dilutes thought and waters down emotion. After a debate in the Security Council, and in the light of reliable information confirmed from this floor by the representative of the Soviet Union himself, there is no need to talk about the facts.

39. I do not propose to restate the facts already known to representatives through Press reports, but I should like to draw attention to one circumstance. Delegations know that there was a government in Hungary—the government of Mr. Nagy—that its composition changed as new parties were brought in, that it was negotiating with the Soviet Union, that it was demanding, as was its right, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian soil. And now we learn—and this is what is so serious—from the representative of the Soviet Union himself, that that government, which had behind it the enthusiasm of the mass of the people, inspired by the martyrdom of the young men and women who had taken part in the demonstrations, and of their families, has been overthrown.

40. By whom was it overthrown? Was it overthrown by Cardinal Mindszenty, a great hero and symbol of freedom and faith in Hungary? Was it overthrown by the young people of Hungary who rose against Soviet tanks, armed only with their enthusiasm and their courage? Was it overthrown by the Hungarian people who

rose throughout that great country against the Soviet troops? It was overthrown by the incursions of fresh troops and the reinforcement of the Soviet tanks which had remained in the country. It is a flagrant example of the overthrow of a government by external intervention, and it was publicly admitted today on this rostrum by the Soviet representative. I shall say no more: as far as the facts are concerned, I rest upon what has been said here by the representative of the Soviet Union.

41. Nor do I intend to deal at length with the legal aspects of the question, for the representative of Australia has admirably summarized the legal grounds for the Security Council's consideration of this case. I have one point to add.

42. In the Security Council, I tried to see the question from the point of view of the Soviet Union: I tried to argue on the basis of the legal obligations arising from the treaties concluded between the Soviet Union and Hungary. I cited the Treaty of Warsaw and the Treaty of Peace with Hungary. The Treaty of Peace speaks clearly of respect for human rights. We have said that human rights are guaranteed by the Charter; they are also guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, even though we still have no covenant on human rights. There are countries, however, which respect human rights, not merely because they are embodied in their own laws, but also because, morally, no distinction can be made between domestic public law and international public law. Since Hungary, like the other Danubian countries which signed peace treaties with the Western Powers and the Soviet Union, assumed an obligation under an international treaty to respect human rights, including the rights of association and assembly, human rights constitute a supreme moral obligation in the process of being transformed into a clear and peremptory contractual obligation; for Hungary and those other countries respect for human rights is a manifest contractual obligation.

43. As regards the Warsaw Treaty, I must point out that it does not expressly authorize the stationing of Soviet forces in Hungarian territory. In accordance with the Treaty of Peace with Hungary, such forces were to leave Hungarian soil as soon as peace was signed with Austria. Yet it could be argued that they might be stationed temporarily in Hungarian territory, as an emergency measure, to ward off a possible aggression from without. In my desire diligently to seek out all possible sources of information and discuss all the legal principles involved, I studied the document on the establishment of a unified command under the Warsaw Treaty. The document states categorically that any troops that may be provisionally stationed by the USSR in those territories may be used only for mutual defence, for the declaration setting up a unified command cannot introduce a principle not laid down in the Warsaw Treaty. Article 4 deals with mutual defence, for the Warsaw Treaty is a copy of the North Atlantic Treaty, and article 5 clearly speaks of aggression. Thus, Soviet troops may be used in Hungarian territory only in the event of aggression against the Soviet Union or against Hungary. As far as I know, there has been no attempted aggression whatsoever against the Soviet Union or Hungary.

44. There is a further point: article 8 of the Warsaw Treaty, a clause which is undoubtedly not of Soviet inspiration, but which was introduced in imitation of the North Atlantic Treaty, provides for respect for internal affairs in that it categorically prohibits—this is a right as far as Hungary is concerned and an obliga-

tion on the part of the Soviet Union—any intervention by Soviet troops in the internal affairs of Hungary.

45. That is why the Security Council did not hesitate for a moment to take up this question. Now that we have definite news that the negotiations conducted by the Nagy government did not halt that intervention, which on the contrary has been intensified, and now that the General Assembly learns that this intervention has not only been intensified but has developed into the farce of establishing a new government, it seems to me that the fact that the Assembly is fully competent to deal with the matter is clearly established.

46. However, we can set aside the crushing legal case in view of the confession the Soviet Union has made. We can set aside those considerations, however valid they may be. There is a human fact, an overriding fact, which outrages us all: waves of Hungarians threw themselves against Soviet troops: scattered and decimated, they surged forward again like an irresistible tide, to throw themselves on the Soviet tanks, and the slaughter went on. Yet, despite the slaughter of thousands and thousands of people, the Government held, and had the strength to force the Soviet Union to enter into negotiations. But that government was also compelled to bring in other parties representing the views of the people of Hungary. However, when it altered its composition and abolished the ridiculous and outrageous one-party system, it was overthrown by the Soviet Union. What are we to do about it?

47. There has been a violation. I said yesterday, in all sincerity, not with bitterness but in the hope of inspiring sincere repentance in those who have embarked on this wrong course, that it is not only a crime, but a blunder. In saying so, I do not adopt Talleyrand's absurd view that from the standpoint of history a blunder is worse than a crime; in my moral evaluation of events I place the crime first, then the blunder. I would say this: to an enormous crime you have added an enormous error, for an imperialist government and a régime of force cannot be maintained indefinitely.

48. We are witnessing, not without hope, the disintegration of the Stalinist empire, and it is ridiculous to believe that once that disintegration has begun in response to the people's clamour, as in Poland and Hungary, the rule of force can be restored by a gesture or whim or temporary superiority of arms. It is impossible to do so because the map of the world has changed; because the institutions and the activities of the United Nations are reinforcing what has always existed; the conscience of mankind which everywhere supports law, justice, morality and freedom.

49. The Soviet attitude is a challenge to all mankind; it means the destruction of all that has been accomplished in over 1,500 years of history by this admirable people which has produced great artists and great poets, and which is today fated to fulfil the prophecies of the poet, Sandor Petöfi, who wished to die in defence of mankind and of his fatherland, confident that the day would come when his scattered bones would call out for freedom and justice for all mankind.

50. I bring to this rostrum the deep feeling of the Peruvian people. I bring to this rostrum my tribute to the Hungarian people. I bring here not only that feeling, but my belief in the Charter, and I hope that there will be another glorious day for the United Nations when, in the name of all mankind, we call upon the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from gallant and heroic Hungary, a living symbol of freedom, justice and democracy.

51. Mr. ENGEN (Norway): During these turbulent days through which the world is now passing, one has the feeling of an almost physical pain at being thrown within a period of hours between the heights of rejoicing and the depths of sorrow. Hungary, its people and its land are in the hearts and minds of millions throughout the world who have watched how the whole Hungarian nation has surged upwards from bondage towards a life in freedom and dignity. In Norway, among my people, these events have been watched with hope and joy, but also with apprehension as to what might be the price of freedom.

52. We have seen the price the Hungarian people, has been willing to pay, but we refuse to believe that they will not be rewarded. We refuse to believe that what we have been witnessing over the past twenty-four hours in Hungary will be the last word from the Soviet Union with respect to the struggle for national independence which the Hungarian nation is now waging.

53. We know that the Soviet Union is a mighty State. It certainly has the power to suppress the Hungarian people, but it certainly also has the power to give those people the freedom they so ardently desire.

54. We have often heard the Soviet representative speak warmly from this rostrum in support of the independence of dependent peoples in Asia and Africa. We expect now to see his Government do something in support of national independence for the dependent peoples in Eastern Europe.

55. My country, my people, has for centuries been the immediate neighbour of Russia. I am speaking now as the representative of that neighbouring people and as a representative of its Government. I address an urgent appeal to the Government of the Soviet Union to use its might in Hungary in the cause of freedom, and not in the cause of suppression of freedom, as it is now doing. We are convinced that the legitimate interests of the Soviet Union and the interests of world peace can be strengthened if Soviet influence and Soviet power are not used to slow down the irresistible process of democratization and the emergence of national independence in Hungary and in Eastern Europe. Soviet power can, however, assure the Soviet people that their safety rests not in suppression of their neighbours but only in the independence of their neighbours. We all have a contribution to make to enable these peoples to achieve that goal. But the largest, the main, contribution must come from the Soviet Union.

56. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): At dawn this morning, Soviet troops in Hungary opened fire in Budapest and throughout the country. We learn from Vienna that the Soviet artillery was firing incendiary phosphorus shells at centres of civilian population. These are the shells which set fire to buildings and which burned the flesh of women and children and other civilian non-combatants.

57. The Hungarian Prime Minister, Mr. Nagy, has appealed to the United Nations for help—and I must say we can understand it. After several days of ominous reports, the situation in Hungary has become all too clear. What is revealed is the sickening picture of duplicity and double-dealing. While this wholesale brutality by the Soviet Government was being perpetrated, the Soviet representative here in this hall was praising peace and non-aggression and raising his hands in horror against bloodshed in the Middle East. Those of us who were striving with every fibre of our being for peace

in the Middle East can never forget this unutterable cynicism.

58. For the last few days, Soviet troop movements in Hungary have been reported. These reports have been accompanied by Soviet assurances to the United Nations and to the Hungarian Government that Soviet troops in Hungary had not and would not be reinforced. The reported movements were pictures as the redeployment of Soviet forces stationed in the country. As late as 10 o'clock last night, Soviet representatives began negotiations—or what were described as negotiations—with Hungarian representatives, ostensibly for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary pursuant to Hungary's decision to renounce its membership in the Warsaw Pact.

59. The Soviet Union has made little pretence lately of its urge to dominate Hungary by the power of its military machine. It talked about a new relationship with its satellites, based on sovereign equality and independence and non-intervention in internal affairs. It spoke of negotiations under the Warsaw Pact for the withdrawal of its troops from some of these countries, particularly Hungary, where it admitted that the further presence of its army units could "serve as a cause for an even greater deterioration of the situation"—a deterioration which has, of course, so tragically occurred.

60. What a picture of deception we have had. After Mr. Nagy had formed his government, here was how *Pravda*, the Soviet Government organ, described the Nagy government on 28 October 1956:

"Today Budapest Radio announced the formation of a new national government of the Hungarian People's Republic on a broad democratic basis, led by Comrade Imre Nagy. The new Government immediately took up its duties. The Hungarian Government, guided by a desire to ensure that no one of the honest but misguided people should be punished, declared an amnesty for all who voluntarily laid down their arms."

61. On 30 October, Moscow Radio, which, of course, as in all totalitarian States, is an official government radio station—something which we do not have here—was telling its listeners in Europe: "Fortunately, under the leadership of Imre Nagy's Government, life is gradually returning to normal." On the same day, Moscow Radio told its own people:

"The Hungarian working people have welcomed with satisfaction the statement made yesterday by Imre Nagy, which was approved by the Hungarian Workers Party and which announced the programme of action of the Government."

That is what Moscow Radio and *Pravda* said at that time. Today, *Pravda* calls erstwhile "Comrade" Nagy an "accomplice of reactionary forces".

62. Here is how others nearby, who can well judge the meaning of Hungary's fight, spoke of the Nagy government.

63. The Polish Communist United Workers Party published a statement on 29 October in which it lauded the programme of Mr. Nagy's new government, saying that it "corresponded to the aspirations of the Hungarian people and to the entire cause of peace".

64. *Trybuna Ludu*, the Polish Communist paper, on the same day proclaimed Poland's "deep solidarity" with Hungary's new leadership and support for its programme. That programme, said the Polish paper, was "similar to our own and, like our own programme, cor-

responds to the deepest desires of the masses". That comes from one of the surrounding Communist countries.

65. On 29 October, President Tito sent a letter to the Hungarians in which he expressed confidence that "under the new leadership" they would overcome all difficulties. He spoke of his "profound admiration" for all those "progressive men in neighbouring Hungary who in these days have made great efforts to turn this tragic struggle into an era of renaissance". The Yugoslav public, President Tito said, "unanimously hailed the establishment of the new State and political leadership and the declaration of the Hungarian Government of 28 October". And President Tito concluded by wishing Nagy "success in his efforts".

66. On 29 October, the Czechoslovak Government, too, sent a message to the Nagy Government in which it "sincerely welcomed" the great efforts made by the Hungarian Government to establish peace in the country—efforts which, they said, were in accordance with the most fundamental interests of the entire Hungarian people". The Czechoslovak Government expressed its "firm confidence that the Hungarian Government, backed by the support of the people and by the power of Socialist democracy, would successfully ensure the fulfilment of the great tasks ahead".

67. Also on 29 October, the Czechoslovak Communist Party sent a message to the Hungarian Communists—it will be recalled that Nagy himself is a Communist who sought to lead his country to freedom from Soviet enslavement—in which it expressed its support for Nagy's efforts to "achieve progress" and "deepen socialist democracy".

68. That is what they were saying on 28 and 29 October 1956. Now what could have changed the situation in so short a time? The desire of Prime Minister Nagy to govern Hungary for the Hungarians? Does the Soviet Union fear this? The constant, deceitful reinforcement of the Soviet troops in Hungary during these fateful days says that it does.

69. It is now reliably reported that Soviet forces occupied the Parliament building in Budapest. The Prime Minister, Mr. Nagy, and other members of his Government, are now under arrest. Pal Maleter, the Minister of Defence and heroic defender of the Maria Theresa barracks against Soviet assault, who only yesterday was engaged in negotiations with Soviet military representatives for troop withdrawal, is also under arrest. A Soviet ultimatum was issued calling for the capitulation of Budapest by noon, and threatening the bombing of the city if it did not capitulate.

70. As I announced in the Security Council at 4 a.m. this morning [754th meeting], Cardinal Mindszenty and his secretary have sought refuge at the United States legation in Budapest. I think that makes it appropriate to quote a recent broadcast, only yesterday, which Cardinal Mindszenty uttered on Radio Budapest, and I would like just to quote a passage because these are the last public words spoken by Cardinal Mindszenty that we have:

"A national feeling should never again be a source of fighting between countries, but the pledge of justice and of peaceful co-operation. Let the feeling of nationality flourish in the whole world in the field of common culture. Thus the progress of one country will carry along the other country between nations which, according to the law of nature, are more and more reliant on each other."

"We Hungarians want to live and act as the standard-bearers of the family of peoples of European nations. Let co-operation be the base, which means true friendship between the nations. And looking towards even more distant parts, we, the little nation, desire to live in friendship and in mutual respect with the great American United States and with the mighty Russian empire alike, in good neighbourly relations with Prague, Bucharest, Warsaw and Belgrade, and in this regard I must mention that for the brotherly understanding in our present suffering every Hungarian has embraced to his heart Austria."

That is what could, in all solemn truth, be called the spirit of peaceful coexistence, as uttered by Cardinal Mindszenty, in the best sense of the word, if Soviet hypocrisy had not robbed that phrase of all honest meaning.

71. Let us not be deceived by this cynical and wanton act of aggression against the Hungarian people and its Government. A small group of Soviet strawmen announced their own formation as a government at the moment that Soviet troops began their attack. We have seen no passage of governmental authority from one Hungarian Government to another, but only the creation of a puppet clique and the overthrow of a liberal socialist government responsive to popular will in its desire to see these troops go.

72. Two hours after the attack began, the new puppet group appealed to the Soviet Union to come to its assistance. It cannot be maintained, therefore, that the Soviet action is undertaken in response to any request for assistance. The "assistance"—and I put that word in quotes—arrived long before the call.

73. This is how General Janos Kadar, the Communist puppet installed by Soviet military intervention this morning, spoke of Mr. Nagy when the Prime Minister first took over the Government: "I am in whole-hearted agreement with Nagy, an acquaintance and friend of mine, my esteemed and respected compatriot." Wonderful friend. He was with him up to the hilt.

74. We must take drastic and decisive action here in this Assembly to answer the appeal of the Hungarian Government. The United States delegation, therefore, is submitting a draft resolution [A/3286] which we believe should be promptly put to the vote and which I would now like to read:

"The General Assembly,

"Considering that the United Nations is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members,

"Recalling that the enjoyment of human rights and of fundamental freedom in Hungary was specifically guaranteed by the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers signed at Paris on 10 February 1947 and that the general principle of these rights and this freedom is affirmed for all peoples in the Charter of the United Nations,

"Convinced that recent events in Hungary manifest clearly the desire of the Hungarian people to exercise and to enjoy fully their fundamental rights, freedom and independence,

"Condemning the use of Soviet military forces to suppress the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert their rights,

"Noting moreover the declaration by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of 30 October 1956, of its avowed policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States,

"Noting the communication of 1 November 1956 of the Government of Hungary to the Secretary-General regarding demands made by that Government to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the instant and immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces,

"Noting further the communication of 2 November 1956 from the Government of Hungary to the Secretary-General asking the Security Council to instruct the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of Hungary to start the negotiations immediately on withdrawal of Soviet forces,

"Noting that the intervention of Soviet military forces in Hungary has resulted in grave loss of life and widespread bloodshed among the Hungarian people,

"Taking note of the radio appeal of Prime Minister Imre Nagy of 4 November 1956,

"1. Calls upon the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to desist forthwith from all armed attack on the peoples of Hungary and from any form of intervention, in particular armed intervention, in the internal affairs of Hungary;

"2. Calls upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cease the introduction of additional armed forces into Hungary and to withdraw all of its forces without delay from Hungarian territory;

"3. Affirms the right of the Hungarian people to a government responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being;

"4. Requests the Secretary-General to investigate the situation, to observe directly through representatives named by him the situation in Hungary, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at the earliest moment, and as soon as possible suggest methods to bring an end to the existing situation in Hungary in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

"5. Calls upon the Government of Hungary and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to permit observers designated by the Secretary-General to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein, and to report their findings to the Secretary-General;

"6. Calls upon all Members of the United Nations to co-operate with the Secretary-General and his representatives in the execution of his functions;

"7. Requests the Secretary-General in consultation with the heads of appropriate specialized agencies to inquire, on an urgent basis, into the needs of the Hungarian people for food, medicine, and other similar supplies, and to report to the General Assembly as soon as possible;

"8. Requests all Members of the United Nations, and invites national and international humanitarian organizations to co-operate in making available such supplies as may be required by the Hungarian people."

75. Our draft resolution is aimed at securing speedy action to cope with this grave situation. We do not believe that it is sufficient only to call upon the Soviet Union to desist from any further intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary and to withdraw all its troops without delay. We urge also that the Secretary-General should investigate the situation in Hungary directly and without delay and report to the Assembly as soon as possible. We call upon the USSR and Hun-

gary to admit representatives of the Secretary-General to Hungarian territory, and if there is nothing to hide they have nothing to fear from the visit of impartial observers.

76. In this connexion, let me remind the Soviet representative that the Soviet Union professes to support certain basic principles which twenty-nine countries meeting in April 1955 at Bandung, Indonesia, adopted as precepts for international conduct. Ten principles were set forth as the basis for developing friendly co-operation among nations. These, I understand, include the five principles of so-called peaceful co-existence, in support of which the Soviet Union has been talking but not acting. Those principles, subsequently endorsed specifically by leaders of the Soviet Union on the occasion of their visits to various countries in Asia, are relevant to the situation in Hungary, because what the Soviet Union has done during these past hours in Hungary demonstrates how hollow are the Soviet statements praising the Bandung declaration.

77. Let us ask the members of this Assembly these questions. Has the Soviet Union shown "respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations" in its action in Hungary? Has it shown "respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations"? These words are quoted right out of the Bandung declaration. Has the Soviet Union abstained from "intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country"? Has it refrained from "acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country"? I have used the language of the Bandung Conference in these questions—and the facts speak for themselves.

78. We cannot stand idly by while Hungarians are dragged bodily into servitude, even as they were re-emerging to independence and freedom. The principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations are at stake. The basic and fundamental right of self-determination, which so many in this hall have endorsed time and again, is in grave danger. If we fail to act, it will constitute a base betrayal of the people of Hungary, who have appealed to us for aid. The Hungarian people can be sure that the United Nations will accept their cause as its own.

79. I have just received a telegram addressed to me by President Eisenhower. It is very short, and I should like to read it out to this Assembly:

"I feel that world opinion, which was so uplifted only a few days ago by the news that the Soviet Union intended to withdraw its forces from Hungary, has now suffered corresponding shock and dismay at the Soviet attack on the people and Government of Hungary.

"I met today with the Secretary of State at Walter Reed hospital and later with the Acting Secretary of State to discuss ways and means available to the United States which would, first, result in withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary; secondly, achieve for Hungary its own right of self-determination and the choice of its government.

"I have sent an urgent message to Premier Bulganin on these points.

"There was likewise a thorough review of the Middle East situation and the measures now under way in the United Nations to restore peace in that area and to lay the groundwork for constructive solution of its problems."

80. Let us so conduct ourselves here this afternoon that the United Nations may be able to mobilize its resources to ensure that the Hungarian people, who have fought so fiercely for their independence and freedom in these anguished days, will find a willing response from the people of nations blessed in having the priceless treasures from which to give them material aid and comfort in alleviation of their suffering and distress.

81. Mr. OLIVIERI (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): It is with deep emotion that I enter this debate which I do not hesitate to regard as one of historical and overriding importance in the annals of the United Nations. I likewise do not hesitate to say that, if the United Nations does not emerge from this crisis with renewed confidence in its power to confront and solve the serious problems of international peace and coexistence, its cause will have been dangerously weakened, and peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples will feel abandoned.

82. For years we have tolerated the grave evil which has gnawed at the foundations of this Organization ever since its creation, and if today, when this evil has burst forth in all its virulence, we cannot find an effective and timely remedy, the future of the United Nations, far from being merely uncertain, will indeed be very black.

83. A people with a thousand-year history demand the right to choose their own way of life and their own government, and a great Power, on a flimsy legalistic pretext, is extinguishing this right in a welter of blood and oppression. This, then, in the Argentine view, is the magnitude and gravity of the problem before us.

84. The Government and people of Argentina feel irresistibly impelled to state their position; they feel this because of their own history which gives them every right, without the shadow of a doubt, to come forward today on behalf of the Hungarian people. The Government and people of Argentina take as the supreme symbol of their political life the history of their own emancipation, and they cannot forget that, when the time came for Latin America to seek its own road, the blood of Argentinians was shed on the soil of kindred peoples, and that a victorious general, the greatest glory of our fatherland, declining the governorship of Chile, which had so generously been offered him, raised the banner of freedom on high for the first time in Peru. And what were the fruits of those epic deeds? Not, certainly, conquest and subjugation, but rather a strengthening of the bonds of brotherhood between peoples united by a common blood and a common cause.

85. What, on the other hand, happened in the countries of Eastern Europe? We all know only too well. When the struggle against the despotism which had brought on the Second World War ended in victory, a great Power capitalized on its triumph, and from that time on a large part of age-old Europe has been subject to a new form of life and of law. And just as the free Western nations had begun to despair, suddenly there came a rebellion which, although unexpected, did not altogether surprise us in view of Hungary's glorious past.

86. What can and should the United Nations do in this emergency? It should come promptly and decisively to the assistance of Hungary so that its struggle for freedom may not be frustrated. Our only watchword must be "Now or never". The principles at stake are those of self-determination and non-intervention.

87. We must reject as fallacious the arguments that the events now taking place in Hungary have been

brought about by reactionary forces. On the contrary, the reactionaries are those who are trying to stifle the desire for freedom which has burst out irresistibly on Hungarian soil.

88. As I have said, the Government and people of Argentina feel irresistibly impelled to state their position; they feel this because of their past history and the realities of their present situation. The Argentine people, too, recently passed through a bitter period when freedom and fundamental human rights were violated. They were able to emerge from this dark period by their own efforts and of their own will, without any foreign interference. It is only logical, then, that we should demand the same rights for the Hungarian people in the name of universal solidarity.

89. That is why, from the first news of the Hungarian rising, the Argentine Government has given its emphatic support to the Hungarian people and has sought action by the United Nations; that is why it demands for the Hungarian people the right to choose their own destiny without foreign interference, and that is why it has offered generous assistance, within the limits of its capacity, in the form of food and medical supplies.

90. The Government of Argentina accordingly makes a profession of faith in the cause of liberty, justice, democracy and the right of self-determination, and asks the General Assembly to take decisive steps to ensure the safety of the Hungarian people. It likewise expresses its whole-hearted support for the draft resolution proposed by the United States delegation.

91. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): In its first statement at this session of the General Assembly, the Soviet delegation gave its reasons for opposing the inclusion of the item on the situation in Hungary in the agenda.

92. As we have already pointed out, this item has been included in the agenda of the Security Council and of this session of the General Assembly in violation of the United Nations Charter, and there are no grounds whatever for its discussion.

93. However, in view of the fact that the real situation and the course of events in Hungary have been distorted in the statements of the representative of the United States and of other delegations, the Soviet delegation feels obliged to dwell on some of the facts relating to the situation in Hungary.

94. The course of events in Hungary has shown that the Hungarian workers, who have made great strides under the popular democratic system, rightly raised the question of eliminating certain serious shortcomings in the economic organization of their country and of further promoting the material well-being of the population.

95. Like most, if not all countries, the Hungarian People's Republic has had and still has its own difficulties, its own unresolved problems, resulting from a variety of causes. There is no doubt, however, that the workers of Hungary can very quickly overcome these difficulties if no artificial obstacles are created.

96. Many facts show that the legitimate and progressive movement of the workers in Hungary was rapidly joined by the dark forces of reaction and counter-revolution, which tried to use the discontent of sectors of the workers to undermine the foundations of the popular democratic system in Hungary and to re-establish the former landowners' and capitalists' order. Counter-revolutionary elements, taking advantage of

the mistakes that had been made, using demagogical slogans and passing themselves off as fighters for freedom, tried to delude the working masses into following them. They took up arms against the legitimate government of the Hungarian People's Republic and succeeded in associating with their venture some of the Hungarian workers who had been deceived by their false propaganda.

97. The activities of the counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary, as is convincingly borne out by many facts, are to a great extent the result of the continuous subversive activities of the Western Powers, particularly the United States, against the popular democratic system. The examples we adduced in the Security Council make it abundantly clear that one of the guiding principles of United States policy is flagrant interference in the domestic affairs of the peoples' democracies and the instigation and financing of counter-revolutionary elements for subversive activities against the legitimate governments of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies, including Hungary.

98. I have already had an opportunity to draw attention to the existence in the United States of an unprecedented law, promulgated in 1951, called the Mutual Security Act, which openly proclaims that the United States Government undertakes to give administrative and financial support to spies and diversionists engaged in subversive activities against the Soviet Union, Hungary and the other peoples' democracies. It should also be noted that on 16 April 1956, only six months ago, the United States House of Representatives adopted a resolution containing an open appeal for the so-called liberation of the peoples' democracies, which cannot be interpreted as anything but an appeal by the United States for the forcible overthrow of the legitimate governments of those countries.

99. There can be no doubt that the activities of the reactionary forces in Hungary are also the result of lengthy subversion by the imperialistic Powers. The members of the former Arrow Cross movement and the Horthyists, entrenched in Western Germany and Austria, have been carrying on their activities with the support of generous funds from the imperialists. These funds were also used for a slanderous campaign against the Hungarian peoples' democracy, for sending many balloons with propagandist literature, for inflammatory radio broadcasts and for creating and strengthening a reactionary underground movement. It is these reactionary forces which committed unlawful acts in Hungary, destroyed the socialist enterprises set up by the labour of the people, sacked State and social institutions and newspaper publishing houses all last week, killed workers and carried out fierce reprisals against Hungarian Communists and progressive leaders.

100. At the request of the Hungarian People's Government, the Soviet Government agreed to send Soviet military forces to Budapest in order to help the Hungarian peoples' army and the Hungarian authorities to restore order in the city. On 25 October 1956, the Hungarian Government declared that the introduction of Soviet troops had become essential to the vital interests of our socialist system. Although the head of that government, Mr. Nagy, said that he recognized the danger presented by the counter-revolutionary instigators, as he called them, he in fact showed himself to be assisting those reactionary forces, and this, of course, was bound to aggravate the situation in Budapest and the whole country.

101. The Soviet Government, considering that the continued presence of Soviet armed forces in Hungary might serve as a pretext for an even further aggravation of the situation, ordered its military command to withdraw the Soviet troops from Budapest. Subsequent events showed, however, that the reactionary forces in Hungary had become bolder still, taking advantage of the open tolerance of Mr. Nagy's cabinet. The bloody terror unleashed against the workers assumed unprecedented proportions. In those circumstances, it became absolutely clear that Mr. Nagy could not and did not wish to fight against the dark forces of reaction. The Nagy government fell apart, and gave way before the anti-popular elements.

102. As a result, conditions in the country became chaotic. Industrial enterprises and railways came to a standstill. Various reactionary groups, masking themselves behind high-sounding names, alluring programmes and demagogical slogans, advanced their claims to power in the country. It is known, for example, that a group of Horthyist fascist elements has gathered at Győr and directs the activities of counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary.

103. This situation was clearly bound to arouse legitimate anxiety and concern among the real Hungarian patriots for the future of their country. On 4 November, a number of democratic Hungarian statesmen demanded the removal of the Nagy cabinet and took the government of the country into their own hands, forming a Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government. Four ministers of the former Nagy cabinet addressed an open letter to the Hungarian working people, as follows:

"We, Antal Apro, Janos Kadar, Istvan Kosa and Ferenc Munnich, former ministers in the Government of Imre Nagy, hereby declare that on 1 November 1956, having broken all relations with that government, we have resigned from it and have taken the initiative in establishing a Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government.

"We were prompted to take this serious step by the knowledge that, within the government of Imre Nagy, who fell under the influence of reactionaries and became inactive, we no longer had any means of resisting the counter-revolutionary danger, which is growing ever stronger and threatens to wipe out our Hungarian People's Republic, the power of the workers and peasants and our socialist achievements."

104. The new legitimate government of Hungary appealed to the Soviet troops which were in Hungary under the Warsaw Pact, for assistance in suppressing the counter-revolutionary elements which were trying to inflame the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary.

105. The most recent reports from Hungary show that order is beginning to be restored there and that the Hungarian workers support the removal of Mr. Nagy from power and the formation of the new Workers' and Peasants' Government.

106. Attempts have also been made here to give a distorted interpretation of the facts relating to the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary. As everyone knows, in the years which have elapsed since the Second World War close ties of friendship and co-operation in all spheres of life have been established between the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies, including Hungary. In the military sphere, an important foundation of the mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies is the Warsaw Pact, under

which the parties undertook certain military obligations, including that of taking any concerted action necessary for strengthening their capacity for defence in order to protect the peaceful work of their peoples, to guarantee the integrity of their frontiers and territories and to ensure defence against possible aggression.

107. The presence of Soviet forces in Hungary is determined by the provisions of the Warsaw Pact, and serves the general interests of the security of all the States parties to the pact. This was a response to the militarization of Western Germany and to the conclusion of military agreements of an aggressive kind between it and the United Kingdom, France and the United States.

108. It has been asserted here that the measures taken in Hungary against fascist elements constitute a violation of the human rights guaranteed under the Treaty of Peace with Hungary. We feel obliged to point out that these assertions are not only absolutely unfounded, but that the Hungarian Government, in taking measures to put an end to the criminal activities of counter-revolutionary elements, has acted in full conformity with article 4 of the Treaty of Peace, under which Hungary agreed not to allow the existence or operation of organizations of a fascist character pursuing the aim of depriving the Hungarian people of their democratic rights.

109. In the light of the facts to which I have referred, there can be no doubt as to the reason why the United States, the United Kingdom and France are determined at all costs to involve the United Nations in the discussion of the so-called Hungarian question, in spite of the protests of the legitimate Hungarian government, which has clearly stated in its communications to the Secretary-General that the interference of the United Nations in the domestic affairs of Hungary is inadmissible.

110. The attempts of the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and France to set themselves up as defenders of the rights of the Hungarian people are ludicrous, to say the least. There can be no doubt—and indeed, it is absolutely self-evident—that they are concerned not with the rights of the Hungarian people, but with the restoration of the former corrupt capitalist régime in Hungary. That is why they give every support to the anti-popular elements which are attacking the legitimate Hungarian government.

111. At the same time, by imposing on the General Assembly the discussion of the question of the situation in Hungary, in contravention of the United Nations Charter, the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and France are trying to distract the attention of international public opinion from the merciless suppression of popular movements directed towards national independence and democratic freedoms which is taking place in Algeria, Cyprus, Malaya and other parts of Africa and Asia.

112. Moreover, by bringing the question of the situation in Hungary before the United Nations, they are seeking, as we have already said, to create a smoke-screen in order to divert attention from the armed aggression undertaken by the United Kingdom and France against Egypt. It is not by accident that it is the United Kingdom, France and the United States which have been urging so insistently for a discussion of the Hungarian question in the General Assembly, just when the Assembly has before it the urgent task of taking effective and rapid steps to halt the British-French aggression in Egypt.

113. The situation in Hungary cannot and should not be discussed in the United Nations, since it is the domestic affair of the Hungarian people. The United Nations cannot interfere in the exercise by a people of their inalienable right to determine the future of their country and to defend their historic achievements against the blows dealt by fascist elements to the popular democratic system.

114. We have just heard a statement from Mr. Lodge. This statement can only be regarded as a direct incitement to the fascist elements in Hungary to continue their nefarious subversive activities against the Hungarian people and their legitimate government. This statement is an expression of the frenzied efforts of certain circles in the United States, now and in recent years, to tear Hungary away from the camp of socialism and democracy. But this attempt has been thwarted by the Hungarian people. The Hungarian People's Republic is living through a period which will have a decisive influence on its further development. The victory of the democratic forces, headed by the working class, ensures for Hungary real independence, full democratic freedoms for the whole people, and co-operation with other countries on the basis of the principles of equal rights and respect for national sovereignty.

115. I feel obliged to acquaint the Assembly with the programme of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, as it has just been announced on the radio:

"1. The unconditional safeguarding of the national independence and sovereignty of Hungary.

"2. The protection of the popular democratic socialist system in Hungary from all attacks, the protection of socialist achievements and further progress along the path of socialist construction.

"3. The cessation of internecine strife and the restoration of order and internal peace in Hungary. The Government will not allow any prosecution of workers for their participation in recent events.

"4. The establishment of fraternal, close and friendly relations with all socialist countries on the basis of complete equality and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs and of economic ties on the basis of mutual benefit and mutual assistance.

"5. Peaceful co-operation with all States, irrespective of their social systems and form of government.

"6. Prompt and considerable improvement in the standards of living of the workers, especially the working class.

"7. A revision of national economic plans, and changes in the administrative methods of conducting the economy, taking into account the national peculiarities of the country, in order that the standard of living of the population may be raised as rapidly as possible.

"8. The abolition of bureaucracy and the extensive development of democracy at all levels of the working population.

"9. Workers' management of all factories, plants and enterprises on a broadly democratic basis.

"10. Increase of agricultural production.

"11. Provision for democratic elections of local authorities and revolutionary councils.

"12. Support of small private industries and trade in rural and urban areas.

"13. The consistent development of Hungarian national culture on the basis of progressive tradition.

"14. The Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, acting in the interests of its people, its working class and its country, has addressed an appeal to the Soviet Command for assistance to the Hungarian people in curbing the dark forces of reaction and counter-revolution, restoring the popular socialist system and peace and order in the country.

"15. After order and peace have been restored in Hungary, the Hungarian Government will enter into negotiations with the Government of the Soviet Union and other participants in the Warsaw Pact on the question of the presence of the Soviet forces in Hungarian territory."

116. That is the programme of the new Hungarian government. The Hungarian people themselves must be given an opportunity to build up their State and to overcome the difficulties which have existed and still remain in their path. That is why the Soviet delegation will object emphatically to any attempts to impose on the Assembly any decision concerning the so-called Hungarian question, since such a decision would constitute interference in the domestic affairs of Hungary.

117. Mr. LEQUERICA (Spain) (*translated from Spanish*): I wish to say only a few words because I am as anxious as all of you that we should reach a decision quickly.

118. My delegation takes special pride in the fact that the Spanish Government was the first, on 27 October 1956, to address a protest to the Secretary-General [S/3695] against the invasion of Hungary by the Soviet armies and to seek action by the United Nations to safeguard the freedom of that country with so glorious a history.

119. In the past few days there were moments when the news reaching us about the Nagy government led us to harbour illusions and come to believe that Hungary had recovered its liberty. Today, after reading all the relevant information, we are left in no doubt whatever that that is not the case. We are left with even less doubt after hearing, as we did a few moments ago, the statement by the representative of the Soviet Union regarding the future programme of the Hungarian Government and how it will proceed.

120. We have just heard in the Soviet representative's statement, wrapped up in the usual claptrap about reactionaries, fascists, enemies of the people and so on, how the Hungarian bid for freedom has been violently crushed by Soviet troops and that there remains there only a puppet government whose programme has been described to us. I have never heard so bold and frank an admission of the use of violence to subjugate a country. Just as it was said on another occasion that "peace reigns in Warsaw", so today it might be said with the same tragic import that "peace reigns in Budapest".

121. The Government I represent demands action by the United Nations to deliver the Hungarian people from such monstrous tyranny. We are not discussing the political aspects of the Soviet form of government, nor are we concerning ourselves with the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union, for we believe that it would not be a wise course, but rather a threat or almost, we might say, a policy of colonialism or imperialism, to persist in discussing the internal organization of any particular country, but we do protest against what is clearly violent military intervention in a free European country that is now being subjected to tremendous persecution and being put to bloody sacrifice.

122. Hungary has a history and a tradition of independence going back to long before the United States Congress voted millions of dollars for propaganda against Hungary's "freedom" and "independence". Hungary has for many centuries been one of the centres of civilization and one of the bastions against a thousand tremendous onslaughts. As Mr. Belaúnde said, in his moving statement, Hungary is a country which has contributed much to the intellectual and spiritual life of Europe. Today, when we see its sufferings, our heart goes out to this country, and we hope for the ardent support of the United Nations to free it from all those charming plans for its future organization as a workers' democracy about which the representative of the USSR, the Power that is occupying Hungary, has just told us, thereby confirming the violence that is even now being carried out.

123. I, a Spaniard, know what those sweet words mean; I have seen 8,000 priests and thirteen bishops and hundreds of thousands of other persons die at the hands of the cunning organization that is today occupying Hungary. I therefore make bold to raise my voice vigorously at this time to urge whole-hearted support for the United States draft resolution. Let none of us, in particular let none of those people who have recently been exposed to the dangerous temptation to do so, be attracted by the argument that here is a smoke-screen to prevent the United Nations from taking action in other parts of the world where, too, there may be injustice calling for redress. Yesterday we were so deceived, and the day before too. Today at last we are giving the matter our attention, but we must not allow ourselves to be led astray by this alleged incompatibility or by the temptation to abandon the Hungarian people who are at this moment being persecuted in a manner that is a mockery and a scandal to all the civilized nations of the world. The United States draft resolution on this matter seems to me to be an excellent one, and I welcome its strong and resolute terms.

124. I would venture to suggest that perhaps this draft resolution does not go far enough, and that perhaps, if other countries agree, as I am sure they will, to receiving not only United Nations observers but even United Nations armed forces, then we might consider whether it might not be possible, if that democracy and freedom of which the Soviet representative has spoken really exist, also to send United Nations forces to Hungary in order to separate the fighting forces from each other and the invaders from the invaded. I am not putting this forward as a proposal, but I think that in all its aspects and implications it is worthy of our vote and that it would be a positive contribution towards the liberation of this religious country, this sister nation, which has been united with mine over the centuries by so many historical bonds and which is now suffering a dreadful persecution.

125. Mr. PEARSON (Canada): Notwithstanding the words of the Soviet representative, in the past twenty-four hours we have witnessed in Hungary one of the greatest and grimmest betrayals in history. This is a sad and desolate moment for all who have been striving for the extension of freedom and justice throughout the world.

126. It is first of all and above all the people of Hungary who have been betrayed—the students, the peasants, the workers, whom the Soviet Union so frequently professes to champion.

127. For ten years all the resources of a great empire have been used to weaken and destroy the feeling for

national and personal freedom in Hungary and the other countries of Eastern Europe on which Communist régimes were imposed after the Second World War by foreign forces. But events in Hungary and elsewhere have dramatically revealed the results of these ten years of suppression and indoctrination to be failure, often concealed behind a smiling façade of propaganda, but failure.

128. In Hungary the mask of a people's democracy was stripped away and the might of the monolithic unity of the Communist empire was destroyed. For, with incredible courage, the Hungarian people proved once again that man once free will never finally accept oppression and slavery, even though he may be forced to submit to it for long periods. Armed at first only with burning patriotism and a dauntless spirit, the plain people of Hungary rose against their oppressors, and the world watched the struggle hopefully.

129. The new head of the Government, Imre Nagy, promised free elections, the abolition of the secret police and negotiations for the withdrawal of foreign troops. It seemed only a few days ago that the resolution and the sacrifices of these men and women would yield them freedom at last and bring them a government of their own choice. It was the dawn of a new day. The people had risen and their will was to prevail, or so we thought and hoped. And then came the great betrayal.

130. At the very time at which we were told that negotiations were beginning between Soviet and Hungarian military leaders for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary, the Soviet Union was moving large new forces into position in Hungary, where they could stamp out the rising flame of freedom and reimpose a ruthless and savage oppression. As the Soviet representative put it, "the Nagy government fell apart".

131. The Soviet Union's shameless disregard of its obligations under the Charter by its armed intervention has, however, done more than kill Hungarians. It has betrayed the principles and ideals of our United Nations.

132. We have heard a great deal in recent days from the representative of the Soviet Union about the iniquities of aggression, the unpardonable sin of force exerted by large countries upon small countries in order to bend them to the imperialist will, as he put it. There is no need for me to dwell now on the hypocrisy of the Soviet concern for one small nation when its own tanks and bombers are compelling an even smaller nation, which had briefly but gloriously raised its head, to put on the chains again.

133. The Soviet representative has made the parallel between the situation in Egypt and the situation in Hungary. I would reply, first, that the United Nations should judge each situation on its merits. But I would reply also that there is no parallel between the intentions of free democratic nations with a long history of respect for the rights of other nations, and those of a dictatorial régime, which has not shown the slightest understanding of international collaboration or consideration for the rights of others.

134. That difference is, I think, very clearly revealed in the present situations. The Governments of the United Kingdom and France have stated firmly and publicly that they are prepared to hand over what they claim to be solely their police role to a United Nations force, a force we are now trying to organize. It is quite true that there remain differences between the

British and the French on the one hand and a majority of the Assembly on the other, on the conditions in which this transfer can take place. Nevertheless, a transfer has been accepted as necessary and desirable and a promise has been given that it will take place.

135. Will the Soviet Union give us the same promise with respect to the military operations now going on against Hungary? I put this question directly to the Soviet representative. He has told us that his Government has intervened in Hungary for a purpose, and that this purpose is ostensibly to protect the interests of the Hungarian people themselves. He wants, so he says, to protect the Hungarian people from a reactionary fascist clique. No one in this Assembly has any desire whatsoever to see the long-suffering Hungarian people delivered from the tyranny of one clique into that of another. All we ask in the United States draft resolution is to let them form the kind of free national government that they want. And how can this be done best? Surely by an impartial and disinterested international authority which can hold the ring and enable all the Hungarian people, without fear or danger of reprisal, to establish a free and democratic government of their own choice.

136. So we now have before us a proposal, sponsored by the United States delegation, that the Secretary-General should investigate the situation for this purpose. Where else can such an authority come from than from the United Nations? Will the Soviet Government recognize this? If not, why not?

137. Yesterday, my Government proposed the intervention of a United Nations force for peaceful purposes in the Middle East, and that proposal secured the overwhelming majority of this Assembly [563rd meeting]. No single vote was cast against it. Why should we not now establish a United Nations mission or United Nations supervisory machinery of an appropriate kind for the situation in Hungary?

138. So I ask the Soviet Union to accept this chance, perhaps this last chance, to prove its good faith to the world. And it is not only the Hungarian people who will be the victims of a refusal. It is a Soviet claim, very often repeated, to be the only true champion of peaceful coexistence, the only real foe of imperialism, the opponent of colonialism. But if the Soviet Union refuses this proposal for a United Nations investigation and examination of conditions in Hungary, never again, surely, will it be able to talk about colonial oppression or imperialism except in terms of the most blatant hypocrisy, and recognized by everyone now as such.

139. I suggest that this is also a chance, perhaps the last chance, for the Soviet Union to show that its collective security system in Eastern Europe is something more than a collection of master and satellites. In this respect, what a contrast it is to an association of free States, banded together on a basis of free co-operation, any one of which can withdraw from the association at any time. But the Soviet system, its collective system, its camp of socialism, as it calls it, if the Soviet Union persists in this aggressive intervention in Hungary, surely stands exposed for all the world to see as resting on nothing but brute force and despotic control.

140. We owe it to the people of Hungary, we owe it to the United Nations, and we owe it to freedom, to condemn in the strongest terms what we know has happened, and to investigate, through the United Nations, what is happening now. Surely no single member of this Assembly will refuse to join in that condemna-

tion and in the request for this investigation. Perhaps at this moment we cannot do more; but surely we cannot do less.

141. Mr. VITETTI (Italy): It is with deep emotion that I take the floor today in an attempt to interpret to you the feelings of the Italian people and of the Italian Government in this tragic moment in the history of Europe. The tragedy of Hungary is our tragedy. The brutal violence exercised by Soviet troops against the Hungarian people is a brutal violence exercised against all of us.

142. The offence to civil and human rights perpetrated by Soviet troops in Hungary is an offence to our people, to our principles and to our rights. Hungarian workers, peasants and students massacred in Budapest are not dying for Hungary; they are dying for a cause which is our cause.

143. When, two nights ago, I raised my voice in this Assembly [562nd meeting] to demand that the United Nations take immediately whatever possible action it could on the intervention of Soviet armed forces in Hungary and respond to the desperate appeal of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, events had not been precipitated as they are now. But they could have been foreseen.

144. The Italian people, in an outburst of popular indignation, were aware, from the very first days and the very first news over a week ago, of what was happening and what was coming. The numerous demonstrations all over Italy in protest against Soviet action were the expression of a sentiment which was clear in our minds, namely, that in Hungary a battle had started which the Hungarians were fighting for all of us. This sentiment was voiced by our Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Martino, when he spoke in Parliament on 26 October 1956 and protested against foreign intervention and against the fact that the blood of Hungarian workers and students had been shed in one of the most tragic examples of repression in the history of Europe.

145. Meanwhile, the Hungarian situation has reached the peak of the drama, and we have witnessed the most appalling things. While, on 30 October, the Moscow radio broadcast that the Soviet Government had instructed its military command to withdraw the Soviet army units from Budapest as soon as that was considered by the Hungarian Government to be necessary, and while at the same time the Soviet Government began to make ready to enter into negotiations with the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic on the question of the presence of Soviet troops on Hungarian territory, the massacre of the Hungarians was being prepared. Under the pretext and behind the smoke-screen of negotiations, the Soviet authorities were only trying to deceive the Hungarians and the whole world and to hinder the action of the United Nations. While assurances were being given yesterday in the Security Council, Soviet tanks and guns were already firing against the Hungarian workers. This was not only a violation of a principle of law, but also a breach of faith.

146. We have often heard from Soviet sources that peace and coexistence demand an atmosphere of mutual trust. What an example of good faith has been given in the last few days! What a subject for meditation for any one who might be tempted to trust the word, the promises, the assurances of the Soviet Union Government! Today, Hungary; and who is next?

147. I am not going now into the facts which have been so admirably exposed by many of the representa-

tives who have preceded me at the rostrum, nor into the legal side, which has been so well explained by the representative of Peru. The violation of treaties is clear, evident, unanswerable. The violation of moral law is deeper. It is a long and sad experience, one of the saddest experiences of human history, that no legal system, no matter how technically perfect, can resist if it is not supported by respect for moral law. Not only treaties have been broken; the moral law has been broken.

148. We are now told the usual story by the Soviet delegation; the story of the plots of capitalists, of exiles, reactionaries and foreign agents. The real plot in Hungary was a plot of oppression, of starvation and of tyranny. We also hear of the horrible Americans who have sent messages and pamphlets to the Hungarian people. How cruel, how dangerous of the Americans to send messages and pamphlets for the Hungarian workers! How humane, on the part of the Soviet Government, to send bullets into the chests of the Hungarian workers!

149. The representative of the Soviet Union spoke the other evening of order; he said that certain counter-revolutionary elements had tried, in the capital of Hungary and in the provinces, to violate the order which had been established. The word "order" has an ancient significance in the history of foreign intervention. We know very well in Italy, and have known for centuries, foreign armies coming to restore order in our country. We know that when the Poles rebelled against tsarist rule, order was restored in Warsaw. When, in 1849, the Hungarians rebelled against the Austrian Emperor, the Tsar sent troops to restore order. We know what kind of order that is. Kant called it the order of the cemetery.

150. I have read the text draft resolution presented by the United States delegation. On instructions from my Government, I had prepared a text which is so similar to the one before us that I do not see any necessity to present it too. I fully support the United States draft resolution. I do not think that we can do less, as Mr. Pearson so rightly said, than approve this text. I fully share the views expressed by the representative of Canada, especially his last words: "We cannot do less."

151. As I entered this building, I saw a group of Hungarians bearing a Hungarian flag veiled with black ribbon. We should put a black ribbon on all our flags if we closed our ears and our hearts to the desperate cry which comes from a dying people in its final struggle for freedom, and passively assisted at the spectacle of the Soviet troops in Hungary finishing off their victims. What are we going to say to the Hungarian people?

152. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) (*translated from Spanish*): The delegation of the Dominican Republic comes before the General Assembly to protest vehemently against the violation of human rights, the fundamental principles of democracy and the rights inherent in sovereignty which have been and are being perpetrated today by the Communists of the Kremlin against the people of Hungary. At this very moment the Hungarian people are fighting for their inalienable rights and, with a deep sense of their responsibility, adding new pages to the tales of heroism handed down as part of the rich legacy of Hungarian history.

153. This protest is the confirmation of the protest submitted on 30 October to the Security Council by the delegation of the Dominican Republic [S/3714]

when at the request of the United States, the United Kingdom and France, the Council decided to consider the distressing events resulting from repression, events which had raised great hopes when it seemed that liberty would triumph.

154. When we admitted Hungary to the United Nations, we did not imagine that before very long Hungary would be appealing to us to carry out the imperative duty of supporting it in its fight for freedom, for liberation from Soviet tyranny, for entry into the family of free peoples under the ancient banner of peaceful and glorious coexistence and its deep attachment to Christian tradition and the mystical heritage of St. Stephen.

155. The spectacle of the youth of Hungary carrying the flag without the Soviet star filled us with admiration, and from one end of the earth to the other sounded hymns of hope which reached the shores of the Danube, rising over the Carpathian heights, uniting hearts in sympathy with that prodigious gesture, a gesture even more glorious than that which stirred the hearts of the descendants of Casimir and Kosciuszko.

156. This movement seemed to be the harbinger of a new light and a new life; but the cunning and treachery of the Soviet Communists held a rude awakening in store for us. Hopes have been dashed, and in their place we have the black situation of today—worse than tragedy, a clear revelation of the relentless policy of the Soviet Union, deadly and horrifying, which ruthlessly imposes Soviet domination by brute force, crime and coercion.

157. The Dominican Republic protests against the armed intervention of the Soviet Union. In affirmation of this, the Dominican Congress a short time ago adopted a joint resolution appealing to all the legislatures of the free world to support the hundreds of thousands of human beings who are now making an historic gesture risking their lives and fortunes, their present and their future, in the cause of independence.

158. The Hungarian people rose as one man against the government imposed by Moscow. When the liberators threatened to depose the new régime, Soviet military forces illegally stationed in Hungary intervened with characteristic ruthlessness and brutality, massacring innocent citizens and groups of peaceful demonstrators, whose only weapon was the sacred emblem of Hungary. This Christian nation was subjected to the most merciless bombing for hours on end and suffered the most diabolically cruel repressive measures in the annals of crime.

159. The main reason for our intervention is that in the Dominican Republic we have groups of Hungarians living peacefully in our midst, citizens who have been obliged to flee from their native land to live in our country, under the protection of our laws which guarantee them the right to work and the enjoyment of the other social rights. Thus the spirit of Hungary remains unchanged, in spite of the tremendous psychological pressure exerted by the Soviet Union. They came to our country, as they came to other shores and settled in other American countries, seeking peace and quiet, and the right atmosphere in which to reconstruct their lives and revive their spirits. Today we extend to them the sympathy of the Government of the Dominican Republic and the admiration of our people, crystallized in the measures taken by Congress and the repeated statements and warnings on the Marxist peril by Mr. Trujillo, the champion

of this policy of asylum and the open door to the victims of Communist persecution.

160. Side by side with this group of Hungarians, who have become part of the family of the Dominican Republic, we have other Central Europeans who have never forgotten the traditions of their distant fatherland, their pledge to serve its freedom, and their anti-communist feelings, which the false and cruel policy of the Kremlin helps to deepen and strengthen.

161. The Dominican Republic congratulates the Latin American countries, representatives of our continent of peace and hope, which in the early hours of the morning took so impressive a stand in the Security Council on behalf of a whole community united in the face of the tragic spectacle of Budapest and of Hungary.

162. At the same time, we feel deeply moved by the firm position which the United States has taken up with regard to Hungary and by its continued guidance towards enlightened democracy. Such, no doubt, were the reasons which induced the majority in the Security Council to convene this session of the Assembly to consider, while the blood of patriots is flowing on the shores of the Danube, the tragic sequel to the Hungarian people's aspirations towards human freedom and independence.

163. The delegation of the Dominican Republic will associate itself with any action to promote the independence of Hungary and its emergence into the free world. That is the feeling of our Government, our Congress and our people, and we have no hesitation in supporting the proposal recently introduced by the delegation of the United States. And meanwhile, let us keep up our hopes and have an unequivocal vote so that we may see the triumph in Hungary of right and justice, freedom and independence, the twin symbols of the United Nations Charter, the light of the free peoples, the eternal flame which burns in the hearts of those of us who have faith in God and in our destiny.

164. Mr. PALAMAS (Greece): I am bound to express the deep sorrow and regret of the Greek delegation at the turn of events in Hungary. We had sincerely hoped that the leaders of the Soviet Union, in conformity with what was expected to be a new line in the policy of their great country towards other nations and peoples, would have seen their way to conciliate their national interests with the feelings and aspirations of the Hungarian people. We now realize that, unhappily, this has not been the case.

165. The uprisings in Hungary, whatever names we may call them—names do not change facts—express a genuine popular feeling for freedom and independence. It is true that they did not express it through lawful channels, but in Hungary there were no such channels for the expression of public opinion. We understand that what Mr. Nagy's government had been compelled to promise were free elections, and this is a lawful way for the people to express their will. Instead of that, Soviet forces have been used to overthrow the Hungarian Government.

166. The hopes of the Hungarian people striving for freedom and independence are fading away. For a powerful country, the resort to force seems to be the easiest way of solving problems and coping with difficulties, but that which is easiest is not always either the best or the most efficient. Violence has never been a wise approach to international problems, and in the era of the United Nations this approach is all the more to be condemned. Greece has always stood

against the use of violence whenever the alternative to violence was lawful action or conciliation.

167. A few days ago we voted for a resolution aiming at cessation of violence in the Middle East. If violence is bad when used against the Egyptians, it cannot be good when used against the Hungarians. We can very well see that the Soviet Union has important interests to defend in Eastern Europe, but who can deny that the British and the French also have important interests in the Middle East? Still, we all agreed that the resort to force was not the proper way to deal with the situation existing in that region.

168. Our submission is that Soviet interests could have been conciliated with Hungarian freedom and independence, and we earnestly hope that henceforth this course of action will be followed by the Soviet Union, because what the Soviet Union is risking to lose in the world is far more valuable than the gains it is trying to secure through violence in Hungary.

169. It is only natural that we should now feel more pessimistic than ever before about our world's future. Three of the great Powers of this world have embarked on policies in total disregard of the Charter. In the present instance, the United States may feel that it is isolated in its idealistic and honest attitude. In fact, it is not. All the small and law-abiding countries of the world are standing by its side. We hope that some day all will join in a common effort to build up a better world. But, for the time being, we must recognize that never since the end of the last war has the world situation been so bad, so heavily fraught with danger and insecurity, because what we call the crisis of the Middle East and the Crisis of Eastern Europe are turning into a major crisis for the United Nations.

170. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): The United Nations has found itself during these last few days in an extraordinary position, which must, I think, cause all of us the greatest uneasiness. On two different problems, each of great importance, the majority of Members—both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly—has found itself in opposition to the actions of permanent members of the Security Council. As the representative here of one of the Governments concerned, I can assure my colleagues that the difference that has arisen between the United Nations and my Government has caused my Government very great concern.

171. The news of the Soviet attack on Budapest reached us early this morning. Reports of heavy fighting have continued to come in all day. These developments are known to all—though not, I fear, in all their terrible detail. My own information on the situation in Hungary—and I will give it briefly—is as follows:

172. At 8 o'clock this morning, local time, the commander of the Soviet troops in Budapest issued an ultimatum to the Hungarian Government, demanding its capitulation before 12 noon. Failing that, the city would be bombed. By 4 p.m. local time, there were reports that Soviet planes were bombing at least one area of Budapest.

173. The same report stated that Soviet troops had taken control of all key points in the city, but heavy firing continued in all areas. The Hungarian Red Cross headquarters was under heavy fire. Heavy mortar fire continued throughout the day. I have received a report from Her Majesty's Legation in Budapest

which reads: "It is now noon and, as a precaution, we have descended to the cellar."

174. In addition to the reports on the fighting, there were also reports that house-to-house searches were being made by Soviet troops for nationalist leaders, and it now seems that the leaders of the Hungarian Government which was set up yesterday under Mr. Nagy's premiership are in Soviet hands.

175. These reports make it clear that the Soviet attack was intended to crush the Hungarian people and their government and to impose a puppet government. In his speech this afternoon, the Soviet Union representative has now made it clear that such a puppet régime has in fact been set up.

176. We ought perhaps for a moment to consider the justification which the Soviet Government has attempted to put forward for this action. Today's issue of *Pravda* states that the Hungarian Prime Minister, Mr. Nagy, was "unable and unwilling to carry on the struggle against the black forces of reaction which have established a reign of bloody terror with his connivance." *Pravda* then goes on to say:

"If the forces of reaction prevail, Hungary will lose her independence and become a pawn in the international machinations of aggressive imperialists."

177. It is clear that, in the eyes of the Soviet Government, Mr. Nagy's principal crime is that he asserted Hungary's independence from the Soviet Union, that he proclaimed Hungary's neutrality, that he demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian soil and, furthermore, that he appealed to the Security Council of the United Nations to help in bringing about these objectives.

178. We all know what has been the fate of the negotiations which started a day ago between the Hungarian Government of Mr. Nagy and the Soviet Government.

179. The representative of Australia last night in the Security Council [754th meeting] gave us the report that two officers who had been negotiating with the Soviet commander were captives in Soviet hands.

180. The Hungarian Government has been deposed because it asserted the independence of Hungary, and the new government will be no more than the puppet of the Soviet Government. It is the earnest hope of my Government that the General Assembly will bear in mind the appeals which have been addressed to the United Nations and refuse to accord recognition to this new régime.

181. In his speech this afternoon, the Soviet representative has again compared—as he did in the Security Council earlier today—the intervention of Hungary and the events which are now taking place in the Middle East. I will only say again very briefly, that there is no comparison. Even before the full-scale invasion of Hungary which has just started, Soviet troops had interfered in the internal affairs of Hungary to repress the people of Hungary in their struggle to assert their rights. The action of the United Kingdom and France in Egypt is none of these things. It is intended to stop the spread of war in the Middle East and to restore international law and order.

182. Furthermore, I feel obliged to point out that Her Majesty's Government and the French Government have supported a proposal that a United Nations force should take over the task of keeping the peace in the area of the Middle East in which fighting has been taking place. I hope the Soviet Government—and, to the

extent to which it is permitted to express its will, the Hungarian Government—will be prepared to accept similar United Nations mission.

183. The first necessity is to secure an end to the bloodshed, to the carnage, in Hungary. With this end in view, I would urge the Assembly to call for an immediate cease-fire by Soviet land and air forces in Hungary and the withdrawal of all Soviet troops.

184. This would be only the first step. Our ultimate aim must be to secure to the Hungarian people the exercise of the rights which they have been guaranteed both by the Charter and by the Peace Treaty of 1947 between the Government of Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers. Article 2 is short and it is relevant. Paragraph 1 of the article reads:

"Hungary shall take all measures necessary to secure to all persons under Hungarian jurisdiction, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, the enjoyment of human rights and of the fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression, of Press and publication, of religious worship, of political opinion and of public meeting."

185. Furthermore, the Hungarian people must have the right to choose their own government by means of free elections.

186. This Assembly should also, in my view, accord formal recognition to Hungary's new-found independence. We recall that Mr. Nagy has twice declared the Hungarian Government's intention to establish the neutrality of his country. In a statement in the House of Commons yesterday, the British Foreign Secretary has welcomed this declaration on behalf of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. I therefore urge that, in addition to calling for an immediate cease-fire, the Assembly should forthwith meet Hungary's request for the recognition of the neutrality which it has proclaimed.

187. I give my full support to the draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation and in conclusion I would say that our word from this place will not go out in vain to the gallant Hungarian people, and it will, I trust, give them renewed hope in their heroic struggle for independence and liberty.

188. Mr. VAN LANGENHOVE (Belgium) (*translated from French*): In order to save the time of the Assembly, the representatives of the Netherlands and Luxembourg have asked me to express the views shared by our three delegations.

189. There is no need to recall in detail the events which led to the convening of this second emergency special session of the General Assembly. We all have them in mind. But it may be of some use to stress their significance.

190. Last Sunday, 28 October 1956, exactly one week ago, the Security Council was urgently convened [746th meeting]: Budapest had just become the scene of great bloodshed, which had spread to large areas of the country. Unarmed demonstrators had been mercilessly machine-gunned; Hungarian patriots, fighting for their independence, were engaged in a desperate struggle against heavily armed Soviet troops, and there had been such general support for this struggle that Hungary seemed on the point of recovering its full independence.

191. The representative of the Soviet Union denied the competence of the Security Council, to deal with this question, alleging, as he has alleged here, that this was an internal matter. The new government

brought to power by the insurrection gave the lie to his allegation by itself requesting United Nations assistance.

192. The representative of the Soviet Union nevertheless maintained that these were criminal activities on the part of counter-revolutionary elements. The Hungarian Government, once more, showed his assertion to be false by stating that, on the contrary, the insurrection had been set in motion by spontaneous and uncontrollable forces uniting the whole nation.

193. On 1 and 2 November, the Hungarian Government approached the United Nations Secretary-General [A/3251 and S/3726]: it strongly protested against the entry into the country of more Soviet troops. It called for the immediate evacuation of the Soviet troops, proclaimed Hungarian neutrality and asked the United Nations to defend it.

194. The day before yesterday, it drew the attention of the Security Council to the latest reports it had received: large Soviet forces, moving from east to west, were marching on Budapest and occupying the railway lines and railway stations.

195. It was in these circumstances that the Security Council met yesterday afternoon [753rd meeting]. The only information which the Council obtained from the representative of the Soviet Union at that meeting was that negotiations concerning the evacuation of Soviet troops were in progress. Nevertheless, it became increasingly clear from the reports that the Soviet Union was concentrating in Hungary powerful armed forces, which were occupying the aerodromes and encircling Budapest.

196. The fears expressed by several members of the Council soon proved to be only too well founded, and we still feel the shock of the tragic events of last night. While the negotiations for their withdrawal were going on, the Soviet forces launched a full-scale attack. Over the radio, the Hungarian Government made its last desperate appeals; its voice was soon to be silenced.

197. The Security Council met immediately. It was a matter of urgency to adopt a resolution calling on the Soviet Union to desist forthwith from its armed attack and withdraw from Hungary. The draft resolution was put to the vote without delay. The only negative vote was that of the Soviet representative, who blocked it by once again using the veto.

198. All the members of the Council, with the single exception of the Soviet representative, felt that, as the Council was now paralysed, it was for the General Assembly to act.

199. The Council was careful to request [S/3733] that the item should be placed on the agenda of a separate special session of the General Assembly and not on that of the special session which had already been convened. Thus, in spite of what the representative of the Soviet Union tried to suggest or insinuate just now, it cannot be said that this is a diversion from the item being considered by the first special session. There are two separate questions, submitted to two separate sessions. Furthermore, if anyone has created a diversion, it is the Soviet Union, by yesterday's brutal attack.

200. The important issues before the General Assembly are simple. May a Member State of our Organization have recourse to threats or to the use of force against the political independence of a State? The Charter says it may not. May a Member State violate the principle of self-determination in its international relations? The Charter says it may not. May a Member

State interfere in the domestic affairs of another State? Here again the answer is that it may not.

201. The duty of the United Nations is to see that these principles are not violated, and that is the aim of the draft resolution [A/3286] before us.

202. We have no objection whatsoever if Hungary maintains friendly relations with the Soviet Union, provided that it does so of its own free will. Neither have we any objection to its being Communist, provided that it is so of its own free will. We have no objection if Hungary remains a party to the Warsaw pact, to which the representative of the Soviet Union referred—but once again, provided that it does so of its own free will.

203. In a word, the question is whether a Member of our Organization may trample the fundamental principles of the Charter underfoot. I am sure that the General Assembly will say that it may not.

204. Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand): We have now turned from the situation in the Middle East, which is grave, to the situation in Hungary, which is tragic.

205. My country promptly supported the initial reference of the Hungarian question to the Security Council. We undertook, last night, to contribute to a suitably constituted United Nations peace force for the Middle East. New Zealand cannot be said to have shown indifference to either question. But the fact that these two crises have coincided in time, and that both involve the exercise of force, should not be permitted to obscure the fundamental differences between them.

206. In the Middle East, France and the United Kingdom have intervened with the announced intention of stopping a conflict between two combatant nations close to a vital international waterway. They have undertaken to cease their intervention as soon as the United Nations is in a position itself to act effectively. In Hungary, the Soviet Union has crudely and cruelly intervened to suppress the heroic attempts of the Hungarian people to free themselves from the Soviet yoke. In the Middle East, France and the United Kingdom have done what they believe to be right. In Hungary, the Soviet Union has done what it knows to be wrong. That is proved, I believe, by the record of the denials and evasions of the Soviet Union representative in the Security Council—denials and evasions which, as they were being uttered, were exposed as such by events. And behind the flames now engulfing the stricken city of Budapest stands the sinister giant of the totalitarian Soviet Union.

207. In the light of these considerations, it might have been expected that Member States outside the Soviet orbit would have been prepared to give at least equal priority, as suggested by the United States, to the two crises; to speak and act at least as sternly as they have shown themselves all too ready to speak and act against the United Kingdom and France.

208. I regret to say that certain countries have shown no such disposition. I feel bound to express my belief that, when events have fallen into the perspective of history, those countries will have little cause to be satisfied with the contrast in their attitudes to the two crises. There will be little cause for rejoicing in the fact that yesterday, even while the Nagy government was being overthrown and the streets of Budapest were echoing to the thunder of Soviet bombardment, the Security Council was forced in to a procedural wrangle on a motion for adjournment proposed by a country

which is a neighbour of Hungary and which itself has had first-hand experience of the Soviet yoke.

209. There will be even less reason for satisfaction if the General Assembly does not reach a decision promptly today—even though it may already be too late. It may be too late for Hungary for the time being. If, however—even after the event—the Assembly were to protest in anything but the strongest terms, if the world's anger at this cynical and ruthless exercise of Soviet power were not made crystal clear, who would it be tomorrow, and who the day after that? Will not these cruel measures in Hungary have struck terror into the hearts of all the inhabitants of all the satellite countries?

210. Yet I hesitate to believe that even the Soviet Union, callous and indifferent to world opinion as it has shown itself to be, will feel able—in the teeth of the Assembly—to reinstitute, or at any rate keep in power for long, in Hungary, a police régime on the old satellite pattern. I do not believe that the Soviet Union would dare to reverse the movement towards greater independence in Poland. I do not believe that, in the long run, the spirit of freedom in Hungary can be extinguished even by Soviet tanks.

211. The Soviet Union has done itself grave harm by the events of the last few days. I am sure that its mass cruelties in Hungary will have outraged the feelings of all decent men, not only in Europe and on this continent, but also in Asia and Africa. Condemnation at the bar of world public opinion is something that not even the Soviet Union can ignore or flout.

212. Mr. SARPÉR (Turkey): When this question was being discussed in the Security Council on 28 October 1956, upon instructions from my Government I presented to the Secretary-General a letter [S/3696] in which I said that the Government of Turkey "fully endorses the action initiated by the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States by bringing that matter to the attention of the Security Council".

213. Now it is with an anguished heart that I come to this rostrum to associate myself once again with other representatives who have raised their voices in defence of a people in agony, the Hungarian people, whose lament for liberty is being choked in blood and flame.

214. What do the Hungarian people want, after all? They say: "Leave us alone. Remove this yoke from our necks and let us live our own way of life". What was the answer to this pathetic plea? Only yesterday we heard that negotiations were about to start between the Soviet military authorities and the Hungarian Government, with the aim of making arrangements for the withdrawal of the forces of occupation. We know now that these rumours about so-called "negotiations" were deliberately spread with the purpose actually of gaining a few more hours to complete military preparations to deal the merciless blow which finally destroyed the last vestiges of liberty and independence in Hungary.

215. To put a finishing touch of perfection to this hideous monument of cynicism, last night the representative of the Soviet Union delivered a speech from this rostrum in which he used words such as "freedom", "independence" and so on, and this at the very moment when the forces of occupation in Hungary were destroying the freedoms, liberties and independence of the Hungarian people.

216. It will be realized sooner or later by everybody, including the Soviet Union, that what it has done in Hungary is, to say the least, a political mistake and an enormous mistake. It was a mistake because it is far more profitable to establish bonds of friendship with an entire people than with a puppet government. The Soviet Union had a good chance of establishing first normal and then friendly relations with the Hungarian people by considering with sympathy their yearning for freedom and independence. This invaluable opportunity is lost. Now hatred will take the place of what would eventually have been affection in every Hungarian heart, and mutual distrust will render co-operation impossible for a long time to come.

217. Is it now too late to redress this deplorable wrong? The key to that problem is in the hands of the Soviet Union. Tanks and guns can open the gates of a city, but they are quite powerless when the question is to conquer the hearts and minds of human beings. I realize perfectly well that ideas such as these are met with mockery in some quarters, but does not the fact that tens of thousands of almost unarmed men and women, workers and students—think of Soviet soldiers opening fire on simple workers—sacrificed their lives for freedom mean anything to those who think they can wipe out liberty from the face of this globe?

218. As to this emergency special session of the General Assembly, I think the very least we can do is to adopt the draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation by an overwhelming majority, and hope that the weight of public opinion will make itself felt with those who can put an end to this situation if they want to.

219. Mr. ESKELUND (Denmark): The tragic events in Hungary have stirred up the strongest feelings of sorrow and indignation all over the world. These feelings, I am sure, are shared even in those countries where people are not free to express their feelings. They are shared also in very many countries which have within the last decade acquired their freedom and independence.

220. My Government and the whole Danish people view with every feeling of sympathy the heroic fight for freedom and independence which these crucial weeks have seen in Hungary. We feel that no foreign Power has the right to suppress the people of any country, or to deprive it of its sovereignty and its inherent right to self-government, to independence and to the freedom to be the master of its own destiny.

221. One representative tried to defend what has been and is still happening in Hungary by enumerating what he termed the evil deeds of others in the past or in the present. I do not feel that even the evil-doing of any other man gives to anyone else the moral right to commit evil deeds, so that reasoning left me cold and completely uninterested.

222. May I finally mention five high and exalted principles which many people feel should guide the behaviour of countries, of nations and of governments towards each other. They are indeed well known everywhere. They are, first, mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty; secondly, non-aggression; thirdly, non-interference in each other's internal affairs; fourthly, equality and full reciprocity; fifthly, peaceful coexistence. There is no necessity to comment further. Each of these five well-known principles speaks eloquently for itself. My Government feels that the United Nations is indeed the place to deal with the

situation in Hungary. The United States draft resolution will receive our vote.

223. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*translated from French*): World opinion has been profoundly shocked and angered, and I am sure those feelings are shared by this Assembly, which represents the conscience of the world.

224. I do not intend to recall here the chronological sequence of the events we have witnessed during the past week. The various statements made here today, as well as those made in the Security Council during the last six days, have provided enough information to give us a clear picture.

225. What is going on? During the last week, the Soviet Union first prepared and then, yesterday, perpetrated one of the most heinous crimes in the history of any Government. It has, in cold blood, had recourse to lying and trickery to give the impression that a movement of liberalization had begun, and it has done this so it might subsequently all the more easily crush the true defenders of liberty.

226. These defenders of liberty are the whole heroic Hungarian people who, united regardless of party or class, and numbering among them the most convinced of the Hungarian Communists, demonstrated, at first without weapons, that they had enough of the régime imposed on them from abroad since the end of the last world war.

227. The insurrection was, therefore, not against a social system but against the police régime of terror which characterizes the Soviet concept of government.

228. The Hungarian people have cried out to the whole world that they wish to remain Hungarian and that they would rather die rather than continue under the satellite régime to which they have been subjected since 1945. This is the desperate cry which the Soviet Union has tried to stifle. A government like that of the Soviet Union cannot allow a people which has lived for ten years within the Soviet system to reveal the truth to the world.

229. A second crime committed after, and as a sort of fatal sequel to, the first because the murderer has to eliminate the witness of his first murder, is a commonplace in criminal law. The Soviet Government has just committed such a crime.

230. The methods which it has used are well fitted to its purposes. It announced on 30 October 1956 that it was going to establish its relations with the peoples' democracies on a new basis. The next day, it announced that, at the request of the Hungarian people, expressed through the Hungarian Communist Government, it was going to withdraw its troops, first from Budapest and then from the whole of Hungary. Yesterday, it announced and confirmed through its permanent representative to the United Nations that negotiations were going on between its representatives and those of the Hungarian Government on conditions for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. A meeting on the subject was to be held. Hungarian representatives went to that meeting, and while Mr. Sobolev was informing the Security Council of the progress being achieved, the Hungarian representatives were not allowed to hold conversations, but were arrested, taken prisoner, perhaps deported or eliminated.

231. That is what Mr. Sobolev calls progress in negotiations. That, presumably, is what is meant by negotiation in the Soviet Union.

232. In the meantime, the government formed in Budapest by the Hungarian Communist Nagy finally

awoke to reality and the treachery of the Soviet Union and made a moving appeal to the conscience of the world and to the United Nations. All the Hungarian broadcasting stations which were still free continuously broadcast this desperate appeal in five languages. One by one, the stations were silenced as the Red Army cracked down on a Hungary which had regained its freedom for one brief moment. And last night this voice imploring the world for help gradually faded out.

233. We should like to tell the Hungarian people that their appeal still resounds in our hearts and minds. We shall not forget the dictates of our conscience merely because the Iron Curtain has been clamped down again on Hungary, drowning some of its people in a bath of blood. A people cannot be killed, particularly the Hungarian people, merely by brute force. Over and above the force of arms, there is a spiritual force which animates Hungary and also the United Nations, or should I say, which also ought to animate the United Nations?

234. Are we not all, to a certain extent, the accomplices of the Soviet Union? Have we not encouraged the violators of the fundamental principles of the Charter by endless debates, procedural discussions and proof after proof of our impotence?

235. Only yesterday, in the Security Council, we had to fight over motions of adjournment or procedural details; we were told that the reports were not precise enough; Mr. Sobolev had no information; another representative had no instructions. And in the meanwhile the Hungarian people, which was calling for immediate action, was in peril of death, individually and collectively.

236. Have we a clear conscience? The impotence we displayed again yesterday appears in many if not all of the disputes brought before the different bodies of our Organization in the course of its existence. There are only a few exceptions, and they have been due to the initiative and courage of one or two Powers which dared to act, at first alone, in the spirit in which the Charter should be applied.

237. But our sense of duty is impugned not only because we were unable to act in these disputes, but also because we accepted lies, at least tacitly. We allowed political systems which were nothing but terrorism to be called "democracies" in our hearing. We recognized as independent countries which were really under the iron heel. In short, we have not been faithful to our ideal or to ourselves. Compromises, misinterpretations and rough-and-ready solutions are not worthy of an organization such as ours.

238. We must have the courage to speak clearly. We must undertake to set things right now, or it will be too late. We must condemn the military action of the Red Army in Hungary. We must insist on the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet occupation troops. We must take the necessary steps to re-establish conditions in Hungary which will enable the Hungarian people to enjoy the fundamental freedoms. They must be allowed to express their views in free elections under international control.

239. The Assembly has before it a draft resolution submitted by the United States, which France is prepared to endorse wholeheartedly, as it answers the requirements I have just set out. This draft resolution, particularly its operative paragraph 4, might be more precisely worded. It must be made clear that the situation which calls for action by the United Nations

is one resulting from the intervention of foreign forces in Hungary. I shall have a text of my amendment circulated later.

240. The Minister for External Affairs of Canada has suggested that the United Nations should set up machinery to ensure respect for the independence in which the Hungarian people can express themselves. The French delegation is ready to support that suggestion.

241. We must act and act immediately. We shall always bear the stigma of shame if we ignore the appeal engraved upon our hearts in words of blood by glorious and martyred Hungary.

242. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): I am speaking on a point of order. Considering that the time allotted for the general debate on this item hardly permits the full expression of views of all delegations, or a great majority of them, however desirable this may be; considering that with respect to the monstrous events which are currently transpiring in Hungary and the anguished cry for assistance of the embattled Hungarians, the answer of this Assembly can effectively be expressed less by lengthy deliberations than by swift action on the premises; finally, considering that the United States draft resolution in my view not only adequately but faithfully embodies, in each of its operative and preambular paragraphs, the collective conscience and judgement of this body on the situation in Hungary, I move for a closure of the debate, with a view to voting immediately on the draft resolution, without prejudice to an explanation of vote thereafter.

243. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Before we vote on the proposal just made by the Philippines delegation, I should like to know whether the representative of France can give us the amendment he mentioned. Otherwise, we shall not be able to put it to the vote.

244. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*translated from French*): I should like operative paragraph 4 of the United States draft resolution to be replaced by the following text:

"Requests the Secretary-General to investigate the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary, to observe the situation directly through representatives named by him, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at the earliest moment, and as soon as possible suggest methods to bring an end to the foreign intervention in Hungary in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

245. The representative of the Union of South Africa has authorized me to say that he will support this amendment.

246. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call on the representative of the United States on a point of order.

247. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): Several members have spoken to me about this same amendment which the representative of France has suggested. That is what the language of the draft resolution means. Therefore, in the interests of clarity, I am glad to accept the amendment. I do so because of my extreme sense of urgency about the situation in Hungary. I am extremely anxious that we should act without delay.

248. I have before me an Associated Press dispatch from Washington, which I shall read out:

"Diplomatic officials tonight said they viewed Russia's sudden military onslaught against Hungary

as one of the most wanton massacres of a people in modern history.

"From twelve to twenty Soviet army divisions were believed ruthlessly raining bombs and bullets against virtually every Hungarian who has exposed himself during the past two weeks as anti-Communist in outlook."

249. That kind of a news report, which is characteristic, makes me welcome the proposal of the representative of the Philippines that we should proceed to a vote. I do not want to cut anybody off. I want all members to have a chance to speak. But it seems to me that if we could vote, then everyone could speak and get his views into the record and into the Press of the world, which of course is very important in mobilizing public opinion. It seems to me that as a body we would gain a great deal by voting quickly and we would lose nothing, because we would get the benefit of all the statements of members after the vote. I believe that the situation in Hungary is so urgent that I am glad to support the motion of the representative of the Philippines that we proceed to a vote. I think that is about the best thing that we can do tonight.

250. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As the representative of the United States has accepted the French amendment, the amendment is incorporated into the text of the draft resolution.

251. Before voting on the draft resolution, I feel that the Assembly should consider the motion of the representative of the Philippines for the adjournment of the debate. In accordance with rule 76 of the rules of procedure, two representatives, in addition to the proposer of the motion, may speak in favour of, and two against, the motion, after which the motion shall be immediately put to the vote.

252. If there are no objections, we shall proceed accordingly.

It was so decided.

253. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As there are no speakers, we shall proceed to vote on the United States draft resolution [A/3286] as amended. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Romania, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Cambodia, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal.

Against: Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland.

Abstaining: Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Nepal.

The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by 50 votes to 8, with 15 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 8.10 p.m.

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14
PLENARY MEETING 568th

**Thursday, 8 November 1956,
at 10.30 a.m.**

SECOND EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

New York

CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 5: The situation in Hungary (<i>continued</i>).....	21

President: Mr. Rudecindo ORTEGA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 5

The situation in Hungary (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Representatives will remember that the General Assembly, at its 564th meeting, on 4 November, adopted a resolution [1004 (ES-II)] on the situation in Hungary. It was also decided at that meeting that the delegations which were on the list of speakers would have an opportunity of explaining their votes at a future meeting.

2. First, I recognize the representative of Hungary on a point of order.

3. Mr. SZABO (Hungary): On behalf of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, I wish to declare that the recent events in Hungary must be considered as internal affairs of my country, and therefore I have to protest categorically against the consideration of the item called "The situation in Hungary" by the General Assembly. I refer the Assembly to the declaration of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic of 28 October 1956 contained in document S/3691, stating that the events which had recently taken place in Hungary and the measures taken in the course of those events were exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the Hungarian People's Republic and consequently did not fall within the jurisdiction of the United Nations. In connexion with this, let me refer to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter.

4. The appeals sent by Mr. Nagy to the Secretary-General contained in documents A/3251, S/3726 and S/3731, have been declared invalid by the new government of the Hungarian People's Republic, headed by Mr. Janos Kadar. Therefore those appeals cannot be regarded as official. This declaration of the Hungarian Government, which has just been distributed among the members of this Assembly, unfortunately three days later than it was sent by the Hungarian Government to the Secretary-General, reads as follows:

"The Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary declares that Imre Nagy's requests to the United Nations to have the Hungarian question discussed in the United Nations have no legal force and cannot be considered as requests emanating from Hungary as a State. The Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government objects categorically to any discussion of the said question either by the Security Council or by the General As-

sembly because that question is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hungarian People's Republic. (*Signed*): Janos Kadar, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary; Imre Horvath, Minister of Foreign Affairs." [A/3311.]

5. Finally, I wish to inform the President, the Secretary-General, and the representatives, that, according to the latest information I have just received from Budapest, the restoration of order and calm is almost finished, not only in Budapest but also in the rest of the country. The normal life in the country is starting again, the workers are resuming their jobs; the shops and stores are open; transportation is functioning; education in the schools has begun today, and, with the active participation of the people, the repairing of damage and the work of reconstruction has started.

6. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Chair has taken note of the statement made by the representative of Hungary, but, as representatives know, the Assembly agreed to include this item in the agenda and as a result a resolution has been passed on the subject. The debate will therefore continue.

7. Mr. NUÑEZ PORTUONDO (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): There are no words in any language to describe the sorry spectacle we have just been offered by the so-called representative of Hungary, who occupied this rostrum a few moments ago. A young man comes here to give his blessings to the murder of over 65,000 of his fellow countrymen, and tells us that nothing has happened in Hungary.

8. I should like to record my protest and complete disagreement with his statements and to declare that, in the eyes of the Government of Cuba, he represents neither the people nor the Government of Hungary.

9. For obvious reasons, the Government of Cuba did not maintain diplomatic relations with the Government of Hungary. However, in time, the Government of Cuba came to regard it as a *de facto* government. Now, however, I am expressly instructed by my Government to state that it does not accept this new government even as a *de facto* government, that it does not recognize its existence and that it hopes that all the Governments which represent the free peoples of the world will follow our example and not grant recognition of any kind, explicit or implicit, to a government which has been formed solely through the armed intervention of Soviet troops.

10. The last time this subject was discussed in the General Assembly [564th meeting], the debate was conducted according to a somewhat unusual procedure: the Assembly decided, at the proposal of the representative of the Philippines, to close the debate and proceed immediately to the vote, with the result that those who, like ourselves, were on the list of speakers, were prevented from taking the floor and presenting our amendments, so that our statement really become explanations

of our votes. My delegation had intended to submit various amendments to the draft resolution before the Assembly.

11. The Government of Cuba considers that what has been done by the Soviet forces in Hungary is a flagrant violation of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which the Soviet Union and Hungary have not only signed but ratified. In our view, the situation is covered by article II of the Convention, which mentions the killing of members of a group, for it cannot be ignored or denied that over 65,000 Hungarians have been massacred by the armed forces of the Soviet Union, which had no right whatsoever to intervene in what were certainly the internal affairs of Hungary.

12. This opinion of the Government of Cuba is shared by many jurists and experts in international law, and it also has the approval—which is, in our view, most important—of Pope Pius XII, who has made an appeal to the world from Rome stating clearly and unequivocally that what has occurred in Hungary is a flagrant violation of the Convention on genocide.

13. It is clear from official sources that over 65,000 people have been killed, and even more wounded, in Budapest and elsewhere in Hungary. A report published in *The New York Times* of 3 November under the headline "Soviet brutality in Budapest told" makes it clear that the Soviet army was not attacking Hungarian troops or military personnel, but civilians, doctors, nurses and other persons who had nothing whatever to do with the fighting. Dr. Katona, the medical director of the Istvan Korhaz hospital, in Budapest, is quoted as saying:

"Modern history has no equal to the Soviet barbarity here. They burned twenty ambulances coming to the aid of the wounded. They have killed or wounded half our personnel . . . [A young woman] asked a secret police truck for a lift home because she was carrying a heavy sack of food. She was shot . . . [A] seventy-two-year-old man was shot because he helped a woman carry bread and potatoes through a gate."

14. In a statement published in *The New York Times* on 29 October, Monsignor Bela Varga, former President of the Hungarian Parliament and now President of the Hungarian National Council, said that the bloodshed committed by Soviet troops in Hungary constituted genocide. The venerable Hungarian leader is absolutely right.

15. Article II of the Convention on genocide says that genocide means also the destruction in part of a racial or religious group. This notion of partial destruction makes the Convention a valuable instrument, particularly in cases where an attempt is made to deprive a nation of an *élite* which promotes unity among the other sections of the population and is an inspiration to them. This is a case of genocide applied to a nation. When a man receives a blow on the head, his whole body is paralysed. That is exactly what the Soviet Union has been doing to the captive peoples of Europe in recent years. The peoples concerned have been calling our attention in vain to this kind of Soviet genocide.

16. Despite our civilized conscience, we take our decisions only under the emotional impact of human suffering. The Hungarian blood which has been shed cries out to us so loudly and compellingly that we cannot refuse to act.

17. Fifty-four countries—the last being Iran and Argentina—have ratified the Convention on genocide, which is the international guarantee of the survival of the Hungarian people and of other oppressed peoples and minority groups throughout the world. It is a guarantee to which the Soviet Union and its satellites have subscribed; we are therefore entitled to ask the Soviet Union the question that was asked of Cain, "Where is Abel, thy brother?"

18. But the grievous events in Hungary, this crime of genocide, are the customary tactics of the Soviet Union. Such tactics are commonly used in the Soviet Union itself, and this is no unsupported statement on our part. In the speech in which he accused Stalin, Mr. Khrushchev said that Stalin had committed the crime of genocide against the Tartars in the Crimea, the Germans of the Volga, the Kalmucks and other Caucasian peoples. So, when I say here that in Hungary the Soviet Union has violated the Convention on genocide, I am not telling representatives anything new. All I am saying is that the Soviet Union is now doing in Hungary what Stalin repeatedly did in the Soviet Union.

19. I wonder whether Mr. Khrushchev can be accused of slander, as I was, when, at a previous session of the General Assembly, I accused Stalin of being the greatest criminal in history.

20. Under the Charter, there can be no doubt at all that the consideration of this question lies within the competence of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It is a case of interference by a foreign Power in the internal affairs of Hungary.

21. When the representative—or the alleged representative—of Hungary read out the telegram from the so-called Budapest government, and when he spoke of internal affairs, I hoped that he would raise his voice in protest against the action of the Soviet troops in Hungary, for this massacre by the Soviet troops, which is still continuing, is precisely the most flagrant case of interference in the internal affairs of Hungary. The entire free world has been horrified by the acts the Soviet Union has committed.

22. The simple-minded people who are still to be found in the free world thought that the change of policy of the Moscow Government after the disappearance of the Stalinist leaders was a genuine one. They believed that the smiles and flattery the Soviet leaders bestowed were sincere, and that a radical change had taken place in the policy of the Soviet Union. It is clear to us who know them well that the change was only a change of tactics, not of purposes. They continued to maintain an iron imperialism, dominating an enormous number of countries and oppressing them in defiance of all reason or justice.

23. The peoples of the Baltic States—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—and of Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Outer Mongolia, Eastern Germany, North Korea, North Viet-Nam and China, remain beneath the yoke of the Soviet Union; that, as I have said before, is the most extraordinary example of imperialism and colonialism in modern times or in the annals of mankind. And yet, to our astonishment, representatives of the Soviet Union and its satellites come here and castigate other nations for their imperialism and past colonialism, when the acts of the other nations are past history, whereas those of the Soviet Union are being perpetrated even now. At the present time, the only imperialist and colonialist Power is the Soviet Union, which in Europe alone,

against all principles of reason and justice, dominates over 96 million people. This is an undeniable truth.

24. What can we do in the case of Hungary? The voice of the Hungarian radio is still imploring the free world for help, even for medical supplies, which the Soviet Union refuses to the wretched victims of its attacks and depredations; the radio of free Hungary is begging all the peace-loving nations to come to Hungary's aid, and I would emphasize that if the United Nations does nothing for the cruelly persecuted Hungarian people, it will most certainly lose much of its prestige and authority, for it will then be said that the United Nations does not challenge the Soviet Union when it infringes the clear and unequivocal terms of the Charter.

25. Now that a resolution on this matter has been adopted [*resolution 1004 (ES-II)*] and is in force, we must consider the next steps, which must necessarily lead to the refusal of recognition of the Hungarian Government, and to the exclusion of the self-styled representative of Hungary, who represents no one but the butchers of the Hungarian people. We must denounce before the whole world the Soviet Union's violation of the Convention on genocide. We must again insist on the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Hungary. The United Nations must take efforts to secure the organization of free elections in Hungary, so that the Hungarian people can decide their own future, as they are entitled to do in accordance with the categorical provisions of the Charter. We, as free peoples, must oppose this invasion, which is contrary to the rule of law and to international law, carried out by the bloodthirsty troops of the Soviet Union. If we do not help the Hungarian people in this way, if we do not prove up to the hilt that we utterly reject this action by the Soviet Union, the United Nations will have failed in its duty.

26. I hope that all Member States, with the exception of the Soviet Union and its satellites, will agree to take the appropriate and logical steps to help the Hungarian people, who are the victims of an act of aggression without precedent in history.

27. Let me repeat what I said in the Security Council, that the Latin American States voted in another case to defend the rights of Egypt, as we were convinced that the clear and unequivocal provisions of the Charter had been violated. We should not like the Assembly to be divided, and use one set of standards and sanctions in one case and another in the case of Hungary, merely because the Soviet Union is involved. The Cuban delegation will take the same stand in all cases, for all Member States should comply with the provisions of the Charter.

28. As long as this is not done, as long as we have among us a State like the Soviet Union, which makes a mockery of all our decisions, which does not comply with any of the provisions of the Charter, which does not respect human rights, which commits such unprecedented acts of aggression as it has committed in Hungary, the United Nations will not have enough authority to safeguard the peace of the world. If we stand firm in both cases, and call upon the Soviet Union to fulfil its obligations as we did in the case of the United Kingdom, France and Israel, I am certain that the United Nations will have sufficient authority to command the respect and admiration of all men of good will throughout the world.

29. I therefore call upon the General Assembly to take steps to prevent the consummation of this abomi-

nable attack on the sovereignty and freedom of the Hungarian people, who are worthy of a better fate and have won the admiration of all right-thinking people by the gallantry with which they have fought for their freedom.

30. Mr. ESKELEND (Denmark): I should like to raise a point of order in connexion with the statement made a few minutes ago by a gentleman purporting to speak on behalf of the present Government of Hungary. I do not think I am mistaken if I say that, a couple of days ago, that same gentleman spoke in the Security Council on behalf of another government. This being so, I think it would be appropriate to ask whether the Secretary-General is in a position to give us information concerning the credentials of the gentleman who spoke here as a representative of Hungary.

31. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The point raised by the representative of Denmark will be brought before the Credentials Committee at today's meeting.

32. Mr. MICHALOWSKI (Poland): Last Sunday, 4 November, because of the adjournment of the debate, I had no opportunity to explain the vote of my delegation, and I should like to do it now.

33. The Polish Government recognizes and supports the right of every nation to decide its own fate, and the right of every nation to regulate its international relations on the basis of sovereignty and equality, as well as the right of all nations to solve their own affairs through their own efforts and by themselves.

34. From the very beginning of the recent events in Hungary, the people of Poland have taken a sympathetic position towards those elements in Hungary which base their stand on socialism and democracy. The people of Poland immediately organized the dispatch of food and medicines to their brothers, the people of Hungary.

35. On 24 October, the then Hungarian Government called the armed forces of the Soviet Union to Budapest. My Government does not pass judgement on the merits of that decision. Later, and again upon the request of the Hungarian Government, Soviet troops evacuated Budapest.

36. As the result of the new situation created by the emergence of elements hostile to the prevailing social system and using terrorist methods, and due to the fact that the Hungarian Government had lost control of the developments, a new government was formed. That government, basing its action on the necessity to defend the constitutionally guaranteed social system, again called on the Soviet forces for help. The new government declared that one of its first endeavours would be the settlement of the question of the presence and withdrawal of Soviet troops, in agreement with the USSR.

37. Therefore the Polish Government considers that one should not interfere with the Hungarian Government in its task and its endeavours to regulate, through negotiations which it has announced, the problems connected with the presence and withdrawal of Soviet troops in Hungary.

38. For these reasons, the Polish delegation voted against the draft resolution presented by the United States. I should like to add that if, on 4 November, the draft resolution had been voted paragraph by paragraph, my delegation would have supported several parts, such as, for instance, the first, second and fifth paragraphs of the preamble, and paragraphs 7 and 8

of the operative part, which request help for Hungary by the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

39. Mr. TSIANG (China): The sentiments of the Chinese people with regard to the crisis in Hungary have found expression in a resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly on 6 November. That resolution contains three points. In the first place, it condemns the aggression of the Soviet Union against Hungary. In the second place, it demands the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and the dispatch of an international police force to maintain peace and order in that war-torn country. And, in the third place, it asks for international guarantees of Hungary's independence and freedom. I shall soon transmit the official text of that resolution to the President of this Assembly.¹

40. My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution proposed by the United States on 4 November. In voting for it, we regretted that we could not do more. We were certain that we could not do less, because at bottom its terms were dictated to us by the principles of our Charter and by our individual human consciences.

41. What does that resolution do? In the first place, it asks the Soviet armed forces to stop shooting and killing the people of Hungary. Could we have done less? Could we have pretended that there was no shooting and no killing, or could we have justified or excused that massacre of the innocent people of Hungary? No. We could not have done less.

42. In the second place, it asks for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Again I ask, could we have done less? I do not think so. Given what we insisted upon in connexion with the crisis in the Middle East, at least, by the same standards, we should not and could not have done less.

43. In the third place, the resolution affirms the right of the Hungarian people to have a government responsive to the wishes and desires of the Hungarian people. Could we have done less? We who remember the right of self-determination in our Charter—we could not have done less.

44. Then, finally, the resolution asks the Secretary-General to investigate and report again. In regard to that point, likewise, we could not have done less.

45. I voted whole-heartedly for that resolution, but I wish it had contained some other clauses. For example, I wish it had mentioned Cardinal Mindszenty. When the representative of the United States, Mr. Lodge, informed the Security Council [754th meeting] and then, later, the General Assembly [564th meeting], that the United States legation in Budapest had given asylum to His Eminence, my immediate reaction was that the United States legation in this matter was, in fact, morally acting on behalf of all civilized mankind, and I wish that our resolution could have reflected that sentiment. Although Cardinal Mindszenty has found asylum, the fate of the other leaders of Hungarian freedom is to be dreaded. I wish our resolution had spoken out for humane treatment for those heroic strugglers for freedom.

46. As it stood, the resolution was a good resolution. It was worthy of the great country that sponsored it. It was worthy of those who voted for it.

47. In that vote, I noticed that there were 54 votes in favour, 8 against and 15 abstentions.

48. The negative votes were cast by the Soviet Union and its satellites. That was to be expected; it is in line with the atrocities that have been committed in Hungary.

49. I was sorry and disappointed to see so many abstentions. If I am not mistaken, there was not a single Arab vote in favour of the resolution, and several Asian delegations—delegations which, ordinarily, are in the forefront as regards all matters concerning human rights and self-determination—found it necessary to abstain from the vote on that important occasion.

50. I wonder whether these delegations of Asia and Africa mean to tell us that the principles of the Charter are good only for Asia and Africa, and not for Europe. Is our support for these great principles to be limited to particular regions and particular conflicts? In a measure, I understand the Arab abstentions. I suspect that the Arab delegations were labouring under the diplomatic necessity of keeping the Soviet Union's support during the first emergency special session of the General Assembly. I do not, however, think that that consideration justified the abstentions, and I would say that even as a piece of diplomacy the move was not shrewd.

51. I should not like to be frank on this point. I am convinced that the crisis in Hungary is more serious than the crisis in the Middle East. I should also like to say that the solution in Hungary is infinitely more difficult than the solution in the Middle East. Let us have no illusions. It is important that we in the General Assembly, and the world in general, should understand the deep meaning of these tragic events in Hungary.

52. In the first place, the events in Hungary have revealed the reality and the nature of Soviet imperialism and colonialism. During the last three decades, Soviet propagandists have continuously told the peoples of Asia and Africa that capitalism is inseparable from imperialism and colonialism, that at some stage capitalism inevitably develops into imperialism. These same propagandists have told the peoples of Asia and Africa that Communism, by its very nature and definition, could never be imperialist or colonialist. The events in Hungary tell us that the latest, as well as the darkest, chapter in the dark history of European colonialism and imperialism is constituted by the Soviet imperialism and colonialism in Hungary. If people required further evidence on this point, the events in Hungary have furnished the final and indisputable evidence. Hereafter, no one could have any legitimate reason for doubting the reality and the nature of Soviet imperialism and colonialism.

53. In the second place, Soviet propagandists in recent years have preached the doctrine of peaceful coexistence. The events in Hungary have shown us the real meaning of the Soviet conception of coexistence. Here, the Soviet Union finds it impossible to coexist with an independent and neutral Hungary. In the Soviet interpretation of coexistence, there is no room for Hungarian independence and Hungarian neutrality.

54. These events have taught us another lesson. In recent years, there have been a number of thinkers and writers, both here in the United States and in other parts of the world, who have wanted the world to accept the *fait accompli*, who have wanted the world to write off the oppressed nations of Eastern Europe and Asia. They have tried to persuade us that the world must simply stomach the tyrannies within the Iron Curtain. They have said that the people in those countries—unhappy though they may be, dissatisfied though they may be—have, after all, accepted the existing régimes.

¹ The text was subsequently reproduced as document A/3318.

The events which have occurred in Hungary in the last two weeks have demonstrated the falsity of that view of the enslaved and captive peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia. We find that, after ten years of indoctrination and brainwashing, the Hungarian people have retained the usual, the common human love for freedom and for country.

55. These, I think, are the deeper meanings of these tragic events in Hungary. All the world is indignant. The public Press and radio of all countries have sought words to express their sense of anger, disappointment and astonishment at the brutality of Soviet actions in Hungary.

56. In my opinion, one of the best expressions of our common sentiments in these grave days is to be found in an editorial published in a great newspaper, *The New York Times*, on 5 November 1956. This editorial is entitled "We accuse", and I think that it is worthy of being read out in full to this Assembly.

"We accuse the Soviet Government of murder. We accuse it of the foulest treachery and the basest deceit known to man. We accuse it of having committed so monstrous a crime against the Hungarian people yesterday that its infamy can never be forgiven or forgotten.

"Lenin wrote in 1900: 'The Czarist Government not only keeps our people in slavery but sends it to suppress other peoples rising against their slavery (as was done in 1849 when Russian troops put down the revolution in Hungary).' How apt these words sound today when we substitute 'Soviet' for 'Czarist', and 1956 for 1849.

"Hatred and pity, mourning and admiration, these are our emotions today: hatred for the men and the system which did not hesitate to shed new rivers of innocent Hungarian blood to reimpose slavery; pity for the Soviet soldiers, duped into thinking they were fighting 'Fascists' when they killed defenseless or nearly defenseless men, women and children; mourning and admiration for the heroic Hungarian people, who feared not even death to strike for freedom.

"Gone now are the last illusions. Moscow now stands self-exposed. The torrent of Soviet bullets yesterday did not kill only Hungary's freedom and Hungary's martyrs. Those bullets killed first of all the picture of a reformed, penitent Russia seeking to repudiate Stalinism and practice coexistence. Could Stalin have acted more barbarously than did his successors yesterday? Can we have any doubt now of what awaits us if we ever relax our vigilance and permit ourselves to become prey to Soviet might, as was Hungary yesterday?

"The day of infamy is ended. The foul deed is done. The most heroic are dead. But the cause of freedom lives and is stronger than ever, nurtured by the blood of those who fell martyred in freedom's cause. The Hungarian people will never forget. We shall not forget. And out of hatred and tears is born the resolve to carry forward the struggle till freedom is triumphant."

57. Mr. VOUTOV (Bulgaria): I should like to explain why the Bulgarian delegation voted against the inclusion of the so-called question "The situation in Hungary" in the agenda of the emergency special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and also why we voted against the draft resolution proposed by the United States.

58. The Bulgarian delegation considers that a great noise has been raised over the "situation in Hungary" with the only aim of diverting the attention of world public opinion from the brazen and unprovoked imperialist attack on the Egyptian people. The aggressors want to hide behind a new smoke-screen, to turn the attention of the people of the world to Europe, while they go ahead with their plundering of the Arab peoples.

59. The course of events in the Near and Middle East during the past few days has shown this. The Press in the countries of the aggressors and in the countries of their supporters, by means of sensational and slanderous writing against the Soviet Union, the Hungarian People's Republic and other peoples' democracies, is concealing the landing of the British-French aggressors, which is spreading, in Egypt. The landing started just a few hours after we had voted for a second resolution [999 (ES-I)] insisting that within twelve hours the aggressors should stop their armed attacks on the peace-loving Egyptian people.

60. In reply to this decision of the General Assembly, the British-French aggressors launched landing operations on Egyptian territory. We were very much surprised that, instead of our being called on 4 November to a meeting to deal with the situation created in the Middle East after the expiration of the twelve-hour time-limit set by the Assembly, we were called to another meeting, for which there were no serious grounds.

61. Both at the meetings of the special session of the General Assembly and at a number of Security Council meetings, we listened to all sorts of slanderous "explanations" of the developments which had taken place in Hungary during the past few days. When one hears these speeches and compares them to the actual situation in Hungary, one is bound to be surprised that it is possible for some to stress the opposite, untrue side of these developments. And indeed, it is not very difficult to see the truth about the events in Hungary, even if one reads the American newspapers, even if one sees the photographs printed in the American Press, or even if one follows the television commentaries in the United States.

62. With careful study, these information media alone will show that the Soviet army units are legitimately in Hungary under the defensive Warsaw Pact, that the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic sent an appeal for the Soviet army to support it in the struggle against the imperialist agents and *provocateurs*, that anti-people's elements, open Fascists, Nazis, Horthy supporters, criminals, robbers released from prison, engaged in acts of vandalism in the course of days. They slew and hanged innocent people in the streets, broke shop windows and looted stores, broke into offices, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Budapest, and destroyed files, piled heaps of progressive books and burnt them, as Hitlerites had done twenty years ago. They destroyed the treasury of Hungarian culture. For example, they burned down the well-known Budapest National Museum. A few days ago, I saw a television programme which showed rioting gangsters destroying one of the most beautiful statues of St. Gellert in Buda and the monument erected in honour of the heroic Soviet army which had liberated from the Nazis not only the Hungarian people, but also all peoples.

63. In this state of affairs, it is clear who has caused the bloodshed in Hungary. It is clear that the bloodshed has been caused by the Hungarian and foreign Fascists. The Soviet army units were sent to help the Hungarian

people to cope with the foreign agents, sent by their masters, who were coming over from their centres in West Germany. The Soviet Union and the allies assumed the obligation, under article 4 of the Peace Treaty with Hungary, not to allow the revival of fascism in any form, because fascism is a danger to international peace and co-operation.

64. Those who lost millions of people in the struggle against fascism, those whose brothers, fathers and relatives perished under the fascist oppression, were obliged, when the Hungarian Government appealed to them, to help the people against the rising fascist elements, instigated by interested circles in some countries. Information is available that a large number of the agents of the imperialists in Hungary had entered the country during the previous few days from the western borders of Hungary. Documents, facts and considerable material show who was at the bottom of this rioting and of this dire plot against the Hungarian people.

65. I am not going to speak about the hundreds of millions of dollars which the imperialist circles in some countries spend on subversive activities. I do not intend to emphasize again what were the purposes of the Christmas and other appeals and messages sent to Hungary and other peoples' democracies.

66. I should like to read an excerpt from an article in the *New York Herald Tribune*, which was published on 29 October of this year. This article points out very clearly who is behind the instigators of this rioting, where the centre is of those who committed the acts of vandalism in Hungary. This article reads as follows:

"The full twenty-nine transmitter battery of Radio Free Europe, which is supported by American contributions to Crusade for Freedom"—we know what is meant by "Crusade for Freedom"—"is now in around-the-clock operation to Eastern Europe. The Radio Free Europe staffs in New York and Munich are working on a twenty-four hour a day emergency basis.

"Radio Free Europe, which transmits news and other programmes daily into Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland from West Germany and Portugal, is one of the two chief operations of the Free Europe Committee, which has New York headquarters at 110 West 57th Street. The other programme is the Free Europe Press, a programme in which small newspapers and other material are printed, attached to balloons, and floated into Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. More than 280 million pieces of material have been dropped by the high altitude balloons."

67. Bearing all this in mind, the Bulgarian delegation declares once more that there are no grounds for condemning the Soviet Union for what has happened in Hungary. But there are grounds to condemn the ruling circles in other countries which have attempted to shift the responsibility from themselves to the Soviet Union. With false and alarming information, they are trying to make use of the General Assembly of the United Nations for their own purposes.

68. Having all this in mind, the Bulgarian delegation voted against the draft resolution of the United States. That draft envisaged interference in the internal affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. The Bulgarian delegation declares again that the General Assembly has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary, which is a free and independent country. Today, we have before us a definite declaration of the Hungarian Government [A/3311], in which it states that it

"objects categorically to any discussion of the said question either by the Security Council or by the General Assembly because that question is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hungarian People's Republic".

69. The Bulgarian delegation fully supports the declaration of the Hungarian Government and considers that the so-called question of the situation in Hungary must be dropped immediately from the agenda of the emergency special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

70. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): It was with a feeling of great emotion that my delegation supported the draft resolution proposed by the United States delegation on the Hungarian situation. My Government views with the deepest concern and anxiety the evil actions that the Soviet Government is perpetrating in Hungary, with the ruthless repression, by means of brutal military force, of the noble and glorious efforts of the Hungarian people to regain their independence and liberty and to form their own government.

71. Once again we have seen and are seeing what certain slogans, so piously voiced by Soviet leaders and with which they conduct their foreign policy, really mean to them and what their purpose is. The slogans might sound like celestial music to certain faraway listeners, but the way they are practised in the home of an unfortunate neighbour of the USSR is before the eyes of the world to see. All that mankind has achieved in civilized behaviour through centuries of struggle and evolution, all the most fundamental principles of international law which were painfully evolved, are at this moment being trampled once more by Soviet armed might, this time upon the soil of heroic Hungary, in a clear-cut case of violent foreign intervention in the internal affairs of a country.

72. Last Sunday, 4 November, with its vote on the United States draft resolution, this Assembly expressed its protest against and revulsion at the misdeeds now being committed in Hungary by the Soviet Government in implementation of what it probably considers quite an attractive form of "coexistence". Let us, even at this late hour, and despite the rosy picture of the situation in Hungary described by a previous speaker, continue our efforts to help the Hungarian people to assert their fundamental rights and to try to reduce their tremendous sufferings. We have for them the mandate of the outraged conscience of the free world.

73. The history of mankind has proved that moral principles and forces eventually prevail. The monolithic Soviet empire has within it the seeds which will bring about its own disintegration. As the tragic events of these last few weeks have unmistakably shown, such seeds are already germinating. Although the Soviet leaders obviously think otherwise, the rivers of blood which are flowing in Hungary on account of the merciless bombing and shooting of the defenceless and patriotic citizens will not stop the final triumph of those natural forces.

74. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (*translated from French*): The statement just made by the representative of the Hungarian People's Republic and the telegram from the Hungarian Government to the Secretary-General [A/3311] are of major significance. In its telegram, the Hungarian Government strongly objects to the consideration of the Hungarian question either in the Security Council or in the General Assembly as it is a matter solely within the jurisdiction of the Hungarian People's Republic. These statements need no

comment. However, as a draft resolution was presented and a vote was taken, I should like to explain my delegation's position in the matter.

75. As a result of the anti-popular and imperialistic policy of the Horthy régime, the Hungarian fascist army fought in the Second World War on the side of the Hitlerite armies bent upon enslaving the peoples of Europe. It fought against the anti-fascist coalition in which the great Powers played a decisive role.

76. Eleven years have elapsed since the end of the Second World War, relatively too short a period in which to change the line of thinking of a group of dangerous men, having regard to their earlier pretensions. They are precisely the vengeful men, abetted by foreign reaction, who have embarked upon an adventure prejudicial to the interests of the Hungarian people.

77. During those eleven years, the Hungarian people have achieved marked successes in the democratic development of the country. Many mistakes have been made during that process. The forces of reaction have taken advantage of those mistakes to wipe out the democratic gains made by the Hungarian people. The activities of the reactionary elements in Hungary have obviously long been enjoying foreign support. Former officers in Horthy's fascist army have been carefully trained in Western Germany and elsewhere to fight the system of people's democracy in Hungary. We know why balloons equipped with so-called meteorological equipment flew over Hungarian territory. I might say, by the way, that similar so-called weather balloons have also been sent over Albania. If the authorities which sent them aloft had done so for genuinely meteorological reasons, we could have provided them with the meteorological information they desired, immediately and without cost.

78. What results have been achieved by the fascist reactionary movement organized in Hungary? The reactionary forces destroyed factories and other works built by the labour of the Hungarian people. They attacked State buildings and social organizations. Worse still, these reactionary elements spread terror by killing honest men. The streets of Budapest and other Hungarian cities offer the appalling spectacle of the corpses of men who were slaughtered, shot or hanged.

79. The forces of reaction were further encouraged in these fascist activities when the Horthy officers crossed the border. As a result of this tragic situation, the country's life was paralysed.

80. Such a situation could obviously not be tolerated. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic took the necessary action and, with a view to ending the situation as soon as possible, requested the assistance of the Soviet army units which were in Hungary pursuant to the Warsaw Pact. That lawful government of Hungary was precisely the one which presented the Hungarian people at the time of the signature of the Warsaw Pact.

81. This emergency special session of the General Assembly is, in fact, a manoeuvre to mask the situation in Egypt arising from the Franco-British aggression. The real object in convening this emergency special session of the General Assembly was to put an end to the hostile attacks carried out by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against the Egyptian people.

82. The latter are in a tragic situation. The aggressors have used the techniques of modern warfare. Jet aircraft have bombed and strafed the population. The Suez Canal, vitally important, particularly to the peoples

of Europe and Asia, has been blocked by those who claim to be acting in order to safeguard freedom of navigation. The resolutions adopted by the General Assembly have been rejected. The United Kingdom and France have adopted delaying tactics while at the same time they continue their armed attack in Egypt. It must be noted with regret that at its [755th meeting] of 5 November 1956, the Security Council declined to consider the draft resolution proposed by the Government of the Soviet Union. The United Kingdom and France have promised to cease fire but, according to the telegram sent to the Secretary-General yesterday and to the latest news on the radio, British and French armed forces are continuing their hostile operations and are firing upon civilians as well as soldiers in Port Said.

83. A cease-fire order is said to have been given. A cease-fire, while representing substantial progress, cannot contribute to the settlement that is desired unless accompanied by the withdrawal of the aggressor forces. We have already heard statements which make it clear that the armed forces of the aggressors do not in the least intend to withdraw. Israel, for instance, has stated that it has not the slightest intention of withdrawing from the Sinai peninsula.

84. Egypt must be granted its lawful right to a free and independent life in its own territory. The General Assembly must not merely pore over the map. It should adopt such specific measures as may be required for the maintenance of peace in the Middle East and in the world.

85. Mr. BOLAND (Ireland): Our delegation is glad to have this opportunity of explaining to the Assembly the reasons why, and the feelings with which, we voted for the resolution about the situation in Hungary which the Assembly adopted last Sunday, 4 November, on the proposal of the representative of the United States.

86. One of our principal reasons for voting for the resolution was that we wanted to bear testimony, by so doing, to the deep indignation and the intense grief which we in Ireland feel at the violent repression of the rights and liberties of the Hungarian people by the armed forces of the Soviet Union. What has happened in Hungary in the last five or six days is surely one of the blackest chapters in the history of our times. That the world should be forced to witness such a spectacle at this stage in the history of human progress is a reproach to our civilization and a challenge to all the values which this Organization exists to preserve.

87. Even as late as last Saturday, 3 November, the picture of events in Hungary was still confused. Even then, there seemed to some to be still a slight possibility that the Soviet Union would agree to withdraw its troops from Hungary and that the Hungarian people might be free again to have a government of its own choice. We now know that that was merely wishful thinking. Whatever doubts we may have had in interpreting the previous developments, however, none of us can be under the slightest misapprehension or illusion now as to the significance of what has taken place since Sunday. The Soviet Union has claimed that it intervened in Hungary in response to the desire of the workers of that country to defeat a counter-revolution of landlords and capitalists. By what right or title does the Soviet Union claim to speak or act for the workers of Hungary or, indeed, for any other section of the Hungarian nation? Surely there must be few people in the world so gullible as to be deceived by so hollow and cynical a pretext.

88. The conclusions to be drawn from recent events in Hungary are quite unmistakable, and it is well, I think, that we in this Assembly should state them plainly so that the people of Hungary may know that we do not misjudge or misunderstand them but that, on the contrary, we honour them and sympathize with them, and feel for them deeply in all the horror and tragedy of their plight. The conclusions we draw—and they are all either stated or implied in the Assembly's resolution—are that the domination of Hungary by the Soviet Union is an outrage to the national pride of the Hungarian people and utterly abhorrent to their sense of national dignity and their spirit of independence; that the totalitarian régime imposed on Hungary by the Soviet Union had become so hateful to the people, so repugnant to their love of liberty and their religious and political traditions, that a widespread popular revolt embracing all sections of the community, and prepared to face any sacrifice rather than continue to suffer an intolerable tyranny, arose to put an end to it; and that the Soviet Union has now used its armed forces on Hungarian soil to overthrow the government set up by this popular movement and to set up a puppet régime of its own, contrary to the wishes of the Hungarian people and in violation of the rights of self-determination and political independence guaranteed to Hungary by the Charter.

89. As, for the moment, we are merely explaining our votes on the resolution of 4 November, it would scarcely be in order, I expect, to suggest any new step at this stage. I hope, however, that we shall not simply lie back and leave the resolution of 4 November where it is, but that we shall continue to use the moral authority of the United Nations, which during the past week has proved itself a potent and constructive factor in another context, to assert the inalienable rights of the Hungarian nation and to safeguard the principles of the Charter.

90. Whatever it may be possible to do, however, let us not yield to a feeling of despair. As we in Ireland know, the sense of nationhood, the urge to national self-determination, never dies. It is handed on from generation to generation, fortified by the example of its heroes and inspired by the memory of its martyrs.

91. In our times, we have seen historic nations lose their freedom and independence only to regain them triumphantly. We are profoundly confident that the gallant Hungarian nation, which has won the admiration of the world by its heroism, will rise again to enjoy the national freedom and independence which are its natural right.

92. But if the ideals of freedom and self-determination are to retain their moral force and continue to inspire free men and freedom-loving peoples throughout the world, they must be preserved from the advocacy of false and treacherous friends. As the representative of China recalled in his speech this morning, among the Members of the United Nations which have in the past held themselves out as champions of the right of national self-determination is the Soviet Union. It has been diligent in asserting the right of subject peoples to political independence and in dispensing its benedictions to nations struggling to be free.

93. I speak of the professions of the Soviet Union in the past. I cannot say what its professions on this matter will be in future, or what effect they are likely to have on those to whom they are addressed. I know that for us in Ireland—and I venture to think that for the peoples of many other of the smaller nations represented here—any mention in the future of national

independence or anti-colonialism or the right of self-determination by any spokesman of the Soviet Union will always evoke in our minds a single name, a name on which the courage and endurance of a very gallant people have shed a great and undying glory, the name of Hungary.

94. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): As the representative of Cuba stated earlier today, the debate on this item at the previous [564th] meeting of this session was suspended in order to permit of the adoption of the draft resolution before the Assembly; we too, therefore, are here today to explain the position of our Government in this matter.

95. If, at that time, it had been possible to present amendments to the draft which subsequently became General Assembly resolution 1004 (E.S.-I) of 4 November 1956, we should certainly have associated ourselves with those who wished to qualify the scourge which, according to all available information, is being visited upon the people of Hungary, as the heinous crime of genocide.

96. Our purpose in meeting here at this time is to conclude the general debate which was suspended, in order to rally to the support of a people deserving of admiration and, from this world forum which is the voice of the conscience of mankind, sustain them in their tribulations along the new *via dolorosa* of their destiny.

97. I do not know whether the resolution adopted by the General Assembly will gain the same measure of acceptance as other resolutions have sometimes gained or failed to gain. I do not know whether, in this case of violation of the principles of the Charter, our resolution will meet with more response. The only response consistent with the position of the United Nations, the response that we try to elicit in questions such as this, is a response based on human rights. But this much I can say on behalf of my delegation: our message and our wishes go out at this time to the people of Hungary in the tremendous trial to which they are subjected at this moment of their historic destiny.

98. On 4 November, after the Security Council had been unable to consider and to solve the problem, we fulfilled the duty we had undertaken by examining the matter and adopting a resolution. Having heard some of the statements made this morning and having taken note of the points of view expressed from this rostrum by other delegations when we started to consider this question, we find that, with respect to both the political action directed from outside and the violation of fundamental human rights which has accompanied it, the only objection to our consideration of this item is based on the principle of domestic jurisdiction under Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter.

99. As on previous occasions when dealing with respect for or, as in the present case, the violation of fundamental and sacred human rights, my Government cannot accept that objection. We maintain that international jurisdiction is unlimited when it is a matter of preserving and observing human rights. That is what we have maintained on numerous occasions, whether in the case of Hungary or of any other part of the world. We say that, since the establishment of the Charter, human rights, which were ultimately to be embodied in an international covenant binding upon and present in the life and destiny of mankind, cannot be disregarded, nor can they be outside the scope of an international forum such as the General Assembly of the United Nations, whose only and immutable law is

the Charter, the principles and purposes of which are the sacred text of the new law on earth.

100. How can an objection based on the ground of domestic jurisdiction be validly raised against the consideration of a clear case of violation of national sovereignty, of human rights enshrined in the Charter, of fundamental rights sacred to man in every part of the world? I would recall that the men who met at San Francisco, while the flames of a war fought to free the world were still blazing, wrote, in the preamble of the United Nations Charter, that the peoples of the United Nations were determined "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small".

101. How can it be said that the representatives of all the nations of the free and freedom-loving world who met at San Francisco proclaimed those rights and principles in the preamble of the Charter, only to include in Article 2, paragraph 7, a provision which would completely repudiate the basic principle upon which the United Nations was built? We cannot speak of domestic jurisdiction when this international covenant, this international law which is the United Nations Charter, has given universal jurisdiction to the observance of human rights. We cannot believe that paragraph 7 of Article 2 was included in the next breath in order to provide a stealthy means of violating those same human rights and exposing the dignity of the human person to every possible arbitrary act.

102. We followed the debate in the Security Council on this question, and we voted in favour of the draft resolution adopted by the General Assembly. We should have preferred the observers mentioned in paragraph 5 of the resolution to be appointed and given their terms of reference by the General Assembly itself, although we have nothing against the provision that the Secretary-General should be empowered to appoint them. All in all, however, we consider that the United Nations has in that resolution reaffirmed with respect to the Hungarian problem those principles of human rights set forth in the Charter.

103. A few days ago, we were concerned with another case of protecting human and national rights, when we were considering the ultimatum sent by two nations to Egypt and the military action which was to follow. At that time, we expressed our disapproval of any act of force committed by a nation seeking to place itself outside, above and against the United Nations Charter by taking upon itself the right to police the world. Having upon that occasion supported those principles whose disregard would mean a return to the ancient ways which have been abolished for all time, we have all the more reason today, in view of what has happened, to say that we have voted in favour of that draft resolution because the destiny of the Hungarian people is so dramatically at stake.

104. One thing is clear in the world of today. No arbitrary act, however powerful, can destroy man's freedom, the essence of his life. No deployment of heavy steel tanks, filing by like monsters, will succeed in crushing the destiny of a people and the rights of man. No reference to domestic jurisdiction, which has so frequently been invoked, will prevent the General Assembly, the voice of the conscience of mankind, from taking action. No force, however great, can prevail over the destiny of the world and the conscience of man. There is something stronger and greater than the combined military power of all the empires on earth. It is a small

and fragile thing known as human rights, exposed for centuries to the danger of being trampled under foot, the danger of arbitrary action; that simple thing which says: "My dignity requires me to live with all the prerogatives of the human person". Those rights, proclaimed in the Charter and on the basis of which the United Nations was established, are the new moral values, the new power, the new empire which finally have raised their torch in the name of justice and freedom to illuminate for all time the path of future generations.

105. I do not know what fate is in store for the resolution which the General Assembly has adopted. I do know that I must say here what I said on a previous occasion on behalf of my delegation and my Government. And so I say that we could not protest in the case of Suez and remain silent in that of Hungary; that we cannot use two different standards for the appraisal of arbitrary acts; we can use only the standard set by the Charter, which has made this General Assembly the true custodian of the destiny and rights of mankind.

106. I wanted to express my delegation's views in connexion with the resolution which we supported, and at the same time to express our solidarity and our hope to the new martyrs of our times.

107. Mr. JOJA (Romania) (*translated from French*): My delegation voted against the resolution of 4 November 1956 on the situation in Hungary. Under Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, the United Nations is not authorized to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a State. The resolution represents interference in the internal affairs of Hungary. It violates the terms of the Charter. That is why it could have no effect.

108. It is true that the resolution referred to the Treaty of Peace with Hungary. But an essential provision of that Treaty, article 4, categorically prohibits the activity of fascist organizations in Hungary. Recent events in Hungary have shown that fascist elements had touched off a rebellion against the Hungarian State. The sequence of events in Hungary has confirmed the Romanian Government's opinion that there actually was a fascist rebellion. It was directed against the essential features of the structure of the Hungarian State as established by the Constitution, and went so far as to abolish all legality. Fascist elements created anarchy and with outrageous violence attacked the institutions of the State and the fundamental human rights on which the democratic Hungarian régime was founded. Elements which in the past supported the terror of Horthy rose out of the shadows of the past and engaged in the systematic slaughter of Hungarian patriots, in opposition to the representatives of the democratic power.

109. It was in these tragic circumstances, which threatened to transform a glorious country into a vast holocaust, that the Hungarian Government appealed to the Soviet troops, under the terms of the Warsaw Pact, to help it put an end to the serious danger confronting the country.

110. Obviously, a rebellion of such magnitude could not have broken out without large-scale assistance from outside, and the facts confirm that. It should be noted that the representatives who want a discussion of events in Hungary by the United Nations have not uttered a single word of criticism concerning the slaughter and criminal violations of the freedom and rights of the Hungarian people. It is perfectly clear that the Nagy

government was both unable and unwilling to halt those excesses.

111. Consequently, the Romanian Government took the view that a very serious situation had arisen in Hungary, but that it was a matter essentially within the jurisdiction of the Hungarian Government. The Romanian Government welcomed the establishment of the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary, the only lawful government representing the people's democracy, the form of government chosen by the Hungarian people.

112. The Romanian Government is convinced that, on the basis of the programme announced by the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary, accepted and supported by the Hungarian people, the situation in Hungary will receive a natural solution in keeping with the organic structure of the Hungarian State.

113. Moreover, we cannot overlook the fact that the rebellion of anti-democratic elements has been overcome and that life in democratic Hungary is resuming its normal course. United Nations debate of events in Hungary can only serve the interests of the fascist anti-democratic elements, the interest of the groups which are trying to generate international tension and to disturb the peace.

114. In conclusion, the Romanian delegation considers that the United Nations, which is founded on the principle of non-intervention in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a State, is not competent to discuss the item entitled "The situation in Hungary". We are convinced that, by discontinuing discussion of the item, we shall make the only valid contribution to a sound and rapid solution of this internal matter concerning the Hungarian people.

115. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): At our previous [564th] meeting, when it was urgently necessary that the General Assembly should come to a vote as quickly as possible, the three Benelux delegations decided not to take up the time of the meeting by making separate statements, and the representative of Belgium then spoke for all of us. Now that there is a little more time, I should like to add a few words to what he then said—not because I have any new ideas to propound, but because I feel it my duty to testify from this rostrum to the horror and the indignation felt by my countrymen at the barbarous action of the Soviet Union in Hungary.

116. On 4 November, all the democratic political parties in the Netherlands—that is, all the parties with the exception of the Communist party—published a statement which I should like to read to the Assembly. It reads as follows:

"In a strong feeling of brotherhood, all mankind has suffered with the people of Hungary struggling for its liberty and independence. The Russian treason in Hungary threatens to destroy the freedom for which the Hungarian people has fought so hard.

"In strong indignation, and deeply hurt in its most sacred feelings, mankind protests against the murderous attack on the brave Hungarian people, which is almost powerless and defenceless against the ruthless aggressor.

"In this tragic hour, the Netherlands political parties, upholding the right of freedom, jointly call on the Netherlands people unanimously to give expression to their loathing for the Communist violence."

117. On 5 November, at the request of the Netherlands Government, all the flags in the Netherlands were flown at half-mast.

118. The next day, the Prime Minister announced in the States General that medical and other civilian aid was being dispatched to the Hungarian frontier, and that it had been decided to admit and to provide homes in the Netherlands for 1,000 Hungarian refugees.

119. Those are the feelings and the deeds of the people of the Netherlands in this matter so far.

120. May I add that, when I was last in Budapest, I remember there stood on the high left bank of the Danube a huge statue, a statue of Saint Gellert, which held in its outstretched arm the cross over the city of Budapest. I do not know whether that statue still stands, but I do know that what it symbolizes—faith, liberty, justice and human dignity—will win out in the end over Soviet terrorism.

121. Mr. BRILEJ (Yugoslavia): Because of the closure of the debate at the last meeting at which the Assembly dealt with this item, I had no opportunity to state the views of my delegation. I need hardly emphasize, however, the great concern with which Yugoslav public opinion and the Yugoslav Government have been viewing the recent tragic events in Hungary.

122. The reasons for our interest and our concern are many. Hungary is a neighbouring country, and our relations with this neighbour have played a considerable, if not always happy, role in our history. We also have a natural interest in the developments that are taking place in Eastern Europe, and especially in the efforts that are being made to establish relations between the countries of that region on the basis of independence, sovereign equality and friendly co-operation.

123. The trends that have been coming to the fore in Eastern Europe of late are known, although they are not always fully understood. The basic feature is a striving towards an increasing measure of democracy on the social foundations that were laid as a result of the last and, may I add, irreversible changes that occurred in those countries in the aftermath of the Second World War. These trends have not always developed in the same manner in the different countries. Where these trends have been allowed to run their course without outside impediment, they have been developing in a more or less smooth and generally orderly manner. Where, on the contrary, attempts have been made to retard them or to divert them into channels which reflect a wholly unrealistic tendency to put the clock back and establish the pre-Second World War social and political patterns, the result has been strife and turmoil. That is what has happened in Hungary.

124. It might be useful at this point to try to retrace the course of these happenings, as they are frequently distorted and befogged. The genuine and legitimate strivings of the Hungarian people to develop their national life in accordance with the historic and social conditions of the country and to achieve a growing measure of democracy and independence met neither with a prompt nor a ready response. Changes long overdue were still delayed. A state of increasing tension was thus brought about.

125. When the Nagy government came to power, matters were rapidly getting out of hand. A state of chaos and anarchy was becoming the dominant feature of this fluid and more confused situation, which was being abundantly exploited from various sides. Demands were put which no government could possibly meet overnight.

Violence not only against those who bore responsibility for the injustices of the former régime, but also against numberless innocent citizens, was rampant. It was becoming increasingly obvious that there was little or nothing that the Nagy government could do to cope with the situation. This unfortunate situation was made even worse by various forms of interference from outside with the more or less openly avowed purpose of restoring the pre-war régime and at the same time changing the basic relationship of forces in Europe.

126. Conditions in Hungary were thus deteriorating to a degree which precluded any possibility of orderly democratic development in Hungary itself, but constituted a potential danger to peace. That deterioration reached its climax some days ago when a state of almost complete chaos and anarchy gripped the country. Amid the rapidly worsening situation, a split occurred in the Nagy government, and a new government was formed. This new government has defined its programme along the main lines of the strivings which caused the Hungarian people to rise to arms on 23 October 1956. This shows how powerful and profoundly anchored those strivings are. No one can any longer afford to ignore them, as they clearly provide the only possible basis for a normal political life in Hungary.

127. However, this is not the whole picture. There is the question of the involvement of Soviet troops in the internal affairs of Hungary. There can be no doubt as to where my Government stands with regard to such an involvement. We have always opposed the intervention of foreign armed forces in the internal affairs of a country, as it is contrary to the fundamental principles upon which the entire foreign policy of my country rests. We still hope, in view of the declaration of the Soviet Union of 30 October 1956, that the Soviet troops will be withdrawn.

128. Yugoslavia has always strongly advocated the line of strict non-interference in Hungary's internal affairs and of full respect for its sovereign rights. All we wish is that the people of Hungary should enjoy the freedom and the independence to which they are fully entitled, and that they should advance along the paths of democracy and social progress in accordance with the best interests of the Hungarian nation. It is our fervent hope that conditions will be soon established in which this will become possible.

129. The less interference, from whatever source, there is in their internal affairs, the better it will be for the Hungarian people and for the peace of the world. The Hungarian people are surely mature enough to settle their own problems in accordance with their interests and their wishes.

130. The United States draft resolution, taken as a whole, did not seem to us to indicate a course which might lead to an improvement of the situation in Hungary, and my delegation, therefore, abstained in the vote thereon. I wish to add, however, that there are

several paragraphs in that draft resolution for which I would have cast an affirmative vote, had a vote been taken on them.

131. Mr. JARRING (Sweden): May I briefly state the reasons why the Swedish delegation voted for the resolution adopted by the emergency special session of the General Assembly in the matter before us.

132. The Swedish delegation finds it natural and necessary that world opinion, represented by the General Assembly of the United Nations, should have been given an opportunity to express itself on what has happened and is now happening in Hungary, one of those States which only a year ago was admitted to this Organization. This new Member State, like all other Member States, is entitled to insist on the implementation by the other Members of a principle embodied in the Charter: the principle of developing "friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". This Member State can also point to the fact that all Members have accepted principles and instituted methods to ensure that "armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest".

133. The Swedish people, like so many other peoples in the world, has breathlessly followed the drama now unfolding in Hungary. We have been torn between hope and fear when witnessing the fight of the anonymous mass of the Hungarian people against foreign domination. This has been a truly democratic revolution. It has been carried out by thousands of heroes under unknown leaders. It is doubly tragic to witness how this fight for freedom is being suppressed by foreign armed forces.

134. All States that have pledged themselves to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States have reason to protest with indignation against the act of violence now being committed in Hungary. The State committing this act of violence officially declared its adherence only a few days ago to the principle that the stationing of troops on the territory of another country required the consent of that other State. In Hungary, foreign troops, contrary to this principle, have not only been maintained there but have been brutally used to suppress a popular rising.

135. Those responsible for the intervention in Hungary have drawn upon themselves a heavy burden of guilt. May they not add to it by ignoring the opinion that has been expressed by this forum of nations.

136. Finally, let me say that we of the Swedish delegation have noted with regret that quite a few States which on other occasions have stressed emphatically the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States have seen no reason, when voting on this resolution, to demonstrate this attitude of theirs with regard to the recent events in Hungary.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.



CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 5:	
The situation in Hungary (<i>continued</i>).....	33

President: Mr. Rudecindo ORTEGA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 5

The situation in Hungary (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Before calling upon the speakers on my list, I must request the public present to refrain from indulging in any show of feelings. It is the President's duty to maintain a proper atmosphere in which the debate can proceed uninterrupted by outbursts of applause, which tend to be distracting. I would therefore ask the public to co-operate with me in this matter so that the work that we are trying to accomplish to the best of our ability will not be hampered by interruptions of this kind.

2. Mr. ULLRICH (Czechoslovakia): The Czechoslovak delegation was opposed to the inclusion of the item "The situation in Hungary" in the agenda. Its inclusion, against the repeated protests of the Hungarian Government, also is in contradiction to the provisions of the Charter and constitutes interference in the internal affairs of a Member State. The so-called Hungarian item, in the opinion of the Czechoslovak delegation, has been imposed upon this forum with the intention of diverting the attention of world opinion from the tragic events taking place in the Near East, where the Government of the United Kingdom and France continue their aggression against Egypt.

3. Distorted and fallacious accounts of events in Hungary have been given by a number of speakers, disregarding completely the rôle played by reactionary elements and the interference in the internal affairs of Hungary by those who supported and organized large-scale subversion of that country. They persist in their version, although these facts are well known and broadly commented upon by the world press.

4. On the other hand, it has been realistically admitted that there existed serious unsolved problems and difficulties resulting from the past, but there existed already the necessary prerequisites to solve them in accordance with the will and wishes of the people if foreign incitement and material help to the fascist elements which carried out terror and murder had not taken place. It was because of the criminal activities of those elements that the most deplorable and tragic events occurred, and the foreign managers of subversion and disorder ought to be made responsible for them.

5. The solution of the existing difficulties and problems facing the Hungarian people is, however, their domestic affair, and consequently there is really no Hungarian question, as many claim before the United

Nations. The situation in Hungary does not warrant this emergency session of the General Assembly. The well-armed counter-revolutionary attacks against the people's democratic régime in Hungary was suppressed as the result of the actions of Hungarian patriots and Hungarian authorities. Soviet military forces, stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Treaty, were aiding the Hungarian authorities, at their request, in restoring order and security.

6. The outcome of the events is obviously a frustration of a plan prepared well in advance by those who have supported by all means subversive activities against the People's Republic of Hungary and other countries of Eastern Europe. The course of events in Hungary has proved beyond any doubt that an attack against the people's democratic régime was organized and engineered by foreign centres specialized in that kind of activity.

7. Under the Mutual Security Act, the United States Government officially allocates \$100 million annually for subversive activities against the countries of socialism. The motives for that policy are to be found in the fact that the reactionary forces of the West dislike the economic, cultural and social system of the countries of Eastern Europe. They are trying to subvert legal governments in the Eastern European countries and to make peaceful development impossible, and are concentrating on interference in the domestic affairs of those countries.

8. The Charter places on every Member of the United Nations the obligation of developing friendly relations among nations. The United States, however, has proclaimed a policy of interference and compulsion, designed to change the régime established by the people and to divert the peoples of Eastern Europe from the road to a better life. As regards Hungary, that has also been in the post-war era the goal of certain circles in Western countries which have sought to re-establish a capitalistic régime in that country and to pull it into their orbit.

9. The Czechoslovak people, who cherish feelings of deep friendship which bind them to the people of Hungary, have followed with understanding and sympathy the endeavours of the Hungarian working people to build up an independent, socialistic State. The Czechoslovak people also fully understand the demands of the Hungarian working people for a rise in their living standards and an increase in their democratic liberties; the Czechoslovak people fully understand the sincere efforts of the Hungarian working people to remove the deficiencies which have prevented the achievement of these goals in the past. It is our firm conviction that the Hungarian people, under the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, will overcome all the present difficulties and will achieve final success in building a socialistic State and a better future.

10. The struggle of the Hungarian people to maintain and strengthen the people's democratic régime will meet

with the sympathy and support of the Czechoslovak people, who are assiduously following the path of progress and socialism and stand firmly by their indestructible friendship with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the people's democracies of Eastern Europe and the German Democratic Republic, as the best guarantee of independence and freedom from any attempts by those reactionary forces which, in 1938 and 1939, at the time of Munich, mercilessly handed Czechoslovakia over to the Nazis.

11. Mr. DE LA COLINA (Mexico) (*translated from Spanish*): The appalling events in Hungary have filled the people of Mexico with dismay. There can be no doubt that the Government of this gallant people was overthrown by the armed intervention of overwhelming foreign forces.

12. The right of peoples to self-determination, embodied in the United Nations Charter, and the related concept of non-intervention by foreign States—two cherished principles for which the people of my country have shed their blood on more than one occasion—have once again been trodden under foot. As in the regrettable case of Egypt, my delegation has now voted for the draft resolution submitted by the United States [A/3286], on the grounds that at this critical moment in the destinies of mankind the General Assembly should raise its voice unequivocally in condemnation of the use of armed force to suppress the legitimate aspirations of peoples throughout the world.

13. Mr. SAPOZHNIKOV (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): At the insistence of the delegations of the Western Powers, the question of the situation in Hungary was placed before the General Assembly for consideration. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR voted at the 564th meeting against the inclusion of this question in the agenda, since its discussion constitutes a gross violation of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, which forbids intervention in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of States, and is contrary to the interests of the United Nations.

14. It should be noted that the discussion of the situation in Hungary was imposed on the General Assembly despite the statement by the lawful Government of the Hungarian People's Republic of 28 October [S/3691] in which it protested against the consideration of this question by the United Nations. The new Hungarian Government, in a telegram to the Secretary-General, circulated in document A/3311, also objected categorically to any discussion of the question of the situation in Hungary either by the Security Council or by the General Assembly, pointing out that the question was within the exclusive jurisdiction of Hungary.

15. The discussion of this question was imposed on the General Assembly at the very moment when the eyes of millions were turned to the events in the Middle East. As we all know, the situation in that area is very grave. Egypt has been the victim of an entirely unjustified armed attack by the United Kingdom, France and Israel. The armed forces of the United Kingdom and France have invaded the Suez Canal zone. Israel has seized a large part of Egyptian territory in the Sinai Peninsula.

16. In order to divert public attention from the acts of aggression against Egypt, several delegations have attempted to create a smoke-screen in the United Nations. Such a smoke-screen is the discussion of the situation in Hungary, a question which, as we have already pointed out, cannot be a subject for discussion

in the United Nations since it is a domestic affair with which the Hungarian people alone is concerned.

17. There are numerous indications that the acts of the counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary which have attacked the lawful Government of the Hungarian People's Republic are the fruit of protracted subversive work on the part of the Western Powers. We know that over a period of many years the United States and other Western countries have been brazenly interfering in the domestic affairs of Hungary and other socialist States, organizing the counter-revolutionary elements and inciting them to the overthrow of the socialist order in their countries. To this end, under the so-called Mutual Security Act of 1951, the United States Government annually appropriates special credits to finance organized groups of traitors to the Hungarian people—the Arrow Cross Movement, the Horthyists, and other fascist elements which operate from Austria and West Germany. The same money was used to finance slanderous propaganda against the People's Republic of Hungary, to launch countless balloons with propaganda literature, to make radio broadcasts, to send spies and diversionists into the country and to establish a counter-revolutionary underground.

18. In the light of all these facts the true significance of the slanderous campaign now being conducted in the General Assembly by the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and various other countries is quite obvious. Their statements can be regarded only as attempts to foment new disturbances in Hungary. They seek to use the authority of the United Nations as a cloak for their flagrant intervention in Hungary's domestic affairs, to lend support to the reactionary fascist elements and to aggravate the international situation.

19. It is obvious that all of this has nothing in common with the interests of the Hungarian people, which is combating the lawlessness of the fascist elements, who are bent upon depriving the people of its hard-won achievements and sapping the foundations of the socialist system of government.

20. It should be noted that the actions of the fascist elements have wrought great misfortune on the Hungarian people. The fascists have killed workers, made short shrift of progressive leaders, and destroyed enterprises, institutions, and cultural treasures. The Government of Imre Nagy in actual fact connived at the reactionary forces, and as a result, the bloody terror against the workers attained unprecedented dimensions. Naturally, this could not continue. The Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government was set up in Hungary, which enjoys the broad support of the Hungarian people and which is taking measures to ensure normal conditions of life. According to the latest reports from Budapest, order and tranquillity have been almost wholly restored in Hungary. Industrial undertakings are resuming their operations, public transport is functioning again and railway transport is being restored.

21. This turn of events is apparently not to the liking of certain circles in the West. There are those who want Hungary to revert to the old order, which has been repudiated by the Hungarian people. That is the only explanation for the desperate attempts of the United States and certain other countries to impose their will upon the Hungarian people, attempts which were reflected in the draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation [A/3286]. The United States

draft resolution is a proposal to intervene in Hungary's internal affairs which is inadmissible and which is contrary to the United Nations Charter.

22. For these reasons, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR voted against the draft resolution at the 564th meeting.

23. Mr. PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela) (*translated from Spanish*): When this question was discussed at the previous meeting of the emergency special session [568th meeting], my delegation had intended to express its views on the situation in Hungary. However, as the draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation [A/3286] has been adopted, I shall confine myself to a brief statement explaining the position of my delegation with respect to the problem we have been considering.

24. The first news of the gallant stand taken by the Hungarian people caused much concern to the people and Government of Venezuela; but it was profoundly and rudely shocked by the news received a few days ago of the brutal repressive measures taken against the people and the Government itself of this unhappy and heroic country by Soviet forces stationed there. It seems incredible that this notorious repressive action should have been taken just when we all entertained confident hopes that those forces would really be withdrawn.

25. In the face of the stir caused throughout the world by the events in Hungary, my delegation not only endorsed the Security Council's consideration of the situation, it also endorsed the urgent convening of the General Assembly. From there it was a logical step to support the resolution now adopted, on the ground that it was warranted by the general outcry at the action taken by Soviet forces against the territorial integrity and political independence of the Hungarian State.

26. U PE KIN (Burma): It will be recalled that the delegation of Burma, along with some other delegations, abstained in the vote on the United States draft resolution of 4 November 1956 concerning Soviet Union intervention in Hungary [A/3286]. Today, four days later, we are afforded an opportunity, if we wish to exercise it, to state the reasons for our action. I welcome it.

27. It is hoped that the Assembly will appreciate the fact that my Government is located in a capital far distant from New York, and communication is not easy. If only the vote on that draft resolution had been postponed perhaps a day, my delegation would have been in a position to take a definite stand. This does not, however, mean that we would have voted for the draft resolution as it stood. We would have made certain observations in respect of some paragraphs.

28. However, my delegation wishes to go on record that the Government of Burma views with great concern the Soviet Union intervention—armed intervention at that—in the internal affairs of Hungary. Our policy is based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It is a policy eloquently reaffirmed at the historic African-Asian Conference at Bandung in April 1955, which strongly supported the five principles of coexistence which the Soviet Union had previously endorsed.

29. If "respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence"—if, I say, these five principles of coexistence are to be upheld as supporting the United Nations Charter,

if the Charter itself is not to be flouted whenever some big Power or group of Powers is concerned about its imperial interests, then it follows that there is no justification for the armed intervention of the Soviet Union against Hungary.

30. My delegation therefore hopes that the Soviet Union, as an important permanent member of the Security Council, will take steps to effect the speedy withdrawal of its troops from Hungary. My delegation will therefore support any effort by the United Nations consistent with the Charter—which effort, to my Government's mind, does not amount to interference by any outside Power, whichever that might be—to enable the Hungarian people to settle down and pursue a path of their own free choosing.

31. Finally, I can do no better than to agree with the representative of Yugoslavia, when he observed at this morning's meeting:

"The less interference, from whatever source . . . the better . . . for the Hungarian people and for the peace of the world." [568th meeting, para. 129.]

32. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation has, like all the delegations, received a note dated 6 November 1956 from the Secretary-General inviting us to take note of paragraphs 6 and 8 of the operative part of resolution 1004 (ES-II) which we have adopted. Paragraph 6 calls upon all Members of the United Nations to co-operate with the Secretary-General and his representatives in the execution of his functions.

33. I should like to inform the Assembly that the Spanish Government is prepared to co-operate in this humanitarian task in every way that the Secretariat may deem useful and, as I said when I was commenting on this subject at the 564th meeting—I am now merely explaining my vote—my Government is also prepared to suggest, if it is feasible and when the time is ripe, that we proceed as we did on the Suez question and establish a police force, a patrol force which would restore order and establish peace between the resisting Hungarian people and the invading Soviet Union troops. Spain would offer for this purpose as many units as would be required, within the limits of its forces and to the extent of its ability.

39. Resolution 1004 (ES-II) also invites all national and international humanitarian organizations to co-operate in making available such supplies as may be required by the Hungarian people. We agree to this, and the Secretariat can depend on us.

35. Our suggestion to send a United Nations patrol force—I do not wish to propose it formally because it seems that the proper moment in the debate has not yet arrived, but we would willingly vote for such a proposal if any other representatives were to sponsor it—does not seem to me to be at all unreasonable.

36. I have faith in the progress made by the public conscience in recent times, which cannot be ignored even by the Soviet Union.

37. In a similar but quite separate matter, the Suez question, we have recently seen the large Powers agree to the sending of an international force to re-establish order, separate the parties to the dispute, and restore its independence to a people whose country has been invaded. Why could we not hope that the Soviet Union would do likewise?

38. As a Spanish poet said, "Dream, soul of man". If this dream of ours is to become a reality, so much the better for everyone, especially for the great Powers.

39. As we witness the case of Suez, we are reminded of the fact that we are living in an era in which the peoples of India, Indonesia, and Morocco—where there was French and Spanish influence—have achieved their independence and in which the Saar question has been settled. We must therefore nerve ourselves to continue on our chosen path, and I do not think it impossible that the course now being followed in the Suez question—with positive results, I believe—could also be followed in this obvious, clear-cut case of the invasion of Hungary by a Soviet army in order to establish a Government there sympathetic to the Soviet Union.

40. I am not convinced by the argument just presented that the more independence the Hungarian people has, the better it will be able to solve its problem. Beware! Independence after invasion by a huge foreign army, with that army entrenched on the country's borders, poised and ready to invade it again, cannot be called true independence; it is preparation for another massacre as soon as the Hungarian people give the first signs of desiring freedom and independence and of maintaining their own national identity.

41. We are witnessing a very sad spectacle, and it has been Hungary's tragic and providential mission to draw our attention, which has been preoccupied with other matters, to the enslavement—as the Cuban representative pointed out at the 568th meeting in a splendid speech—of a large part of Europe: the Baltic States; East Germany, which is separated from the other integral part of its country, preventing Europe from regaining its true equilibrium until reunification takes place; Poland; the Balkans, etc.—and what a sad *cetera* it is!

42. Prudence may have prompted the General Assembly at certain times to abstain from action in the face of great danger. Perhaps Hungary's appeal will make it change that attitude.

43. There is an unforgettable line by a great German poet; sometimes the peoples seem to be guided by it. Goethe once said: "I prefer injustice to disorder". It might appear at times that the maintenance of strict order through violence and enslavement prevents disturbance, even though injustice necessarily prevails. Hungary's appeal will cause us to reflect on the danger of such an attitude, even to order itself.

44. My delegation reaffirms its previous statements. The Spanish people, unanimous in their enthusiasm, address themselves to the Hungarian people, who are now suffering persecution, as attested to by all the documents we have read. We do not consider the present interesting discussion at the United Nations to be unprofitable. It reveals an awakening of conscience and brings consolation and encouragement to those who are suffering. Let us cherish the hope that the highly eloquent statements which have been made here by the representatives, and even my own humble remarks, may be heard in some remote corner of Hungary over the improvised radio of a patriot, to whom we will bring encouragement and the fervent wishes of the peoples of the whole world, who sympathize with his cause and feel for him in the persecution he is experiencing.

45. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR voted at the 564th meeting against the inclusion of the item entitled "The situation in Hungary" in the agenda of the second emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly, on the ground that the inclusion of this

item would be an act of flagrant interference in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic, and one carried out against the wishes of its Government, as expressed in the telegram sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations by the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic [A/3311]. Accordingly, the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly is contrary to the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter, and there are absolutely no grounds for its discussion. However, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR cannot let pass the slanderous statements that have been made by some representatives at this session of the United Nations General Assembly.

46. The course of events in Hungary has shown that the just and progressive movement of the workers of Hungary towards the elimination of the defects that stood in the way of the successful development of the Hungarian People's Republic along socialist lines and as a free, sovereign and socialist State has been used by reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces in an attempt to restore the landowner-capitalist order in Hungary. Fascist elements inspired from abroad and concealing their aims with words of patriotism, freedom and independence have tried to undermine the foundations of the people's democratic system in Hungary and to divert the country from the path of socialist development. In doing so, these fascist elements unleashed a reign of terror in Hungary, massacring Hungarian patriots.

47. However, the revolutionary forces of the Hungarian working people have resolutely resisted the intrigues of these fascist elements. The new Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary, expressing the will of the Hungarian people, is taking the necessary steps to protect the socialist achievements of the Hungarian workers and to restore order. The Hungarian workers are giving the Government their complete support. That is fully understandable, for the Hungarian people cannot allow reactionary fascist elements of the Horthy type to seize power with United States help and thus to gain an opportunity of robbing them of all they have achieved in the post-war years. The Hungarian people well remember how in the years before the war the Horthyists handed Hungary over to the Hitlerites. They will not allow anything like that to happen again.

48. We are convinced that the dollars poured in by the United States of America, dollars which are being used to finance subversive activities against the interests of the Hungarian people, will not enable the fascist elements to divert the Hungarian people from their chosen path of socialist development.

49. The discussion of the situation in Hungary which has been imposed on the United Nations General Assembly by the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and France is in no way intended to improve the situation in Hungary, but is aimed at further aggravating that situation by artificial means. It is a provocative manoeuvre by the United States, the United Kingdom and France, designed to strengthen the position of the fascist elements in Hungary, which have taken up arms against the achievements of the Hungarian working people. That has been further confirmed by the United States representative's statement at the 564th meeting, and by the statements of certain other representatives.

50. The United States representative tried to set himself up as the defender of the interests of the Hungarian people. In reply, we should merely like to point out that certain groups in the United States have always openly advocated the overthrow of the socialist system in the people's democracies, including Hungary, and the forcible establishment of the capitalist system in those countries; thus, the United States has always advocated, as it still does, depriving the people's democracies of all they have achieved in the post-war years.

51. The appearance of the fascist elements in Hungary and their excesses there represent a link in the long chain of anti-popular subversive and diversionist activities organized, financed and directed by the United States against the people's democracies. Subversive activity against the countries in the socialist camp has been raised in the United States to the level of official government policy.

52. The United States, the United Kingdom and France are raising this provocative hue and cry about the situation in Hungary in the United Nations in order to distract the attention of world public opinion from the aggression undertaken by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt and from the purposes of that aggression. However, it cannot be concealed that Franco-British forces have seized Egyptian territory and have destroyed peaceful towns and villages in Egypt, in defiance of several resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly calling for an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of all the invading troops from Egyptian territory. The aggressors are now trying to use the United Nations in order to cloak their aggression under the United Nations flag and to achieve their purpose of re-establishing and strengthening their colonialist positions in the Near and Middle East. We can see that, by illegally introducing the question of "The situation in Hungary" at this session of the United Nations General Assembly, the aggressors are gaining time, while continuing their aggressive operations in Egypt. A further purpose of this movement is to aggravate the international situation.

53. In view of these facts, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR voted against the draft resolution presented by the United States delegation [A/3286], a draft which is contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and constitutes an act of gross interference in the domestic affairs of Member States of the United Nations. The adoption of such resolutions can only discredit the United Nations in the eyes of the world.

54. Mr. TRUJILLO (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): Our delegation supported the inclusion of the question of the situation in Hungary in the agenda and voted for the United States draft resolution [A/3286] because we feel that it reflects, although not fully, the alarm felt by all the peoples of the world, and especially by those of the Americas, which so greatly love freedom and the principle of self-determination.

55. I should like to have had more time and opportunity to elaborate upon the brief analysis which I shall make of the situation and the reasons why the Ecuadorian delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution.

56. When the tragic figure of Joseph Stalin disappeared from the stage of history, all we who love freedom throughout the world believed that an internal transformation would take place in the Soviet Union, and that, even if it were not the political and economic transformation one might wish for, it would at least mark a change of political method. Shortly afterwards

it seemed that this hope was being realized, because of the historic speech of Mr. Khrushchev, the Secretary of the Communist Party, who made a full, objective and correct analysis of the tragic sufferings of the unfortunate Russian people under Stalin's dictatorship. We also thought that little by little the reins holding that great people in subjection would be slackened, and that gradually a democratization process would begin, permitting a similar process to take place in other countries which had been so unfortunate as to fall within the Communist sphere of political action.

57. It actually seemed that this was happening, both within and outside the Soviet Union, and in certain of the satellite countries there were signs indicating very clearly a desire for greater freedom and a growing desire for self-determination. This movement reached Hungary. We have followed it closely, and it is not true that it is a fascist movement. It is a movement which has sprung from the hearts of these tormented people who want to find their own way, free themselves from Soviet dictatorship, and make their country truly independent.

58. It is very easy to call the enemies of the Communist régime fascist. Whatever is not Communist apparently is fascist. No, these were patriotic Hungarian groups that rose against the Communist régime, not traitors to their people; on the contrary, they are men loyal to the great history of that great people. It is not true that this historic feat has been financed with foreign funds; in fact it is perhaps for lack of such funds that the movement failed. It is not true that simply the dissemination of news and propaganda by means of foreign balloons in that area, and in other areas which lack news, was the cause of this uprising.

59. No, the cause of the uprising is deeper and more convincing; the very fact that balloon propaganda was heeded is the best indication that there is a longing for information and for freedom of information, and a desire to know more than merely the things the Government wants known. Those persons who from this rostrum, before the United Nations and the world, have denounced the tragedy now being suffered by the Hungarian people merely because they wish to exercise their rights, are not slanderers; what they say is not slander, only truths which some wish to conceal.

60. If we vigorously supported the cause of Egypt when two of the great Powers made the grievous mistake of trying to impose their will upon the Egyptian people, if at that time we agreed completely with Egypt and thought the whole world should come to its defence, then we cannot remain silent now concerning the tragedy of Hungary.

61. It is therefore not true that this matter was brought up by the United States so as to raise a smoke-screen over Egypt. No, the problem is there and our whole attention will be directed towards it until it is solved in a satisfactory manner. But we should like the two problems to be given equal attention; neither one should cause the other to be neglected. In the same spirit of justice the world should prevent Egypt from being trampled upon, and also prevent a great world Power like the Soviet Union from venting its fury upon the poor people of the great country of Hungary who merely wished to make use of their freedom.

62. This is one of the greatest and most decisive moments in the history of the United Nations, and I choose this moment to draw the attention of the Arab peoples to the fact that their profound resentment seems only to allow them to feel their own tragedy,

and prevents them from paying heed to the tragedy of others. I appeal to their magnanimity to rise above their own sorrow and to consider that by committing an injustice at this time in denying even their moral support to Hungary's cause, they are doing themselves a great wrong and are alienating the sympathy of a large part of mankind—which nevertheless will stand by the Arab peoples until full justice has been done.

63. Upon the express instructions of the Ecuadorian Chief of State and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I wish to present the most vigorous protest of our Government and our people, who desire that throughout the world, as in the Americas, the principle of self-determination should be freely exercised and that all peoples should be the masters of their own destiny.

64. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): One of the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations is that the Members of the Organization shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

65. It is clear that the Soviet Union, in sending powerful military forces into the territory of Hungary to extinguish the liberation movement of the heroic people of that country, has committed a most flagrant and scandalous violation of the aforementioned principle of the Charter.

66. It is equally clear that the makers of foreign policy of the Soviet Union have committed the appalling international crime called genocide, as defined in the provisions of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, to which not only Hungary and the Soviet Union, but almost all of the Member States of the United Nations are signatories.

67. Filled with indignation over the Soviet Union's brutal attack on the noble, cultivated and martyred Hungarian people, and acting on the special instructions of our Government, the delegation of El Salvador, at the second emergency special session of the General Assembly, voted in favour of resolution 1004 (ES-II), which was adopted at the 564th meeting on 4 November on the item entitled "The situation in Hungary". The resolution was adopted by an overwhelming majority of the Assembly, although many Member States abstained from voting on it, despite the fact that they were the Members most interested in the approval of vigorous General Assembly resolutions in the pending matter of the invasion of Egypt by foreign forces.

68. Unfortunately, there has been an absence of single-mindedness in our protest in the past few days against violations of international law, in our defence of the principles of justice and in our insistence on the re-establishment of international order, now disturbed, and this has doubtless detracted from the moral authority of this Organization.

69. We note with satisfaction in this connexion that, despite the silence of many delegations with regard to the situation in Hungary, in Asia the voice of a statesman of great moral stature—I refer to Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India—has already been raised condemning equally the invasion of Egyptian territory and the intervention of foreign military forces in the internal affairs of Hungary.

70. The news agencies report the speech made by Mr. Nehru on 5 November at the opening of the General Conference of UNESCO at New Delhi, as follows:

"We see today in Egypt, as well as in Hungary, both human dignity and freedom outraged and the force of modern arms used to suppress peoples and to gain political objectives."

71. Before concluding my brief remarks, I should like to state that the Soviet rulers have undoubtedly committed the odious crime of genocide, and to refer to that great personage, His Holiness the Pope, who from his eminent position as head of all Catholics throughout the world has condemned the brutal aggression committed against Hungary.

72. Mr. SUDJARWO (Indonesia): Since I had no chance to state the position of my delegation at the first meeting of the second emergency special session of the Assembly, held on 4 November [564th meeting] due to the hurry in which it was convened and the relative brevity of the meeting, I should like now to explain the attitude of my delegation and its vote on the resolution adopted at that meeting.

73. The speed with which the emergency session on this matter was convened on 4 November—in addition to the first emergency special session which has not yet been adjourned—may have had its advantages for many delegations, but certainly had its disadvantages for many others. My delegation was among those which were obliged to attend that session without specific instructions from their Governments in the face of a very important decision to be taken. The voting on the draft resolution took place only an hour or two after it had been submitted and, indeed, the draft itself, while enunciating a number of principles agreeable to my delegation, contained some paragraphs and phrases which were so important in their political implications that my delegation, being in the position which I have described, had no choice but to abstain from voting on that specific draft resolution of 4 November.

74. Furthermore, it should be noted with regret that the party most directly concerned, and a State Member of this Organization, the Hungarian Government, was not represented at that meeting because of the unusual circumstances in which it was convened. The Hungarian Government had, I believe, the first and primary right to inform the General Assembly as to the actual happenings and developments in that troubled country.

75. I must say that the Indonesian Government and people have viewed the recent events in Hungary with grave concern. My delegation voted in favour of the inclusion in the agenda of the item concerning the situation in Hungary for discussion at the special emergency session. My Government and my people deeply regret these events in Hungary, with the involvement of Soviet military forces, which have led to widespread and severe fighting, causing so many casualties, so much destruction, so much bloodshed and suffering among the Hungarian people.

76. The effort made within the framework of the United Nations to provide for the urgent needs of the Hungarian people—food, medicine and other supplies—is indeed very appropriate, and this humanitarian action commends itself to the support of every one of us.

77. The stand of my Government and my people on questions of national independence, freedom, sovereignty and human rights is well known. For centuries the Indonesian people have struggled and died to gain or to re-establish those rights which are the inalienable rights of all peoples and nations. The Hungarian people, I have no doubt, are no less eager than anyone else to

secure and enjoy those rights, to secure the national independence of their country, free from domination from whatever quarter or side. And indeed, they should be given the opportunity freely to choose the form of government which to them seems best for their country.

78. The means to that end are, of course, something for the Hungarian people to decide and choose. If, for example, they choose to withdraw from military pacts and to pursue an independent or neutral policy, such a policy would have our sympathy, since we ourselves pursue the same principles and policy. However, again, it is up to the Hungarian people themselves to decide and choose, and no interference—military, political or otherwise—from any side whatever can be condoned.

79. I am gratified that the principles and purposes of the African-Asian Conference at Bandung were quoted by several delegations in this Assembly at the 564th meeting, and again today. It is my belief that, if all the nations and Governments, on all sides, which seem to be so very interested in the internal affairs and the fate of Hungary, act in conformity with the principles and the spirit of Bandung, then, not only the future of Hungary—and my prayers go out for the Hungarian people—but the future relationships of all nations, in Europe and elsewhere, will be a source of deep gratification, promising the hope of better neighbourly relations among nations, in the interests of peace.

80. Whatever we do, at this crucial time in the history of the Hungarian people, we should do in the real interests of the Hungarian people as a whole, for the country as a whole, and thereby assist the Hungarian Government to carry out such objectives, taking into account, however, the need for a country, especially a small one, to maintain friendly relations with its neighbours.

81. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand): Although the situation in Hungary is the third, and so far the last, in the sequence of the great events which in the past few days have by the violence of their outburst rocked this Organization and shocked the conscience of the world, it is certainly not the least tragic, because the events in Hungary portray a merciless attack upon the most fundamental right of man, his right to lead a life of his own choice and his right to choose freedom. Those events represent an assault upon the civilized society of men and nations as symbolized by the United Nations. Such an attack, as everyone knows, has been and continues to be carried out with modern and deadly weapons by the armed forces of one State on the soil of another, against a defenceless civilian population, against men, women and children whose only crime is their refusal to be subjected to foreign domination and their determination to be free and to be masters in their own homeland. Everyone also knows that this attack, in the short period of only a few days, has exacted as heavy a toll of human life as months of war.

82. Confronted with this alarming situation, Thailand, with its age-old tradition of liberty and independence, could not remain insensible to this immense human suffering. Therefore, when the situation was brought before the Security Council, my country immediately expressed its full support for consideration of the matter by the Council. When, as a result of the Soviet veto, the question was transferred from the Council to the General Assembly, my country again made known its unequivocal attitude of support and sympathy by registering its positive vote in favour of the United States draft resolution. This attitude is fully in keeping with our traditions of freedom and independence and con-

sistent with our firm belief that, whenever and wherever there is an attempt on freedom and on the fundamental rights of man, we cannot and should not remain impassive, but should express our indignation and our strong reprobation.

83. In the course of the discussions on this matter, in the Security Council and in the Assembly, it has been contended that the severe repression undertaken by the Soviet armed forces against the Hungarian nation, which has plunged that nation in a blood bath, was based on the provisions of the Warsaw Treaty. Such a contention is revolting to us, for many of us here in the Assembly, including my own country, also belong to regional organizations as permitted by the United Nations Charter, but in the case of our regional organization it is inconceivable that the troops of any contracting party could be used to suppress national aspirations and national movements in the territory of other parties. Such a use of force is inconceivable even if a party should decide to withdraw from such a regional arrangement, for if force were used in such a case we should be confronted not with the obligations of a treaty but rather with the chains of bondage which bind the parties and place them at the mercy of a ruthless master. Unfortunately, this seems to be the case with Hungary.

84. The draft resolution proposed by the United States and adopted by a large majority of the Assembly is the least that the United Nations can do to assist Hungary in its present ordeal. It is our sincere hope that those responsible for this unjustified repression will heed the unequivocal expression of opinion voiced in the Assembly and will not brush aside with contempt the vibrant appeals addressed to them.

85. With regard to the present situation, and before pronouncing itself further on this unfortunate situation, my delegation would like to receive a report, on the measures which the Assembly has asked the Secretary-General to undertake. In the meantime, although great distances separate my country from Hungary, I wish to say that our two peoples have at least one thing in common, and that is our love for freedom and our determination to be independent. At times the force of arms may succeed in making the flame of liberty flicker, but never will it be able to smother a whole nation whose aspiration is to be free from foreign masters.

86. Mr. GREZ (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): Faithful to the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Chilean delegation opposed the intervention of Israel, France and the United Kingdom in Egypt and also opposed the Soviet Union's intervention in Hungary. In this manner, we tried to show that the obligations set forth in our basic document are equally applicable to all.

87. In the case of Hungary, our vote was intended as a most vigorous protest against the manner in which the Soviet Union has violated fundamental human rights in that country. The Government and public opinion of Chile, steadfast advocates of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States, can only deplore the fact that the Soviet Union has intervened in Hungary and has thrown the whole weight of its military machine against a Hungarian government which was sending urgent appeals to the United Nations.

88. Chile denounces this intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary and mourns the death of thousands of Hungarian men, women and children who only desired a brighter future for their country. Our country is daily becoming more convinced that we must ensure

strict respect for the juridical and moral principles embodied in the Charter. Only in this manner will the United Nations retain its influence on world public opinion, which is the best guarantee of international peace.

89. Mr. DE FRETTAS VALLE (Brazil): My Government made public in Rio de Janeiro on 29 October 1956 an official *communiqué* expressing its apprehension at the tragic events in Hungary. The employment of foreign troops to fight an internal revolt when the Hungarian people was trying to decide its destiny was indefensible.

90. I should like to quote the words spoken in London on 12 February 1946 by the Brazilian representative at the seventeenth meeting of the Security Council:

"I first beg to state, as representative of Brazil, that I do not agree with the notion that fact-finding commissions should not be sent to any place in the world any time that the Security Council"—in this instance, the General Assembly—"feels the need to clarify a situation which may be or may seem to be dangerous to peace. No national prestige should be mixed up with the idea of receiving one of them."¹

91. Our opinion after almost eleven years remains the same. That is why I voted for the draft resolution proposed by the United States. That is why I hope that Hungary will welcome the representatives of the Secretary General who are going there exclusively to find facts.

92. Mr. GUNWARDENE (Ceylon): I have received numerous communications expressing real concern as to why Ceylon abstained on the occasion of the vote on the United States draft resolution—communications from the Hungarian National Council, from the Action Committee of the American-Hungarian Federation, from a large number of other associations, and also from numerous friends in distant places such as Seattle, Washington, and California. I therefore find it very necessary to place on record the reasons for my abstention.

93. I am sure that the Assembly is aware of the fact that the 563rd meeting on 3 November ended at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 4th, and then the Security Council met until nearly 6 o'clock in the morning. Later that day, the draft resolution was introduced, and representatives hardly had time to get in touch with their Governments. I did communicate the draft to my Government, but it was well-nigh impossible to obtain any kind of instructions, and, as the representative of a responsible Government, such as mine is, I felt that it was very necessary for me to have instructions on an issue of so grave and important a nature, particularly when new techniques and procedures which had not been followed before were being set out. Those instructions did not arrive; in the afternoon, while I was still trying to get into contact with my Government—there is no telephone service possible from New York to Ceylon—I was told that a vote was being pressed, and my delegation had no alternative but to abstain in those circumstances. I am sure that that is exactly how any responsible representative would have behaved in such circumstances.

94. There are certain principles which can always be agreed upon. I would have had no hesitation in voting for certain parts of that draft resolution without any prior consultation, but there were other parts on which

I was not in a position to vote affirmatively or negatively without consulting my Government.

95. Time and again it has been stated that the Bandung Conference stood for certain principles. We stand by those principles and shall continue to stand by them. It is sometimes conveniently forgotten that at the Bandung Conference itself the cry was raised for self-determination for the States of Eastern Europe. At the Bandung Conference itself the cry was raised that the Cominform should be disbanded, and that cry came also from the Government of Ceylon.

96. Being what is described as a neutral country, Ceylon would not hesitate to pass its verdict on issues as and when they arise, without fear or favour. That right is one which we claim as a sovereign State, and that is exactly the reason why we are not aligned with any power bloc, because no other considerations should guide us except what we think is important in the interests of humanity and for the preservation of peace in the world. We have not hesitated to register our disagreement with the United Kingdom, with which we have the closest possible ties. The United Kingdom may be described as the closest friend we have, but we have not hesitated to express our dissent from, and our disapproval of, its actions in Egypt. We have very close diplomatic relations with France, but we never hesitate to express our views with regard to its actions in Egypt or Algeria. We have also not hesitated to express our viewpoint with regard to another permanent member of the Security Council, China. We recognize the Communist régime of China; we trade with the Nationalist Chinese, too. We have also not hesitated at any moment in the past to dissent from the position taken by the Soviet Union Government. Nor have we hesitated to disagree with that great Republic, the United States, with regard to military pacts in our region.

97. We have made our position quite clear in the past, and we find no difficulty in making our position quite clear on this occasion. But we need a little time to examine the situation carefully, to examine the evidence before us, and our Government needs a little time to arrive at a correct verdict.

98. We stand by the principle of self-determination, certainly. As one who has been connected with the independence movement in my country, I certainly feel very strongly for those people who are struggling for independence, and all Asian countries similarly feel very strongly for people who are striving for independence. But self-determination can be realized only by the people of a given country. It is sometimes a long and arduous process. It all depends on how this self-determination is expressed. I am happy that Hungary has in some form or other expressed its desire for self-determination. We certainly deplore armed intervention on any account whatsoever. We certainly do not welcome foreign forces in a country under any pretext whatsoever, whether it be for the restoration of order or whether it be to uphold the law of the land. We certainly deplore armed intervention. We deplore aggression, whether it takes place in Algeria, in Kenya or Egypt or anywhere—any aggression against any country in the world.

99. I should like to assure the representative of Nationalist China that there is no question of our having one set of criteria for one country and another set for another country. The criteria are the same; but we must be given a chance to examine them.

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, First Year, First Series, No. 1*, p. 244.

100. I have no doubt that my Government is fully in favour of a cease-fire, and certainly all Governments of Asian countries would welcome it. Certainly none of us believes in military intervention at all; we do not even believe in military pacts. A cease-fire, then, is something to which we could agree. There is no Asian country that would not ask for the withdrawal of foreign forces, because we resent their presence anywhere—in any part of our country or in any other country. Surely the cry that foreign forces should be removed from Hungary is a legitimate cry, and one in which we could join. My Government would like to go on record as welcoming it. I hope that the Soviet Government will withdraw its forces from Hungary. Those are things on which one can agree. We certainly have every sympathy for the struggling Hungarians. There is nobody in this world—no nation, no human being—so devoid of feeling as not to be moved by the struggles of a people who had enjoyed their independence for a thousand years—the inheritors of a great tradition and culture. There is nobody who would not be moved by those struggles. But at the same time, when a draft resolution comes before the Assembly, we vote only after examining all the paragraphs and all the features of it.

101. I have, personally, no objection whatsoever to sending a team of observers to Hungary if the Secretary-General can arrange it, but no team can visit a country except with the express permission of the government of that country, unless one wants to start another world war. These are questions which we have to consider dispassionately. I can assure the Assembly that if Ceylon abstained from voting, it was not from want of sympathy for a struggling people or from lack of faith in the principle of self-determination. Nor does that abstention mean that we would ever tolerate armed aggression or the use of armed force anywhere in any part of the world.

102. Mr. QUIROGA GALDO (Bolivia) (*translated from Spanish*): The Bolivian people, with its traditional active pursuit of liberty, was painfully surprised by the deplorable events in Hungary. My Government, faithfully reflecting popular opinion, wished to associate itself with all men of good will who hope that the Hungarian people will see the coming of a new era of peace and harmony. With regard to this tragedy in Hungary and leaving aside any ideological or material issue, the Bolivian Government and people believe that the very nature of the events in that country shows the path which will lead to its final liberation. The vigorous national character of the Hungarian people, as epitomized by the martyrdom of its youth in the cities and in the countryside, enables us to view the future less pessimistically.

103. My delegation considers that the political and social life of Hungary can only be restored to normal through general elections, which, if held in a favourable atmosphere, might lead to the formation of a government genuinely representative of the people's will. With this in view, the Bolivian delegation takes the liberty of suggesting that the Assembly, among other decisions which it may take, should formally invite the *de facto* Government of Hungary, and whoever influences the thinking of the members of that Government, to arrange general elections in conformity with the principle of absolute universal suffrage and to agree to the presence of impartial observers, designated by the United Nations, at the time when those elections are held.

104. Mr. SOUVANNAVONG (Laos) (*translated from French*): The delegation of Laos regrets that it

was unable to take part at the 564th meeting in the vote on the United States draft resolution concerning the situation in Hungary [A/3286]. Today, I wish to ask the Assembly not to regard our absence as an abstention or as implying that our country remains indifferent to the sufferings of a martyr people. As Buddhists, we cannot remain insensible to or unmoved by the drama taking place in Hungary.

105. For this reason, the Government of Laos has instructed my delegation to express from this rostrum the full sympathy and compassion felt by the people of Laos for the people of Hungary in its struggle for survival.

106. I wish to state, therefore, that if we had been present at the time of the vote we would have voted in favour of the United States draft resolution. Finally, may I appeal to the hearts of the USSR leaders—as we are convinced that they have hearts—and voice our hope that their sense of humanity will permit the Hungarian people to pursue its own destiny in true peace and freedom.

107. Mr. VITETTI (Italy): The task of the Assembly is too important and too urgent, and its time too precious, for me to make a speech. This is not the moment for eloquence, but the moment for action.

108. Four days have elapsed since the Assembly adopted resolution 1004 (ES-II) condemning the intervention of Soviet armed forces in Hungary. During those four days the massacres in Hungary have continued. Deaf to the decision of the Assembly and to the humanitarian appeal which came from it, Soviet troops have been fighting and killing Hungarian workers, peasants and students.

109. The news which comes from Hungary is appalling. Even though Hungary seems blacked out so that the world is kept in the dark about what is really happening, we have sufficient information to understand and realize that the heroic Hungarian people has been resisting with whatever forces it could in face of a violent and bloody repression.

110. The struggle now seems to be coming to its tragic end. Soviet armed forces are strangling the revolt of the Hungarian people, and now we are told that order has been restored. A Mr. Kadar, who styles himself "Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government", has sent the Secretary-General a telegram [A/3311] saying that he objects categorically to any discussion of Hungarian events because that question is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hungarian People's Republic.

111. That telegram is really a tragic farce. It is a farce for the Hungarian Government to style itself "the Workers' and Peasants' Government", when the peasants and workers are massacred in Hungary by the Soviet soldiers, who imposed that government on them. It is a farce to deny the right of the United Nations to discuss events in Hungary when those events represent a brutal, cynical and murderous violation of the Charter. It is a farce to call events in Hungary domestic affairs when there is a foreign army which has taken possession of Hungary and is in complete control of its affairs.

112. We cannot rely on any statement whatever which comes or may come in the future from the so-called Hungarian Government. That Government has been created under the thunder of Soviet guns and the terror of Soviet invasion. It is not a government: it is a Soviet agency, and its voice is not the voice of the Hungarian

people. The voice of the Hungarian people is the voice of the workers, the peasants and the students dying in their desperate struggle. It is not our right, but our duty to ignore the utterances of Mr. Kadar, whoever he is. It is our duty to continue along the road which we have chosen, and on that we must be resolute and firm.

113. Soviet troops must leave Hungary, and they must leave Hungary immediately. A foreign army which has been committing the crime of decimating the Hungarian population to such an extent that it must be considered an act of genocide can no longer be allowed to remain in Hungary. Hungary must be free. The Hungarian people must be given the right to choose its own government through free elections, as is done in every civilized country. That is what we must demand, and demand now.

114. On those lines, my delegation, together with the delegations of Cuba, Ireland, Pakistan and Peru, has prepared a draft resolution which I shall now read out to the General Assembly:

"The General Assembly,

"Noting with deep concern that the provisions of its resolution 1004 (ES-II) of 4 November 1956 have not as yet been carried out and that the violent repression by the Soviet forces of the efforts of the Hungarian people to achieve freedom and independence continues,

"Convinced that the recent events in Hungary manifest clearly the desire of the Hungarian people to exercise and to enjoy fully their fundamental rights, freedom and independence,

"Considering that foreign intervention in Hungary is an intolerable attempt to deny to the Hungarian people the exercise and the enjoyment of such rights, freedom and independence, and in particular to deny to the Hungarian people the right to a government freely elected and representing their national aspirations,

"Considering that the repression undertaken by the Soviet forces in Hungary constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, of the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers and of the Convention on Genocide,

"Considering that the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Hungarian territory is necessary,

"1. Calls again upon the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to withdraw its forces from Hungary without any further delay;

"2. Considers that free elections should be held in Hungary under United Nations auspices, as soon as law and order have been restored, to enable the people of Hungary to determine for themselves the form of government they wish to establish in their country;

"3. Reaffirms its request to the Secretary-General to continue to investigate, through representatives named by him, the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary and to report at the earliest possible moment to the General Assembly;

"4. Requests the Secretary-General to report in the shortest possible time to the General Assembly on compliance."²

115. In my opinion, it is imperative that the United Nations should state in a clear, definite and precise way the necessity for and urgency of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the scene of their crimes. It is im-

perative that we should provide for free elections in Hungary. It is imperative that we should help the Hungarian people to reconstruct its free life, to be what it wants to be: a free people among free peoples.

116. I am not unaware of the grave difficulties which must be met. We shall face them. We shall explore the possibility of further action. The conditions in Hungary are appalling, and the help of the United Nations will be necessary. The Italian delegation considers, above all, that it will be necessary to provide for a United Nations commission to proceed to Hungary, and that it will be necessary, in order to protect peace and order, to establish a United Nations police force. We reserve the right to present, at a later stage, definite proposals on these lines.

117. What I can say now is that my Government is not only prepared but determined to do everything in its power to promote whatever international action is possible for the achievement of Hungarian freedom.

118. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Assembly has heard the text of the draft resolution proposed by Italy and four other Powers. The Secretariat will make the necessary arrangements to have this draft reproduced and circulated as soon as possible.

119. Mr. CAÑAS (Costa Rica) (*translated from Spanish*): We should not like our consideration of this item to divert our attention from the other grave matter before us, the situation in the Middle East; nor, on the other hand, should we wish our consideration of the events in Egypt to distract us from the equally if not more serious events which are taking place in Hungary.

120. It is my country's desire always to act in accordance with principles, and it will defend those principles to the best of its ability wheresoever and by whomsoever they are violated. At our first meeting on this subject [564th meeting], the representative of the Soviet Union, and others after him who think along the same lines, maintained that the General Assembly was violating Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter in taking up the question of the situation in Hungary. But that is not true. We are not dealing with a matter of merely domestic jurisdiction; there are two countries involved. Even those representatives who declare that we are violating Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter admit that two States are concerned in the situation, and in such circumstances the problem can obviously not be one of domestic jurisdiction. We are clearly confronted here with a case of intervention.

121. The Soviet Union representative admitted here on Saturday, with praiseworthy courage but with a certain amount of cynicism too, that the Soviet army had intervened in Hungary in order to set up or help set up or to overthrow or help overthrow a Government.

122. What we approved cannot be called intervention. But sending an army to change or help to overthrow the Government of another country—that certainly is intervention. And that precisely is what the action of the Soviet army in Hungary amounts to. It changed and overthrew the government of another country, and incidentally proceeded to decimate the population of that country, an action which the representative of Cuba and later the representative of Italy rightly termed genocide.

123. My delegation warmly welcomes and intends to support the draft resolution submitted verbally by the representative of Italy and sponsored also by four other delegations. My delegation believes that the United

² Subsequently issued as document A/3316.

Nations should be ready to act promptly in any case of intervention like the one the Assembly is now considering, and also in less serious cases, even when the action taken is wrapped up in long strings of words about reactionary elements and other such things.

124. The very fact of one country trying to justify the dispatch of its army to interfere in the affairs of another country on the grounds that there are in that country elements of this or that type, either overt or undeclared, which justify the step, is a palpable admission of intervention, the argument being apparently that intervention is justified whenever elements of this or that kind, which we do not like, are in power or even exist in our neighbour's country.

125. We much regret that certain delegations whose judgement, standards of conduct and high-mindedness we respect did not join us in the vote on 4 November. The reason may have been that they were not sure how accurate were the reports on what was happening in Hungary. We regret, too, a little tardily perhaps, that when the United States draft resolution was adopted, we did not establish a committee, including some of the countries which did not vote with us, as they had done in the case of Middle East. They might thus have been convinced that those who joined us in denouncing the events in Egypt were acting in good faith not only in that case but also in the present case of Hungary, which has deeply moved public opinion throughout the world.

126. Mr. MONTERO DE VARGAS (Paraguay) (*translated from Spanish*): The delegation of Paraguay gave its vote wholeheartedly to the draft resolution proposed by the United States delegation on the question of Hungary. It did so in the knowledge that it was thus helping to stir the conscience of the world against the Soviet intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary and also as a forceful protest against the slaughter and oppression being carried out even now by the Soviet occupation forces.

127. The massacre of the Hungarian people has wrung the hearts of men of good will throughout the world. Our most fervent wish is that the United Nations can do something positive for the brave Hungarian people and bring about the establishment of a free Government in a free Hungary. This is why Paraguay voted as it did.

128. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (*translated from Spanish*): The Peruvian delegation stated its position earlier in this debate [564th meeting] but I would ask the General Assembly to allow me to add a few brief comments which I believe will be of interest.

129. After adopting a resolution and in the hope, which I endorse here, that the Secretary-General will take all the measures necessary for its implementation, we should consider very seriously what steps we should take, in particular our Governments, to make this resolution effective.

130. The United Nations has been criticized unjustly—and these criticisms find an echo in a somewhat unhappy phrase about the meaning of the Assembly's resolutions—because so often resolutions, when once adopted, have not been followed by actions to make them effective. I wish to oppose this idea and to affirm my faith in the moral effect of those resolutions upon the conscience of the world which after a short time, though not perhaps immediately, produces effective action.

131. I am convinced that in taking up a problem, however difficult it is—and the implementation of a resolution concerning Hungary is perhaps the most difficult practical problem of those now facing the United Nations—we have already gained certain advantages. The United Nations allows time for the voices of reason to be heard and for the most equitable solution to be found while at the same time providing an opportunity for the conscience of the world to express itself. These two requirements have already been met.

132. By approving resolution 1004 (ES-II) we may say that we have already set our feet upon the path of reason. If anything was lacking in it the well-timed initiative of the Italian Government has remedied the situation.

133. The second requirement is also very important. We have mobilized world public opinion. I noted with the greatest satisfaction that the representatives of the various countries which abstained in the vote on the draft resolution of the United States spoke in favour of it. The nuances of their opinion are not important. We can now add to the support first given to that resolution the emphatic opinion expressed by the Arab and Asian countries—as was to be expected—in defence of the independence and freedom of a country which today symbolizes the successful application of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

134. I do not wish to dwell on this point for it has already been dealt with by several representatives. However, I must state that the repression in Hungary, which has destroyed a government brought to power in time of peace by a popular movement on a wave of mass enthusiasm and which, at the same time, has dispersed and annihilated the movement of the vast numbers of people which supported that government, is quite inconceivable to anyone with a spark of humanity.

135. For that reason I believe that the term "genocide" is applicable here. It is applicable not only because of the affront to the individual human rights guaranteed by the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the Soviet Union—in other words, by a contractual commitment guaranteed by the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States and France, which are also parties—but also because of the massive repression of all classes of the Hungarian people, including all parties, all sectors and all shades of public opinion. The very soul and the very blood of the nation was personified by those vast multitudes who thronged before the parliament of Budapest. It was the nation itself.

136. When confronted with these multitudes claiming their rights and maintaining daily their protests even when crucified, massacred and shot to pieces by tanks, the Soviet leaders must surely have felt their consciences stirring within them and have said to themselves, "We cannot oppose the will of this people and we cannot stifle by brute force the heart-cry of this glorious people."

137. Then came the massacres, the use of tanks and bombardment against these defenceless multitudes which went on day after day. The martyrdom has been proceeding for more than a week; we are witnessing not only the indisputable barbarous intervention of a European army but also the realization of a macabre and indescribably terrible plan to destroy a people as such.

138. Genocide is always a horrible crime, whether it is racial concerned with racial or religious groups or

with other human groups. When we witness callous indifference towards the lives of children, women and unfortunate workers, in the course of a military action with all the brutal and destructive elements of modern war techniques, this crime must be called genocide. And genocide is an international crime.

139. As regards the jurisdiction of the United Nations, even if there were no such provisions as article 8 of the Warsaw Treaty and the express terms of the Treaty of Peace, and Article 2, paragraph 4, of the United Nations Charter, we could still point to the international nature of the crime of genocide as defined in the Convention on Genocide of which the Soviet Union and its allies are signatories.

140. Consequently, the Soviet Union cannot deny today that the United Nations General Assembly, the action of the Soviet Government having been stigmatized as genocide, is perfectly qualified to deal with this matter and to adopt appropriate measures, for the Convention on Genocide has received fifty-four ratifications and is perhaps the convention that has received the greatest number of ratifications up to the present time.

141. I should like to make a comment of a general political nature in the calmest possible spirit. It will take the form of an appeal to the sense of realism of the Soviet Union.

142. I have said that what has been done, besides being a heinous crime, is a mistake. What has happened is a sad example and is bound to have enormous repercussions.

143. I am surely not offending the countries represented here, including those represented by Governments under Soviet influence, by wondering whether they do not feel greatly alarmed by the methods with which the Soviet Union is re-establishing its influence and domination. All the countries of the former Soviet empire must obviously be seized with a feeling of apprehension and alarm. This is the way in which the Soviet Union represses a movement which was not aimed at it at all, but was merely a movement asserting national independence.

144. Mr. Nagy, President of the Council of Ministers, had stated that Hungary's desire was to maintain friendly relations with the United States, with the great Western Powers and with the Soviet Union. Cardinal Mindszenty used this phrase: "friendship with the United States and with mighty Russia".

145. What the Soviet Union wanted was to enslave and subdue Hungary. This has been its policy, and this policy in my view is a great mistake. It is a great mistake because there are imponderable factors, not to mention the material factors which may come later.

146. The Soviet Union should not forget the psychological elements. How often did the absolutely unanimous voice of public opinion give even Stalin cause for reflection?

147. Consequently the weapon which we hold in our hands today, the weapon which I urge you with all my strength to use, is to vote unanimously for the Italian draft resolution, subject to the abstention of the allies of the Soviet Union and the opposition of the Soviet people, which might also abstain.

148. There is no doubt that if we read the English, French, Italian and South American press we can see the magic effect of unanimous United Nations resolutions. I appeal to the General Assembly to ensure without fail that the Secretary-General takes all the necessary additional measures and to establish the magic

power of truth, justice and morality in a world which accepts those qualities and is resolved to fight for them.

149. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: A few minutes ago, there was circulated to the Members a document [A/3315] to which I should like to draw their attention. It is the text of a communication which I have sent to the Government of Hungary, but it also contains the main points of my present planning for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1004 (ES-II) of 4 November. For that reason, I hope that the Members will also consider it as the first progress report.

150. Mr. KRISHNA MENON (India): On 4 November, the Assembly adopted resolution 1004 (ES-II) in regard to the situation in Hungary. My delegation abstained in the voting on this resolution. I want to say here and now that the abstention of my delegation was not due to lack of instructions or any other difficulties. It arose from the nature of this subject and the nature of the resolution before us. We abstained because we agreed with some parts of it, but did not agree with others. Therefore, we are not by our abstention proclaiming our unconcern or lack of interest in this matter.

151. Often, those who understand but little of the approach and the policy of my Government and country to the affairs of nations choose to dub us a neutral. We are not neutral where human freedom is concerned.

152. The situation in Hungary has been a cause of grave anxiety to our Government and has caused much concern among our people. However, we have to recognize the fact that that concern has to be expressed in terms such as those of paragraph 3 in this resolution, which states that the Hungarian people should have a Government which is "responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being".

153. So far as my Government is concerned, the State of Hungary is a Member State of the United Nations and, even with all the emotional environment that surrounds the present tragic situation, we may not forget the sovereign rights of a sovereign State in the Assembly. We may not refer to a Member State as though it were struggling for its independence. Our sympathy is with the people of any country who have struggled to attain their national independence and desire to retain it. The use of force and violence by governments or by people, whether inside a country or against another country is reprehensible and entirely contrary to the outlook and the approach of my Government and country, and this attitude applies equally to the affairs of its own people and to those of other nations.

154. We have received with interest and with hope the announcement of the Soviet Government that it proposes to withdraw its troops from Hungary. It is the fervent hope of my Government that this announcement will be implemented.

155. The draft resolution that was before the Assembly on 4 November [A/3286] contained many parts which, if they had been put individually to the vote, we would have supported. But since the draft contained a number of other matters to which we were not able to lend our support, we abstained on it. Therefore, our position in this matter is that we do not regard the issue of freedom as conditioned by distance from our capital or by the race or complexion of the people involved; we regard this issue as universal.

156. Here, however, in this political gathering, we are trying to find ways and means of resolving difficulties.

It is the considered view of our Government that anything the General Assembly does must be directed to that end. It is probably well known that, both in regard to this problem and to a problem with which we are more familiar, the invasion of Egypt, the Government of India has during these last anxious weeks attempted to use its power of persuasion in quarters where it may be useful to bring about some amelioration of the present situation.

157. My Prime Minister only the other day, in referring to this matter, spoke of the suppression of freedom in various places and mentioned Hungary in that connexion. That is the position of my Government.

158. We have been faced with a rather unusual situation in just the last few minutes. The President has called upon us to explain our votes. During the explanation of votes another draft resolution has been presented to us—a novel procedure. Since the President allowed us to proceed with it, presumably it is in order. But so far as that is concerned, I am happy that the Secretary-General, just before I came to this rostrum, referred to his aide-mémoire [A/3315]. Resolution 1004 (ES-II) of 4 November requests the Secretary-General to take certain action. He has communicated this resolution to our Governments and has particularly drawn our attention to paragraphs 6 and 8 of the resolution. My delegation has taken steps to inform its Government of the request that he has made.

159. In the aide-mémoire, reference is made to the action the Secretary-General proposes to take. Paragraphs 6 and 7 of this document read as follows:

“The General Assembly has, finally, requested the Secretary-General as soon as possible to ‘suggest methods to bring an end to the foreign intervention in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations’. This matter is under active consideration within the Secretariat. It is obviously not possible to reach a final result before the end of the investigation just referred to, and without the co-operation of the Hungarian Government in the sense indicated above.

“I finally wish to repeat once again my request, expressing at the same time my firm expectation that the request of the General Assembly will be accepted.”

160. I think that these paragraphs are relevant to the consideration of the draft resolution now placed before us by the Italian delegation because, should the Secretary-General find it not possible to reach a final result before the end of the investigation, that, I think, is something that must influence our thinking.

161. Finally, the purpose of my explanation of vote is to make clear that we are prepared at all times to use such influence and such energies as we have in the promotion of human liberty. We fully support parts of this resolution, particularly the first paragraph of the preamble, stating that “the United Nations is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members”. The General Assembly cannot in any circumstances, whether it considers the action under discussion right or wrong, disregard the sovereign rights of Members. India is against the intervention of any Government or of any outside authority in the affairs of States from whatever quarter it may come and whatever form it may take; whether it be subversion or obversion makes no difference.

162. We are equally in support of the second paragraph of the preamble, which refers to the human rights and fundamental freedoms.

163. We are not qualified to speak upon the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers at this stage.

164. We are fully in support of the right of the Hungarian people to choose the form of government it desires; this is inherent in its sovereignty and in its membership of the United Nations. It is our view that in dealing with a Member State the General Assembly cannot deal with the problem in the same way as in the case of a colonial country, where the people have no representation.

165. I hope that the explanation I have made makes it quite clear where India stands on this matter. We stand for the freedom of peoples. We are against foreign domination in any country. We anticipate with hope and with confidence that the Soviet Government, having announced its intention to withdraw its troops from Hungary, will implement that declaration soon.

166. I am also at liberty to say that our own Government, in such ways as are open to it, seeks to further the purposes that are inherent in the thoughts and minds of all of us.

167. Finally, whatever the different views we may have in the Assembly, there is no one here who, by his speech or by his vote, has indicated that he disregards or is callous to any situation where violence seeks to oppress freedom or to drive a country into a state of anarchy. The great expression of public opinion from all sides of the Assembly will itself be a contribution to the solution of the difficult problem before it and will help to enable the independent country of Hungary to resolve its problems and to have ensured to it all the conditions of existence that are envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations.

168. Mr. OLIVIERI (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): In its statement at the 564th meeting before the vote on the United States draft resolution concerning the situation in Hungary, which the General Assembly has been discussing during this emergency session, my delegation explained clearly the views of the Argentine Government and announced its support for the draft resolution. I do not therefore need to say anything further now on that subject.

169. I have asked for the floor again to make the following statement: The Argentine Government is aware that at this moment there are 30,000 Hungarian children in Austria who have become expatriates for the sole crime of being children of revolutionaries who have fought, and many of whom have died, for the freedom of their country. It is the view of my Government that the General Assembly should adopt urgent and practical measures to remedy the plight of these needy children.

170. In the meantime, the President of Argentina is making the following concrete offer: Argentina is willing to admit at any moment 3,000 of these children into its territory which, under the terms of our Constitution, extends its generosity to all men of good will.

171. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I would suggest that the Assembly should meet tomorrow morning at 10.30 to consider the draft resolution proposed by Italy and four other Powers. It was impossible to circulate the draft this afternoon.

172. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*translated from French*): The Assembly has had the Hungarian question under consideration for at least five days. All the speakers who preceded me have emphasized the

urgent need for a decision on a plan of action. I am surprised that it should now be proposed that the Assembly should adjourn until tomorrow; I request that we should meet again not later than this evening, at a time suitable to the President.

173. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I have no further speakers on my list and as there has been objection to my suggestion I must consult the Assembly. I would like to point out that, from my point of view, there is no objection to holding a meeting tonight. The difficulty is that it is impossible to print and circulate the document containing the draft resolution proposed by Italy and four other delegations. In any case, if the Assembly has other views it will have an opportunity of expressing them.

174. Mr. ESKELUND (Denmark): I raised a question at the 568th meeting which I believe must necessarily be decided before the Assembly can hold a discussion and take a vote on the draft resolution submitted by the representative of Italy. We must know with which Government, in the opinion of the Assembly, we shall have to deal.

175. The representative of France is completely correct in stating that this matter is urgent. Several matters recently have been urgent, and not all of them have received the assistance of all delegations in being considered as matters of urgency. Even if this matter is very urgent, it is also a very difficult and a very delicate one in which unforeseen questions and dangers may arise at any time. I believe that very few delegations would find themselves able to discuss and vote upon the draft resolution submitted by Italy without having received very clear and definite instructions from their Governments.

176. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): In view of the French representative's objection to my suggestion that we should adjourn now and meet again tomorrow, when we can have the documents on which we are to vote, I must ask the Assembly to vote on my suggestion, which I maintain, that the meeting should be scheduled for 10.30 a.m. tomorrow.

The proposal was adopted by 41 votes to 1, with 18 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

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Friday, 9 November 1956
at 10.30 a.m.

SECOND EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

New York

C O N T E N T S

	Page
Agenda item 5:	
The situation in Hungary (<i>continued</i>).....	47

President: Mr. Rudecindo ORTEGA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 5

The situation in Hungary (*continued*)

1. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): In almost four years at the United Nations, I do not think that I have ever heard a higher degree of eloquence or a more genuine expression of feeling than I did when I listened, at this special session yesterday, to the speeches on the question of the Soviet Union outrages in Hungary — and I have heard some very eloquent speeches here in the past.
2. It is some measure of the deep sadness which is in our hearts that the speeches here have had some of the quality of funeral orations. I say "some" because, however sad we are, we cannot believe that this is, in fact, the end of Hungarian independence. We refuse to admit that the glorious dead of these past weeks have died in vain.
3. The Soviet Union has already paid an immense price for this bullying of a defenceless people. In Western Europe the newspapers tell us that people are leaving the Communist Party in droves; Communist headquarters are being burned; angry crowds of working people are parading and demonstrating against these 1956 models of totalitarian imperialism.
4. We must, therefore, not let the memory of this outrage die. Let the world never forget that the Soviet Union is in open defiance of the General Assembly's call to desist from armed attack on the people of Hungary. Let it also be remembered that, since the resolution [1004 (ES-II)] was adopted, the Soviet Union has actually stepped up its attack.
5. The Hungarian people have been fighting with small arms, pitchforks and bare hands against massive formations of Soviet tanks. We hear that Soviet tanks have taken over bridges and roads, blocking all movement, even the movement of food and medical supplies; hospitals are ablaze; Red Cross units on their missions of mercy have been attacked; other legitimate Red Cross activities have been halted on Soviet orders. Such interference with the flow of medical aid, of all things, is proof of a horrifying callousness to human suffering.
6. All reports of the fighting of the past few days in the streets of Budapest use the word "savage" in describing the fury and speed of the Soviet army's attack against the people of Hungary, and even now,

when resistance is broken, there are reports of heavy shellings still going on. Pathetic appeals for help were coming even yesterday from radio stations remaining in the hands of the Hungarian people. The Hungarian people, unlike the young man who claims to represent them here at the United Nations, are asking: when will the United Nations observers come?

7. Nothing can blot from human memory the sickening spectacle of Soviet tanks firing upon a literally unarmed population. Nothing can wipe out the black memory of military assaults on hospitals. Nothing can cleanse the stain of indiscriminate mass arrests or violent vengeance against a whole population. The action of the Soviet Government on the one hand in speaking of sending food to Hungary while, on the other, part of its military action is aimed at starving out the citizens of Budapest, is utterly revolting.

8. We have seen with interest the Secretary-General's report [A/3315] on the initial steps he has undertaken pursuant to the Assembly's resolution [1004 (ES-II)] of 4 November. We hope he will press forward with his work. We want to know at the earliest possible moment the response of the Soviet Union and of the present government of Hungary to his cablegram. We ask, will the Soviet Union and the government it has put in power in Hungary comply with the expressed wishes of the Assembly and co-operate with the Secretary-General in the execution of his responsibilities under the resolution?

9. Pending the outcome of the further efforts of the Secretary-General, this Assembly can appropriately address itself to the plight of the unfortunate people of Hungary. We now hear of repressive measures against whole segments of the population, and of mass deportations. There is widespread hunger, misery and suffering. There are also the thousands of Hungarian refugees who have fled across Hungary's borders to the West.

10. These are cogent reasons why it is important not only to obtain a first-hand account of events in Hungary, as contemplated by the Assembly resolution, but also to take immediate further steps towards meeting the urgent problem facing the gallant Hungarian people.

11. The United States has proposed, in a draft resolution which is now before the Assembly [A/3319], to help meet their immediate needs. The draft resolution reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

I

"Considering that the military authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are interfering with the transportation and distribution of food and medical supplies urgently needed by the civilian population in Hungary,

"1. *Calls upon* the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cease immediately actions against the Hungarian population which are in violation of the accepted standards and principles of international law, justice and morality;

"2. *Calls upon* the Hungarian authorities to facilitate, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics not to interfere with, the receipt and distribution of food and medical supplies to the Hungarian people and to co-operate fully with the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as with other international organizations such as the International Red Cross, to provide humanitarian assistance to the people of Hungary;

"3. *Urges* the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Hungarian authorities to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General and his duly appointed representatives in the carrying out of the tasks referred to above.

II

"*Considering* that, as a result of the harsh and repressive action of the Soviet armed forces, increasingly large numbers of refugees are being obliged to leave Hungary and seek asylum in neighbouring countries.

"1. *Requests* the Secretary-General to call upon the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to consult with other appropriate international agencies and interested Governments with a view to making speedy and effective arrangements for emergency assistance to refugees from Hungary;

"2. *Urges* Member States to make special contributions for this purpose."

12. We urge every Member State to do all in its power to aid in this vital humanitarian task. It is gratifying to know that, in response to the emergency appeal by the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, five States have already offered to help — Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden, the Netherlands and France. In the meantime, Austria has given generously of its resources to care for the refugees in the first hours of their escape. All honour to these countries for this noble effort.

13. Last night, President Eisenhower announced that the United States Government would take all possible measures to permit 5,000 refugees from Hungary to come into this country.

14. The United States draft resolution is aimed at immediate needs, and we believe it should be adopted and carried out in the shortest possible time.

15. The draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Cuba, Ireland, Italy, Pakistan and Peru [A/3316] deals with longer-range objectives. We shall vote for it also.

16. The Assembly has already called for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, where they remain clearly against the will of the people of that unhappy nation — people whose only crime was their desire for basic human rights, which in many of our countries are taken for granted. Only a week ago, a declaration by the Soviet Union explicitly promised withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary. That declaration lent an air of credibility to the claim, which is now proved to have been infamously deceitful, that negotiations on withdrawal were in fact actually under way.

17. We need action on the part of the Soviet Union in conformity with the expressed will of this Assembly. In the light of the attitude of the Soviet Union, we can consider what further United Nations action can be undertaken which is both constructive and feasible. Let us see how much support the Soviet Union is prepared to give to the words in the United Nations Charter which pledge all Members to respect "fundamental human rights" and "the dignity and worth of the human person". Let us see what the force of world opinion, supported by our United Nations observers, can do to achieve the objectives of this Assembly. We have set machinery in motion. Let us give it a chance to work. If the desired results are not achieved, then, of course, we must reappraise the situation and determine our further action. We will not let this heart-breaking tragedy drop. We will not forget.

18. Mr. MIR KHAN (Pakistan): Before I speak on the draft resolution which my delegation has submitted together with the delegations of Cuba, Ireland, Italy and Peru [A/3316], I should like to say straight away that we shall support the draft resolution submitted by the representative of the United States. That draft resolution comes at an opportune time and is designed to afford to the sufferers in Hungary much-needed humanitarian support. We hope that the Assembly will vote on this draft urgently and give it unanimous approval.

19. The five-Power draft resolution that is before the Assembly on the Hungarian question represents the stand Pakistan has always maintained throughout its record of participation in the deliberations of this Assembly.

20. Pakistan has consistently and invariably stood for justice and the rule of law among nations, and for freedom from foreign intervention in violation of the independence of a country. We have always stood for freedom of religion and for basic human rights. We have always abhorred any suppression having the nature of genocide. We have always opposed colonialism or imperialism of any hue, shape or variety.

21. We have done so not as a matter of expediency, in order to oblige our friends or to spite others; we have done so out of respect for certain principles which are eternal and which are far more sacred than any earthly friendships or animosities. The principles I have in mind are no strange and elusive abstractions, but are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and have been reaffirmed in the declaration of the Bandung Conference. That is why Pakistan is convulsed and agitated whenever the principles of the Charter are threatened with violence or breach.

22. It was therefore unthinkable that Pakistan should remain unmoved by the recent unfortunate events in Hungary. Only a few months ago, we hailed Hungary, which has a proud history, as a Member of the United Nations. At that time, doubts were expressed whether that country was free from domination and free to express its will in the community of nations. Assurances were given in that respect and, in any case, it was hoped that Hungary's admission would complete the process of its liberation. The events of the last few days, which followed so closely the events in Poland, have shown that the Hungarian people did make an effort to have a government of their own choice, and that foreign forces have ruthlessly suppressed, and later ousted, a government which was established by the approbation of the Hungarian people.

23. We therefore hope that the draft resolution submitted by Cuba, Ireland, Italy, Pakistan and Peru will receive the full approval of this Assembly.

24. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): We have just heard a statement by the United States representative on the so-called Hungarian question. The Soviet delegation will study this statement and reserves the right to comment on it later, should it deem that necessary.

25. First of all, I should like to refer to a United Press dispatch on the present situation in Hungary, to the effect that the Hungarian Government has accepted offers of aid from the International Red Cross, but only if such aid is forwarded *via* Yugoslavia, and on condition that neither arms nor agents of the former Horthy régime are thereby introduced into the country.

26. I should now like to make a few remarks on the statements made yesterday, and to refer to the Soviet Union's position with regard to the two draft resolutions that have been presented.

27. In previous statements made at this session of the General Assembly, the USSR delegation has already stressed that the inclusion of the question of the so-called "Situation in Hungary" in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly is a violation of the United Nations Charter. The Hungarian Government protests against the discussion of the so-called Hungarian question in the United Nations because it regards this as interference in the domestic affairs of the country. This is a fact which the United Nations cannot disregard.

28. It is now evident that the motives behind the discussion of the so-called Hungarian question are quite alien to the interests of the Hungarian people and the principles of the United Nations Charter. What has happened and what is happening at these meetings of the General Assembly in connexion with events in Hungary is, I think, unprecedented in the history of the United Nations. The delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and a number of other countries are using the forum of the United Nations in an attempt to incite reactionary fascist groups to use violence against the popular democratic system in Hungary and to mobilize the reactionary forces which are still dreaming of restoring the old landowner-capitalist order in Hungary. Another reason why the Western Powers have introduced the so-called Hungarian question is to divert public attention from the armed attack that they have organized against Egypt.

29. The unsavoury task which these delegations have undertaken is being carried out, as might be expected, to the accompaniment of various fabrications and lying attacks against the Soviet Union, Hungary and all the countries where the popular-democratic system prevails. The political aim of these statements is absolutely clear and is neither original nor new, as far as either Hungary or the Soviet Union is concerned. We in the Soviet Union have been hearing our enemies calling for the overthrow of our State for the past thirty-nine years.

30. Throughout the years during which the popular democratic system has been in existence in Hungary, certain circles in the United States, the United Kingdom and France have never abandoned their plans for the restoration of the old system, under which the landowners and capitalists dominated Hungary. A wide variety of methods has been used: the organization

within the country of conspiracies directed against the people and designed to overthrow the existing system; the establishment on Hungarian territory of groups of spies, diversionists and saboteurs to undermine the economy of the Hungarian People's Republic; support for reactionary Hungarian émigré organizations and the formation of armed groups composed of Hungarian Fascists who have fled to the West; discrimination in trade and economic relations; slanderous propaganda against the structure of the Hungarian State and so forth. Among the organizations hostile to the Hungarian people which are established in the United States are the American-Hungarian Federation, the Hungarian National Council and the Association of Hungarian Fighters. These organizations are headed by violent reactionaries and enemies of the Hungarian people and of everything progressive everywhere.

31. However, all these attempts have failed. The Hungarian people have resolutely advanced and are advancing along the path of democratic development.

32. The successes achieved by Hungary and the other peoples' democracies in building a socialist society arouse the hatred of reactionary circles. Those circles are trying, on the one hand, to undermine the peoples' democracies from within, stopping at nothing in their attempts. On the other hand, they are seeking to disparage and distort the results of the peaceful and constructive labour of the peoples of those countries, and to discredit their social and economic structure and peace-loving policy in the eyes of the world.

33. In their statements at this session of the General Assembly, the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and other countries which support them are trying to delude the Members of the United Nations by the most unlikely distortions and falsifications of the events in Hungary and of the situation in the USSR and the peoples' democracies.

34. However, only an objective appraisal of the events in Hungary can help us to find a just solution, a solution which is in the interests of the Hungarian people and which will strengthen world peace.

35. It is well known that the Hungarian workers, after taking power into their own hands following the Second World War and by making full use of the advantages of the socialist system, have advanced a long way along the road to economic, social and cultural development. As a result of the breaking up of the large estates and the nationalization of industrial enterprises, banks, railways and natural resources, opportunities were created for the rapid development of industry and of the whole national economy, for raising the standard of living of the workers and for strengthening the socialist system.

36. The recent course of events in Hungary has shown that the Hungarian workers, who have made considerable progress on the basis of the popular democratic system are rightly urging the need for further progress, by eliminating present shortcomings in the economic sector, further raising the material welfare of the people and doing away with red tape in the machinery of the State. However, this legitimate and progressive workers' movement was joined by reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces, which tried to use the discontent of some of the workers to undermine the foundations of the popular democratic system in Hungary and to re-establish the old order, dominated by the landowners and capitalists. By resorting to demagogic slogans and assuming the false mask of fighters for

freedom, the anti-popular elements in Hungary tried to delude the working masses and to gain their allegiance.

37. The so-called Nagy government, faced with the bloody terrorism of fascist elements, expelled from its midst all representatives of Hungarian democratic forces and replaced them by representatives of the forces of reaction; in effect it collapsed as a democratic government, having given way to anti-popular, reactionary forces. The reactionaries hastily began to prepare for a counter-revolutionary fascist *coup d'état*, and to lay plans for destroying the socialist achievements of the Hungarian workers and for restoring capitalism in the country.

38. With direct incitement and help from abroad, the Horthyist fascist officer clique openly reared its head and assumed the leadership of the counter-revolutionary forces. Those forces began by paralysing the economic and cultural life of the country. Industrial enterprises and railways came to a standstill, newspapers ceased publication and in many places schools and other institutions closed. Pro-fascist elements began to destroy the socialist enterprises, State and public establishments and newspaper offices set up by the labour of the people. Lawless Fascists carried out brutal acts of violence against Hungarian patriots and progressive public figures. During this bloody reign of terror against the workers, Imre Mezö, Kalamar, and Sandor Siklay, veterans of the Hungarian democratic movement who were well known to the whole Hungarian people, were brutally slaughtered, as well as many others.

39. At the same time, the forces of international reaction also bestirred themselves in an attempt to go to the assistance of their pro-fascist friends in Hungary. Arms were urgently sent to Hungary from abroad, and formations of Horthyists, members of the former Arrow Cross movement and other deadly foes of the Hungarian people, who had fled abroad to escape the just judgment of the people, returned to the country. These reactionary formations had been specially trained in Western countries for subversive activities against the people's democracy of Hungary. Open propaganda against the democratic system was intensified. The transmitters of the Voice of America and the so-called Radio Free Europe, financed by American funds, openly appealed night and day for a counter-revolutionary upheaval in the country. These broadcasts went so far that they aroused displeasure even among active participants in the counter-revolutionary conspiracy.

40. In this connexion, I would refer to a report published in *The New York Times* on 3 November concerning an interview between John MacCormack, a correspondent of that newspaper, and a certain Bela Kiraly, who was appointed to the Nagy cabinet as one of the leaders of the Hungarian General Staff. The correspondent writes that Kiraly deprecated recent broadcasts by Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America and said that they had been inciting Hungarians to further revolt and to strike action.

41. It has become abundantly clear that reactionary forces, which receive support from the United States, the United Kingdom and France, are hoping to wipe out all the democratic achievements of the Hungarian people and to establish a fascist dictatorship in Hungary, thus turning it into an outpost in the struggle against the peoples' democracies and one of the hotbeds of war-mongering in Europe. The success of a counter-revolutionary *coup* would have dealt an irreparable

blow to the whole Hungarian nation and would have constituted a threat to the security of the peoples of Europe. The restoration of the old régime in Hungary is needed by those who favour the aggravation of the international situation and the fanning of hostility among the peoples of the world.

42. In this connexion, we should recall the events which took place in Hungary between 1919 and 1944, when the Horthy fascist clique held power in the country. It is well known that the activities of that clique were immensely harmful to the Hungarian people and progressive people everywhere. Tens of thousands of the country's most outstanding patriots were brutally slaughtered. The domination of the Horthy clique in Hungary not only cost the Hungarian people dear, but caused the allied forces of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union much loss of life during the Second World War, when the allied forces were waging a joint war of liberation against fascism.

43. It is obvious, therefore, that the revival of reaction in Hungary could not fail to arouse concern and anxiety, not only among genuine Hungarian patriots, but among all progressive people throughout the world. The Hungarian people, under the leadership of democratic statesmen who left the Nagy cabinet, did not allow the popular democratic system to be overthrown, or the clock of history to be turned back, or the old bourgeois-landowner system, so hated by the workers, to be restored.

44. The anti-popular adventure in Hungary has ended in complete disaster. The Soviet Government and the whole Soviet people deeply regret that events in Hungary have led to bloodshed.

45. The collapse of the counter-revolutionary rising in Hungary has infuriated certain circles in the United States, the United Kingdom and France, as it represents the failure of their attempt to restore capitalism in one of the countries of Eastern Europe and the loss of the considerable resources which they had spent on organizing diversionist activities in that country. Those circles are now trying to use the United Nations to slander the Hungarian people, who are acting in defence of their democratic rights, and to slander also those who are giving the Hungarian people all possible support in strengthening their popular-democratic system.

46. From this exalted forum of the General Assembly speeches are being made with a view to fomenting hostility among nations, and all kinds of fabrications and insinuations are being bandied about concerning the events in Hungary and in other countries whose policy is displeasing to the West. All possible means are being used to delude the peoples of the world and to conceal from them the truth about Hungary.

47. In this connexion, we cannot disregard the fact that the Western delegations, using their majority in the Assembly, are unceremoniously violating the Charter and the established rules of procedure of the Security Council and the General Assembly to suit the interests of the United States, United Kingdom and other delegations. The attempt to dispute the credentials of the representative of the Hungarian's People's Republic is quite without precedent. Against all the laws and rules and in defiance of common sense, an attempt is being made to deprive the Hungarian people of the right to vote in the General Assembly, simply because they have dared to take measures against reaction.

48. However, despite all their contrivances and machinations, the representatives of the Western Powers will not succeed in deceiving anyone concerning the real objectives of the campaign they have planned in connexion with recent events in Hungary. Still less will they succeed in intimidating the peoples who are engaged in building socialism.

49. The United States representative, especially, must realize that, however hard they try, the forces of international reaction will not succeed in turning back the clock. I can only point out to him that the cause of peace and the welfare of the peoples, including the people of the United States, would be better served if the enormous sums spent by the United States on subversive activities in the peoples' democracies and the Soviet Union and on fomenting hatred and hostility towards these countries were used in the defence of peace, to bring the peoples closer together and promote co-operation and friendship among them. It is time to put an end to the campaign of subversion which is being carried on against the peoples of Eastern Europe.

50. As the entire course of the debate on the so-called Hungarian question shows, the sponsors of the item have yet a second objective in mind. They are trying by this provocative method to divert the attention of world public opinion from the armed aggression carried out by the United Kingdom, France and Israel, with the encouragement of the United States, in Egypt and throughout the Middle East.

51. No talk of a so-called Hungarian question will succeed in hiding the fact that the United States Government has embarked upon the course of openly encouraging the aggressors in their efforts to enslave the Egyptian people. At the same time, it has no objection to taking advantage of the present situation in the Middle East for its own predatory purposes, and fishing in troubled waters. As is known, the United States is well versed in tactics of this kind, which it has used in Indochina and certain other parts of South-East Asia, for example.

52. It was therefore not surprising that when the Soviet Government proposed certain practical measures with a view to putting an immediate halt to the aggression against Egypt, the United States not only refused to support them, but, together with the United Kingdom and French delegations, prevented their consideration by the Security Council. What could be more hypocritical and treacherous towards the Egyptian people than a policy of this kind?

53. The ruling groups in the United Kingdom and France, having launched a war of aggression in Egypt, are at the same time cynically denouncing the measures which have been taken by the democratic forces of Hungary in defence of their people's democratic régime; their object in so doing is to divert attention from their crimes in Egypt. Ignoring the decisions of the General Assembly, which called for the cessation of hostilities in Egypt, United Kingdom and French armed forces have savagely bombed peaceful Egyptian communities, killed women and children, and destroyed the material and cultural fruits of the Egyptian people's labours. The object in view was to seize the Suez Canal.

54. United Kingdom and French forces are ruthlessly suppressing the legitimate national liberation movements of the peoples of Malaya, Singapore, Kenya, Cyprus, Algeria and other territories and colonies. Yet at the same time United Kingdom and French representatives are hypocritically trying to pose as defenders

of the rights of the Hungarian people, vainly hoping that by manoeuvres of this kind they will succeed in deluding world public opinion and diverting attention from the aggressive activities of the British and French armed forces in the Middle East, Africa and other areas of the world.

55. The unworthy role of repeating the malicious fabrications of the United States, the United Kingdom and France about the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies has been assumed, in this shameful chorus, by the representatives of Peru, Cuba, Spain and certain other countries, as well as by the Chiang Kai-shek member, who represents no one.

56. The Spanish representative has taken up the cudgels here in defence of democracy and human rights. What hypocrisy to make a statement of that kind on behalf of the Franco régime, which was condemned by the General Assembly as "a fascist régime patterned on, and established largely as a result of aid received from, Hitler's Nazi Germany and Mussolini's Fascist Italy" [*resolution 39 (I)*].

57. It has long been a familiar practice in the United Nations that when the delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom and France launch a campaign of defamation against the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies, the roughest and dirtiest work is done by Mr. Belaúnde and Mr. Nuñez Portuondo, who are well experienced in the art of producing fabrications and slanders against the socialist countries. What a wealth of eloquence they find at their command when they see an opportunity of speaking in defence of the pro-fascist elements of Hungary, of slandering countries of the socialist camp and calling for their liquidation! Yet when the question of the aggression launched by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt was on our agenda, the representatives of Peru and Cuba lost their gift of speech; their eloquence was silenced. It was as if they had no knowledge of the savage bombing of the peaceful population of Egypt carried out by United Kingdom and French aircraft, of the brutal annihilation of Egyptian patriots by Israel forces, and of other facts. It is clear whose interests these speakers defend.

58. The representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and France, and certain other representatives who have spoken here, have tried to call in question the Soviet Union's firm adherence in its foreign policy to the principle of the peaceful coexistence of peoples, and to challenge the position of the Soviet Union with respect to the principles adopted by the Bandung Conference and to many other aspects of its domestic and foreign policies. These attempts will fail. No matter what reactionary groups do to hide the truth about the Soviet Union, it will find its way to the peoples of the world.

59. The Soviet Union has always pursued and will unswervingly continue to pursue a policy of peace; it will continue to strive for the relaxation of international tension and for the realization of the principle of peaceful coexistence, and will fight with all its might for the maintenance and strengthening of peace. The Soviet people have always welcomed and sympathized with the national liberation movements of the peoples for their freedom, their democratic rights and their national independence. Since it pursues this policy, the Soviet Union is entitled to expect other States to see it as it is. Those who count on the Soviet Union renouncing its principles as a result of its increased contacts and co-

operation with other countries, are making a serious mistake. Nothing can deflect the Soviet Union from this course, for such a policy serves the fundamental interests not only of the Soviet people, but of ordinary people throughout the world; that is, it serves the cause of world peace.

60. So far as the question of the presence of Soviet forces in Hungary is concerned, the Soviet delegation wishes to emphasize that these troops are stationed in Hungary in pursuance of the Warsaw Treaty and at the request of the legal Hungarian government. The Hungarian Government asked for assistance to the Hungarian people in its effort to suppress the dark forces of reaction and counter-revolution, to re-establish the people's socialist system and to restore order and tranquillity in Hungary. The Hungarian Government also declared that when order and tranquillity had been restored in Hungary it would enter into negotiations with the Soviet Government and the other parties to the Warsaw Treaty on the subject of the presence of Soviet forces on Hungarian territory.

61. Thus the question of the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary is a matter exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Hungarian and Soviet Governments.

62. Attempts have been made here to discredit the collective security system created under the Warsaw Treaty. The Warsaw Treaty, as everybody knows, was concluded as a measure essential to the security of the contracting parties, and necessitated by the fact that the Western Powers were re-arming the Federal Republic of Germany and recreating the former Hitler *Wehrmacht* in that country; by the fact that they were encircling the peoples' democracies and the USSR with large numbers of military bases and established the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, an aggressive military bloc directed against the peoples' democracies, the USSR and other countries.

63. The Soviet Union and the other parties to the Warsaw Treaty, as is well known, have stated that they would agree to the abrogation of the Warsaw Treaty, provided that NATO also was dissolved. However, the Western Powers have rejected that proposal. It should also be noted in this connexion that the question of the existence and implementation of a regional agreement such as the Warsaw Treaty is exclusively within the jurisdiction of the contracting parties, and any attempt to turn this question into a subject for discussion by the United Nations is illegal and a violation of the Charter.

64. As the Hungarian representative has stated here [568th meeting], and as Press reports indicate, order and tranquillity are being restored in Hungary. The Hungarian people are actively engaged in the task of healing the wounds inflicted by recent events. The Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government in Hungary is at present taking up the great task of restoring the Hungarian economy and liquidating with all possible speed the consequences of the upheaval caused by the fascist gangs; thus the programme drawn up by the democratic government is being successfully carried out.

65. The workers in Hungary are not alone in their struggle against the reactionary forces. They enjoy the sincere fraternal support of all socialist States, of all who cherish and support the cause of peace, democracy and socialism. In the Soviet Union, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic,

Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, in all countries where the public receive objective information on the course of events in Hungary, the workers are expressing their sympathy and moral support for the Hungarian workers who are fighting for a just cause, for their freedom and independence.

66. The Governments of the USSR and a number of other countries friendly to Hungary have responded to the appeal addressed by the new government of Hungary to the Governments of the fraternal socialist countries to co-operate with Hungary in restoring the country to normal and healing its wounds as quickly as possible. The USSR Government, for its part, is sending foodstuffs, medicines, building materials, fuel and other goods to Hungary. The Hungarian people will undoubtedly succeed in overcoming the present difficulties and rapidly restoring the country to normal.

67. All that is required of the United Nations at the present time is that it should prevent any attempts to hinder the Hungarian people in their peaceful creative work and reject the pretensions of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and certain other countries to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary for the purpose of restoring the former capitalist system.

68. However, the initiators of the slanderous campaign against the Hungarian People's Republic, the Soviet Union and all the peoples' democracies are trying to aggravate the situation in Hungary. Before the ink of the previous General Assembly resolution [1004 (ES-II)], adopted on 4 November, has had a chance to dry, before the Secretary-General of the United Nations has been able to say a single word about the measures taken in connexion with that General Assembly resolution, further draft resolutions are submitted.

69. One draft resolution, proposed by Cuba, Ireland, Italy, Pakistan and Peru [A/3316], constitutes yet another attempt to rob the Hungarian people of their legal right to free democratic elections free of outside interference. Its other provisions are similarly designed to extend further and to increase interference in the internal affairs of Hungary, in order to stir up the campaign of slander against the countries enjoying democratic régimes. For the reasons I have stated, the Soviet delegation opposes this draft resolution and will vote against it.

70. With respect to the second draft resolution, proposed by the United States delegation [A/3319], the Soviet delegation feels it necessary to make the following statement. The Soviet Government has already decided to send assistance to Hungary in the form of 50,000 tons of grain and flour, 3,000 tons of meat, 2,000 tons of butter, 3 million tins of milk, 5,000 tons of sugar, and large quantities of building materials and other goods. The Soviet Union has already begun to dispatch these goods. It is reported that the Hungarian People's Republic is receiving help from the People's Republic of China, Czechoslovakia, Romania and other peoples' democracies. Any Governments and organizations that want to help Hungary can also, given the desire to do so, easily find a way of establishing direct contact with the Hungarian Government in this matter.

71. The draft resolution proposed by the United States representative contains a number of slanderous allegations about the Soviet Union, allegations intended to deceive the Hungarian people and world public opinion. The Soviet delegation will therefore vote against it.

72. If we look into the events taking place in Hungary objectively, the only conclusion we can reach is that the so-called Hungarian question should be removed from the agenda of this session of the General Assembly, as the Hungarian Government has requested, as a violation of the United Nations Charter and a threat to the authority of the United Nations. Any attempt to pursue the discussion of this question in the United Nations can only be regarded as reflecting a desire to support the reactionary underground movement in Hungary and to hamper the task of restoring Hungary's domestic life to normal, a task that is being carried out under the direction of the new government.

73. The removal of the Hungarian question from the agenda of the United Nations will be in the interest of the Hungarian people, who want not interference in their internal affairs but the opportunity of strengthening the people's democratic system in their country. It will also serve the cause of maintaining and strengthening peace.

74. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of Cuba has the floor on a point of order.

75. Mr. NUÑEZ PORTUONDO (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): In accordance with the rules of procedure, as a personal reference has been made to me by the representative of the Soviet Union, I am going to reply very briefly to what he said.

76. The representative of the Soviet Union said that Mr. Belaúnde and I had had considerable practice in the fabrication of slander. I was under the impression that it had been proved that the statements I have been making here for many years concerning the crimes committed by the Stalin régime were not mere slander. I was under that impression because Mr. Krushchev, in a famous speech, had said that all the things I had been saying were true. Hence I cannot understand how the representative of the Soviet Union can accuse me of slander without bringing a similar accusation against Mr. Krushchev.

77. With regard to the other point he brought against me, namely, that I used to support the Nazi government in Hungary, I only have one thing to say.

78. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of Cuba has asked for the floor on a point of order, but the point on which he is now speaking is not a point of order. He is certainly entitled, however, to speak in reply to the personal references made to him, and I will therefore put him down to speak at the proper time. I trust that the representative of Cuba will not mind my adhering to the rules of procedure in this way.

79. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): When the grim report of the massive armed intervention of the Soviet Union in Hungary first reached the attention of the world, the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, immediately dispatched an appeal to the Prime Minister of the USSR, Mr. Bulganin, calling upon him to desist forthwith from such intervention and leave the Hungarian people to the full enjoyment of their rights and freedoms and to proceed to a formation of a government of their free choice. I understand that this appeal made by President Eisenhower was cynically dismissed with a simple emphatic reply: "This, Mr. Eisenhower, is not your business, nor the business of the American people."

80. Also in the wake of the same report, this Assembly, following the failure of the Security Council

to act effectively upon the same question, for reasons we all know, convened immediately and proceeded to consider the Hungarian question. Again the representative of the Soviet Union repaired to discuss it, and with the same emphatic reply told this body that this was not our business.

81. I do not know what reactions you have to this reply; as for my Government, we look upon it as an obsolete and shopworn argument of every dictatorship, an obsolete argument of every régime of fire and steel. But by no means, should any arrogant expression of power deter this body from speaking on behalf of an outraged mankind, as we did on 4 November last.

82. On 4 November, we decided not merely to disregard that reply of the Soviet Union, but to call upon it to desist forthwith from all armed attacks on the people of Hungary and from any form of intervention, in particular armed intervention, in the internal affairs of Hungary, and, among others, to affirm the right of the Hungarian people to a government responsive to their national aspirations and dedicated to their independence and well-being. More than that, we took a concrete step by placing upon the Secretary-General the responsibility of designating observers who should investigate the conditions in Hungary and report forthwith on the result of such an investigation in order that this body might be in a position to act again promptly on the facts.

83. Today we have two draft resolutions before us, the United States draft resolution which, as I see from my examination of it, addresses itself to the conscience of this body. The other is the five-Power draft resolution, which addresses itself to the political judgement of this body.

84. In the United States draft resolution [A/3319] we as a body would call upon "the Hungarian authorities to facilitate, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics not to interfere with, the receipt and distribution of food and medical supplies to the Hungarian people and to co-operate fully with the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as other international organizations such as the International Red Cross, to provide humanitarian assistance to the people of Hungary".

85. On the reliable report that, as a result of repressive action which has been and is still being taken by the Soviet armed forces, large numbers of Hungarians are being compelled to leave their homes and seek asylum in neighbouring countries, this body would also request the Secretary-General "to call upon the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to consult with other appropriate international agencies and interested Governments with a view to making speedy and effective arrangements for emergency assistance to refugees from Hungary".

86. My Government will see no difficulty whatsoever in supporting this United States draft resolution. If approved, it will constitute an expression of the conscience of this body and an assertion of the persistent spirit of humanity by mankind.

87. In the second draft resolution [A/3316] we are asked also to call upon the Government of the USSR "to withdraw its forces from Hungary without any further delay". Unquestionably, this draft resolution in that respect is not only a reaffirmation of our original position in the resolution we approved on 4 November, but

it goes further by calling upon the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces without delay.

88. In this draft resolution, as I said before, an appeal is made to the political judgement of this body. We are asked to consider the holding of free elections in Hungary "as soon as law and order have been restored". I have no doubt that this should be one of the matters to be covered by the investigation of the Secretary-General of conditions in Hungary. I hope that at the appropriate time in the immediate future concrete steps in this direction will also be taken by this body.

89. My Government will find no difficulty at all in supporting this draft resolution.

90. In connexion with paragraph 8 of the resolution approved by this body on 4 November, which "requests all Members of the United Nations, and invites national and international humanitarian organizations, to co-operate in making available such supplies as may be required by the Hungarian people", and perhaps with relevance to the United States draft resolution now before us, I am happy to inform the Assembly that I have this morning received a communication from my Government to the effect that the President of the Philippines, Mr. Magsaysay, has approved a donation of \$2,500 as a token of sympathy and admiration for the heroic struggle for freedom and liberty of the Hungarian people. I have communicated the contents of this dispatch to the Secretary-General with the request that it be circulated to the delegations.¹

91. Although the amount is certainly negligible and will offer very little in the form of material assistance to the stricken and anguished people of Hungary, you can be assured that in this form, humble and modest though it may be, the people of the Philippines will find great consolation and satisfaction that they have not been behind other civilized countries in sending to the Hungarian people the assistance which they need.

92. Mr. SOLE (Union of South Africa): Practically the whole of the Assembly has been aroused by the course of events in Hungary resulting from foreign intervention. It is natural that the Assembly should wish to move rapidly and effectively in the face of the challenge offered by armed intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary. This is a sentiment which the Government and people of South Africa fully share. The indignation expressed here has been widely echoed in the Union of South Africa.

93. It is important, however, that there should also be no doubt as to the constitutionality and the legality of any action taken by the General Assembly in this matter. In this connexion, we are all aware that Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter was originally invoked by the delegation of the Soviet Union, as it has again been invoked today. The same article has now been invoked by the régime which has been set up as a result of Soviet armed intervention. It is therefore appropriate that I should say a few words on how my delegation views this aspect of the matter.

94. At our [564th] meeting last Sunday, 4 November, the South African delegation supported the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the second emergency special session of the General Assembly. We did so on the basis that there had been a violation of Article

2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, in terms of which Members are charged to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

95. We recalled at the time that the Nagy government in Hungary had been recognized by the Soviet Union. It was also very relevant that the Nagy government had made an appeal to the United Nations calling upon this Organization to guarantee the neutrality and independence of Hungary. At that stage, therefore, there was no question whatsoever that the government provisionally recognized by this Assembly had decided not to invoke Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter.

96. A new stage has now been reached where a new régime has invoked this article. This appeal, however, is an appeal emanating from a government which South Africa does not recognize. We do not recognize the régime installed by Soviet armed forces. My Government, accordingly, cannot accept as a legitimate bar to discussion and consideration of an item by this Assembly, the invocation of Article 2, paragraph 7, by a government which we do not recognize.

97. May I now turn for a moment to the terms of the five-Power draft resolution [A/3316]. We shall be happy to vote for this draft resolution, but we do consider that our support would be facilitated if some changes could be made.

98. I would invite attention in particular to the terms of operative paragraph 2, under which the General Assembly considers that free elections should be held in Hungary under United Nations auspices. So far as I am aware, at no time did the Nagy government request the United Nations to supervise any elections which might take place in Hungary. The appeal to the United Nations was for a guarantee of Hungary's neutrality and independence.

99. In these circumstances, it would facilitate our acceptance of the draft resolution if, for example, some change could be made on the following lines:

"2. *Considers* that elections under conditions of complete freedom from foreign intervention should be held in Hungary as soon as law and order have been restored . . ."

The remainder of the paragraph would continue unaltered.

100. May I stress that we are not moving a formal amendment. We understand that the terms of this draft resolution are being reconsidered by its sponsors, and we merely bring this point to their attention.

101. The South African delegation has no comments on the draft resolution moved by the delegation of the United States [A/3319], and we shall be happy to vote for it.

102. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*translated from French*): On 4 November, during a dramatic night, the Security Council asked for an emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly to be convened to discuss the situation in Hungary. The Assembly met the same day [564th meeting] and adopted a draft resolution, the operative part of which is well known to you. Five days have elapsed since that resolution [1004 (ES-II)] was adopted.

103. Nevertheless, the armed attack of the Soviet Union on the people of Hungary is still going on. Not only has the Soviet Union not desisted from interven-

¹This communication was subsequently reproduced as document A/3405.

tion in the internal affairs of Hungary, but its intervention is hourly becoming more brutal.

104. The USSR has not only not withdrawn its forces from Hungarian territory; judging from the most recent information we have received, additional forces are now in action in Hungary.

105. We have had no indication of any steps being taken to send the Hungarian people food, medical or other supplies they need. This is all the more serious because the Hungarian frontier is closed and all Red Cross convoys are held up. According to a report we have just heard, the Kadar government has stated that it would be beneath its dignity to accept help from capitalist countries. Yet we know that the people of the towns, particularly of Budapest, are suffering unimaginable hardships.

106. Yesterday [569th meeting] we heard the Secretary-General's statement. We took note of the communication [4/3315] he had addressed to the Hungarian authorities. In our view this Assembly is entitled to know, at the earliest moment, whether or not it is possible to carry out a genuine investigation of the situation produced by the Soviet intervention in Hungary. In this connexion, we think that our Organization cannot content itself with an account of events which does not shed light on every aspect of the situation, as provided in the Assembly's resolution.

107. We also urgently need to know whether or not it is possible to designate representatives to observe the situation at first hand and send them to Hungary.

108. We also want to know, very promptly, how the Secretary-General proposes to bring an end to foreign intervention in Hungary.

109. Finally — and it seems impossible not to secure the unanimity of the Assembly on this point — we call for the immediate implementation of operative paragraph 7 of our resolution, concerning the dispatch of food and medical supplies to this sorely stricken people. The Secretary-General should, we consider, take up this particular point, quite independently of the other points I have just mentioned, with the Hungarian Government and the Government of the Soviet Union, and ask them, in conformity with international conventions, to allow all possible assistance to be given immediately to the civilian population.

110. This is the spirit in which we shall vote for the draft resolution proposed by the United States delegation [4/3319].

111. It is no less urgent to help those persons who are now being hounded, deported or wiped out without trial and who are living in constant terror under arbitrary power. In this respect, the 1949 Geneva conventions impose on belligerents strict obligations, and it is our imperative duty to ensure the observance of those obligations. We should like the five-Power draft resolution [4/3316] presented this morning to mention this matter specifically.

112. I should also like to point out that France, like some other countries, has already announced its willingness to admit refugees who wish to seek asylum on its territory.

113. If the decisions contained in the resolution adopted by this Assembly on 4 November cannot be put into effect owing to the refusal of one or the other of the Governments concerned, that fact must be clearly stated and the Assembly must take note of it. As I said just now, five days have gone by since the

Assembly adopted its resolution. During those five days, the desperate struggle of the Hungarian people in defence of their liberties has continued with unparalleled heroism.

114. The present situation is described as follows in a *France-Presse* dispatch of today's date, 9 November:

"The highlights of yesterday's events in Hungary were, first a new flare-up of the insurrection, which was thought to have been quelled by the overwhelming numbers of the Soviet troops sent to crush it; and, secondly, the desperate efforts of Janos Kadar's government to give itself some semblance of legality and establish at least some contact with a population which seems determined not to recognize its existence.

"The resumption of street fighting in Budapest, the violence which has been officially admitted by the Hungarian radio for the first time since 4 November, seems to reflect the utter desperation of the 'fighters for Hungarian freedom', as they call themselves."

115. In order to spare the Soviet Union the trouble of denying this report, I shall now quote a *communiqué* broadcast over the Budapest radio yesterday. It is short. Here it is: "The extermination of the counter-revolutionary elements is continuing successfully." Let me add another *communiqué* broadcast over the Budapest radio: "Street fighting has broken out again in Budapest."

116. In the light of these facts, I should like to appeal to the conscience of this Assembly. It was by seven votes — and only seven — that the Security Council decided, on Wednesday, 31 October [751st meeting], to convene an emergency special session of the General Assembly to consider the situation in Egypt. Of those seven votes, one was decisive, for the Assembly could not have been convened without it: that was the vote of the Soviet Union. When the Security Council took that decision, made possible by the Soviet Union's vote in favour, it had already been considering the situation in Hungary since Sunday 28 October; in its first debate on the question on 28 October [746th meeting], it had recognized the urgency of the matter but had postponed its consideration to a later meeting. When, in the afternoon of 3 November the Security Council again considered the situation in Hungary [753rd meeting], at the urgent request of the lawful government of the country, which had formally requested United Nations action [S/3727], six of the Council members were in favour of resuming the consideration of the question as quickly as possible. Their proposal did not win acceptance, being one vote short; the representative of the Soviet Union did not even have to vote against the proposal: he abstained.

117. To the objection that negotiations were proceeding in Hungary and that we should not interfere with them, I replied:

"Let us assume that this is true and that negotiations are in progress, but what is the true nature of negotiations if one of the negotiators is not free? The present situation in Hungary, according to news dispatches, including those from official sources, is the following. The frontiers of Hungary, including the western frontier have been closed Considerable [Soviet] forces . . . are occupying strategic points Eight years ago Soviet troops which were massed on the frontiers of Czechoslovakia forced the

Government to capitulate and so made Czechoslovakia a satellite in the Soviet orbit. Is that not exactly what Soviet forces are now trying to accomplish in Hungary? Is not a replica of the Prague *coup* being enacted at Budapest?"²

118. I am convinced that those members of the Council who felt that the alleged negotiations should be allowed to continue and all immediate action avoided were acting in good faith. If their conviction was based on the statements of the so-called representative of the Nagy government, who now says that he is representing the new Hungarian government in this Assembly and who was sitting then at the Council table, they were in error. If they based their views on the statement of the representative of the Soviet Union, they were naive. In view of the dramatic course of events, either assumption was wrong in any case.

119. A few hours later, events unfortunately bore out only too well the warning which my delegation had given that afternoon. Because of those events, it was necessary to convene an urgent meeting of the Security Council during the night to resume the consideration of the situation in Hungary and refer it within the hour to the emergency special session of the Assembly which was convened to consider the question.

120. What the Assembly decided constitutes the very minimum which our Organization could be expected to do to assist a people fighting for their freedom. Those decisions have remained a dead letter, and five days have gone by without our doing anything to ensure their enforcement; it is as though we were waiting for a whole nation to be finally crushed before issuing a death certificate.

121. The entire world has been filled with shocked indignation at the events in Hungary. Perhaps the cries of the dying in Budapest have reached us only faintly across the thousands of miles of ocean which lie between us, but in Europe a vast movement of solidarity between peoples has appeared. From the heads of Governments to the peoples themselves, who have demonstrated everywhere, sometimes violently, the nations of Europe have shown their determination not to allow one of the most ancient of their number to be wiped off the map.

122. Many are surprised that, in spite of the anguished appeals from Budapest, the United Nations has been so slow in giving serious consideration to the dramatic events in Hungary, which have endangered the very existence of a whole people. Some may have hoped for a while that the Assembly's decisions would at least prevent the situation from becoming more serious and would stop the fighting. We now know that such a hope was quite unfounded.

123. In the view of the French Government, the United Nations cannot refuse to do everything within its power to free the Hungarian people from foreign domination, and should not even reject the idea of setting up an international force to end the conflict and supervise the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

124. My delegation is in full agreement with the draft resolution proposed by Italy, in conjunction with Cuba, Ireland, Pakistan and Peru [A/3316], and will vote in favour of it.

125. Now I want to speak more generally. Although the Security Council acted with a rapidity which is without precedent in the history of our Organization, and decided, thanks to the decisive vote of the Soviet Union, to convene an emergency special session of the General Assembly to consider the police action taken by France and the United Kingdom in the Middle East, it took more than a week to decide that the situation in Hungary required immediate action. Unfortunately, when the decision was taken, it was already too late.

126. Furthermore, when judgement was to be passed on the French and United Kingdom Governments' decision to put an end, in the interest of the free world, to the state of tension in the Middle East, the draft resolution proposed to the Assembly was supported by sixty-four Member States, and the Assembly sat almost without a break for well-nigh thirty hours to consider the question. But when the time came to approve the draft resolution which was the absolute minimum decision the United Nations could take to signify its disapproval of action which has aroused the indignation of the world, eighteen Member States either abstained or did not vote at all.

127. In effect, a majority in this Assembly favours urgent assistance for a man whose acts of provocation are legion, and who for years has been carrying out daily war-like operations against the State of Israel, a State which was set up by the United Nations and which a speaker from this rostrum was allowed, without being challenged, to describe as a United Nations abortion, a still-born monster calling itself a Member of the United Nations. A majority is in favour of urgent assistance for a man who, in utter disrespect of a unanimous decision of the Security Council, has for years refused to allow Israel ships to pass through the Suez Canal, and who retorted to the refusal of a loan by seizing an international waterway in violation of all treaties, and so struck a fatal blow to international confidence.

128. And yet, when the representative of the Soviet Union comes to this rostrum today to speak of the act of aggression committed by France and the United Kingdom, I am sure that some of you must have pangs of conscience and must be wondering whether, by spending thirty hours of debate on the Middle East while the Hungarian people were being finally crushed, you did not lend yourselves, in all good faith, to a tragic manoeuvre on which history must pass judgement.

129. For our part, as Mr. Mollet said in his reply to Mr. Bulganin, we doubt whether the Soviet Government has the right to bewail what it calls the shedding of innocent blood, when, through the action of that same Government, the blood of Hungarian patriots is flowing in torrents in Hungary.

130. At the very time when one of the most bloody repressions in history is being tacitly accepted here, it would be too easy to salve one's conscience with the thought that two Governments which were carrying out a police action on behalf of the free world had been asked to take decisions that they had themselves declared it to be their intention to take in any case.

131. It may be that, faced with a Power whose tremendous strength is now being used to enslave part of Europe, our Organization is powerless to act. If that is so, we must conclude that the United Nations,

²Official Records of the Security Council, Eleventh Year, 753rd meeting, para. 82.

which was established by those who spent six years fighting the fascist dictatorships, has now become, through the misuse of the worst parliamentary methods, a blind instrument in the hands of those who wish to destroy the free world. That is — as everyone sees quite clearly — the problem facing us now. In the world of today, political problems cannot be isolated from each other in water-tight compartments. There is only one problem, that of defending freedom wherever it is attacked.

132. Mr. NUÑEZ PORTUONDO (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): My speech is appearing in instalments, like the old-fashioned serial stories. All I want to do this morning is to reply to the personal accusations made against me by the representative of the Soviet Union, who referred to me by name.

133. Mr. Kuznetsov said that I was a slanderer. I have asked for a copy of the statement I made yesterday, and I cannot understand what part of the speech he considered slanderous. What I said was:

“Mr. Krushchev said that Stalin had committed the crime of genocide against the Tartars in the Crimea, the Germans of the Volga, the Kalmucks and other Caucasian peoples” [568th meeting, para. 18].

If that is the part which constitutes slander, it is Mr. Krushchev who should be accused of it, since all I did was to repeat what he said in his speech.

134. The representative of the Soviet Union also said that I used to support the Nazi government in Hungary. That is odd; from the newspapers of Havana and from the records of the Cuban Parliament, the following facts can be proved. When the von Ribbentrop-Molotov pact was signed between the Soviet Union and Hitler Germany, when the Soviet Union was attacking Poland from the rear, at the same time as the Germans were attacking it from the west, I spoke in the Cuban Parliament in protest against that pact between the Soviet Union and Hitler, and an attempt was made on my life by the Cuban Communists. In other words, I was already an opponent of nazism and fascism when the Nazis were the allies of the Soviet Union. Proof of this may be found in any of the Havana newspapers of that period and in the records of the Cuban Parliament. Therefore this accusation against me cannot stand, it is untenable and no one could possibly place any credit in it, because throughout my public life I have consistently been against all the “isms”, whether fascism, nazism or communism.

135. In conclusion, I would like to refer to the statement made by the representative of the Soviet Union with reference to Cuba's attitude to the question of the Suez Canal. It is also clear from the records of the Security Council that we voted for the inclusion of the item in the Council's agenda, and in that of the Assembly; we have voted for every single one of the resolutions favourable to Egypt in connexion with this case. That means that the charges of indifference brought against us by the representative of the Soviet Union are entirely false. Our line of conduct has never wavered: in the case of Egypt, our vote was cast in defence of Egypt's rights, and in the case of Hungary, we are acting in defence of Hungary's rights. This is a very different attitude from that of the Soviet Union, which in its own political interests has stood by Egypt on the question of the Suez Canal, and is now quite

content to stand by and see its troops slaughtering more than 65,000 Hungarians.

136. Mr. WALKER (Australia): We heard this morning from the Soviet representative a most extraordinary version — the Soviet version — of the recent events in Hungary. I think it is extremely important that this Assembly and the world should keep its mind clear upon the exact nature of the events that we have witnessed in recent days.

137. On 30 October, the Soviet Government issued a declaration about its relations with other Communist countries. That declaration admitted serious shortcomings in economic conditions in Hungary and went on to make two very important points as far as Soviet troops in Hungary were concerned.

138. The first point was that Soviet troops had entered Hungary at the request of the Hungarian Government. The second point was that the Soviet Government had instructed its military command to withdraw its troops from Budapest — I quote the Soviet declaration — “as soon as this is recognized by the Hungarian Government to be necessary”.

139. The declaration said that that decision had been taken by the Soviet authorities because it was considered that — and again I quote the words of the Soviet declaration — “the further presence of Soviet troops in Hungary could serve as a cause of an even greater deterioration of the situation”.

140. Two days after that declaration was made, that is to say, on 1 November, the Prime Minister of Hungary, Mr. Nagy, made a dramatic announcement which we all recall. He said he had protested to the Soviet Ambassador against the entry of further Soviet troops and demanded their immediate withdrawal. He repudiated the Warsaw Pact, he declared Hungary's neutrality and he appealed to the United Nations to defend that neutrality. He also said that the Soviet Ambassador had promised to obtain an immediate reply to his request for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

141. These are the facts of which we have all been witnesses in the General Assembly and in the Security Council in recent days.

142. One would have thought that, in view of the declaration of the Soviet Government on 30 October, there could be only one reply to the Hungarian Prime Minister's *démarche*. The Soviet Government had clearly said that it had issued instructions that its troops would be withdrawn from Budapest “as soon as this is recognized by the Hungarian Government to be necessary”. The Hungarian Prime Minister had clearly indicated that he and his government wanted the troops withdrawn. As this Assembly knows, the Soviet reply was to send in more troops and, by the use of brutal force, to set up a puppet government under the leadership of Kadar, the First Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party.

143. Many of us had just begun to hope in recent months that the anti-Stalin movement in the Soviet Union heralded a new period of hope for the world, a period in which the Soviet Union would begin to recognize the rights of other people to self-government and would accordingly reduce international tension throughout the world. This, of course, would have been of great significance had it been true.

144. In the modern world, the Soviet Union has made itself a great colonial Power, though it has never ceased to inveigh against colonialism. How this propa-

ganda on the Soviet side has succeeded is one of the mysteries of life. We all know something of the record of another great colonial Power, the United Kingdom. We know that the British procedure has been to promote dependent countries towards and into self-government. On the other hand, the Soviet Union, acting in relation to what are commonly called its satellite countries, of which the two most vividly in the public mind just now are Poland and Hungary, has pursued a line of policy designed to destroy self-government and to reduce people from independence to subservience.

145. As the Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Menzies, said in a statement in Parliament a few hours ago:

"It comes as a shock to civilized onlookers to find that at the very moment when the Soviet Union has, by brute force and savage rapacity, been crushing the flame of independence in Hungary with the loss of many thousands of lives, it should have the effrontery to pose as the defender of Egyptian liberty and to issue the wildest threats against the Western Powers."

146. The Soviet representative this morning has once again argued that the attention which this Assembly is giving to the situation in Hungary has been engineered, as it were, to distract attention from events in the Middle East. We do not believe for one moment that the situation in the Middle East and in Hungary can be considered to be on the same plane. But, if the matter is put in those terms, let us still be clear on our facts.

147. We are all familiar with the events of the last few days here in this Assembly. We all know that the United Kingdom and France have agreed to a ceasefire and have accepted the view of the United Nations that a United Nations Force should take over from them with all speed in Egypt. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has entered Hungary without any legitimate basis whatever. Its targets have been mainly civilian targets. It has temporarily destroyed the political fabric of the Hungarian people. It has ignored the views of the United Nations and it shows no disposition whatever to withdraw and leave the Hungarians to develop their own future.

148. To us, it is ironical that the Soviet Union should be able to practice a policy of subjugation by armed might while at the same time assuring the countries of Asia, for instance, that it supports the five principles of freedom and non-interference which underlie the social philosophy of many of those peoples.

149. It is abundantly clear at the present time that Hungary presents no threat to the Soviet Union, unless we say that the expression by a neighbouring people of its natural urge towards freedom and democracy represents a threat to the Soviet Union. If that were the position, few countries could rest easy.

150. We have before us two important draft resolutions to which the Australian delegation is prepared to lend its support. We have already in this Assembly

requested the Secretary-General to investigate the situation in Hungary through observers appointed by him. It is by no means clear that observers appointed by the Secretary-General will be permitted to enter Hungary, but in any case it is the view of my delegation that the effort should be made by the Secretary-General to investigate the situation as fully as possible, and that even if there are barriers in the way of observers appointed by the Secretary-General entering into and travelling through Hungary, they should at least be on the frontiers in neighbouring countries and carry out whatever negotiations are possible, so that we in this Assembly may receive the most objective and unbiased presentation of the facts that can be ascertained with regard to the present situation and recent events in Hungary.

151. The United States draft resolution, in particular, is concerned with the humanitarian aspects of this tragic situation. The whole world is now concerned over the sufferings of the people of Hungary, as well as with the problem of what can be done to help them maintain their independence. The Australian Government, I am happy to say, has already announced that Australia is willing to accept up to 3,000 of the 15,000 or more Hungarians who so far have fled the country following the Soviet occupation. An Australian immigration officer has already gone to the Hungarian border to study the situation.

152. Announcing the Government's decision, the Australian Minister for Immigration, Mr. Townley, said that the group of Hungarians to be admitted would include a number of compassionate cases such as children and persons above the normal age of immigration. This action has been welcomed by the Parliamentary Opposition in Australia. Mr. Calwell, the Deputy Leader of the Opposition, in welcoming the Government's decision, said that the Australian people were not only sympathetic with the victims of Soviet aggression, but were appalled by the bestiality of the Soviet Union in its attempts to suppress the independence of the Hungarian nation.

153. It was also announced that a parcel of medicines and drugs from the Australian Red Cross had already reached the Hungarian border.

154. Today I have just been informed that the Australian Government will make an immediate grant of £A30,000, approximately \$67,000, for Hungarian relief. The Acting Minister for External Affairs, Sir Philip McBride, concerned with the great need to relieve the sufferings of the Hungarian people, has announced in Canberra that a considerable part of this money will go to the fund opened by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and that the rest will be divided in accordance with the best advice obtainable. Complete distribution will be decided immediately the position of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Government is made clear with regard to their attitude towards the entry of relief teams and supplies into Hungary.

The meeting rose at 1 p. m.



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 5: The situation in Hungary (<i>continued</i>).....	59
Agenda item 3: Appointment of a Credentials Committee.....	81
Report of the Credentials Committee.....	81

President: Mr. Rudecindo ORTEGA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 5

The situation in Hungary (*continued*)

1. Mr. MATSCH (Austria): As the Members of the General Assembly will remember, the Austrian delegation voted in favour of the resolution [1004 (ES-II)] adopted by the General Assembly on 4 November. The Austrian delegation reaffirms its adherence to the principles contained in that resolution. In view of the fact that the new draft resolution [A/3316] submitted by Cuba, Ireland, Italy, Pakistan and Peru does not contain in its operative part any substantially new suggestions and proposals, the Austrian delegation prefers to reserve its position at this time and therefore will abstain in the vote on that draft resolution.

2. In accordance with instructions received from my Government, I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly the following draft resolution [A/3324]:

"The General Assembly,

"Considering the extreme suffering to which the Hungarian people is subjected by the fighting which is still continuing,

"Urgently wishing effectively to eliminate this suffering,

"Convinced that humanitarian duties can be fulfilled most effectively through the international co-operation stipulated in Article 1, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations,

"1. Resolves to undertake on a large scale immediate aid for the affected territories by furnishing medical supplies, foodstuffs and clothes;

"2. Calls upon all Member States to participate to the greatest extent possible in this relief action;

"3. Requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to undertake immediately the necessary measures;

"4. Urgently appeals to all countries concerned to give full assistance to the Secretary-General in the implementation of this task."

3. According to recent reports received in Vienna, the suffering of the Hungarian population has reached unprecedented proportions. For more than a week now the civilian population of Hungary has been cut off com-

pletely from the normal supply of food, drugs and medical equipment. Women and children, the old and the sick, have been subjected to extreme hardships and the danger of starvation. Widespread disease and epidemics are imminent. In certain parts of Hungary, polio is spreading widely and becoming a deadly danger to the civilian population.

4. In view of that situation of extreme urgency, immediate relief measures on a large scale are indispensable if a catastrophe is to be prevented. The Austrian Government believes that the world cannot close its eyes to the suffering of the Hungarian population, and it is confident that all countries will feel duty bound to contribute their share. The Austrian delegation has therefore submitted the draft resolution which I have just read out, calling for immediate appropriate relief action by the United Nations. The humanitarian aspects of such relief measures will, I am sure, transcend all political considerations.

5. The Austrian delegation earnestly hopes that the Soviet delegation will, in addition to the help already pledged, find it possible to co-operate with such relief action to be undertaken by the United Nations by giving free access to the affected areas in Hungary. In view of the great urgency of the situation, the Austrian delegation appeals to the President to put the draft resolution to a vote as soon as it has been circulated.

6. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (*translated from Spanish*): Throughout ten years of activity in the United Nations the Peruvian delegation has always adhered to the principle of absolute—I might almost say religious—respect for all the nations represented here. It has also applied the same principle to individuals. When it has had to weigh the actions of Governments it has done so on the basis of principles, dispassionately, and when it has expressed disapproval it has done so in sorrow rather than in anger.

7. For that reason I was distressed by the speech of the Soviet Union representative. I realize that he is in a difficult position; he is defending an indefensible cause and in the circumstances he has understandably had to resort to a proceeding which is forbidden here, to personal allusions, and what is more, to unwarranted personal allusions. He had no right to accuse anyone, least of all the members of the Latin American group, who have acted with perfect and admirable unity in defending the principles of the Charter without partisanship on every occasion.

8. The Peruvian delegation has always acted with scrupulous correctness, and when I addressed the Soviet Union delegation during the debate, I was appealing to it; I was expounding the facts, and I did not utter a single word which was not in accordance with ethical principles and the respect due to others. Hence I was shocked by the attitude of the Soviet Union delegation, although I understand it. The Soviet delegation can perform a service towards the Assembly—because after all there is a certain solidarity among all the delegations

—and even more, a service towards its Government, by informing it of the views of the Assembly and of the temper of this meeting. There may be different shades of opinion among the various delegations but I think there is a unanimous desire, except of course among the parties directly concerned, involved or accused, to urge the Soviet Union without a day's further delay to put an end to the tragedy that is taking place.

9. We have heard the Soviet Union representative state from this rostrum that the action being carried out is a police action; but we have just heard and read with grief and consternation the latest reports to the effect that Budapest is in flames and that there has been wholesale destruction everywhere. What can I add to the authoritative statement made by the representative of Austria, who has told us in words which must have touched the hearts of all delegations, words which tomorrow will echo in the hearts of all mankind, that Europe has never seen such a situation, that a catastrophe lies ahead which will leave nothing but tears, death, disease and famine?

10. We all know something of history; we know that a mere police action, taken by a Government in response to a revolution, remains confined to the belligerents. In speaking of a disaster of the magnitude of this one, how can anyone speak of government action or of order? This catastrophe has occurred because on one side there are the forces of a foreign country and on the other the Hungarian people. I should like to ask the representative of the Soviet Union—where does he expect the hearts and the feelings of the peoples of Latin America and of all mankind will be in the struggle between the two combatants, on the one hand brute force and imperialism led, so it seems, by the ghost of Stalin, and on the other the people of Hungary?

11. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): On 23 October 1956 there was a peaceful demonstration in Budapest. On 24 October Soviet tanks were in action against the Hungarian people. On 28 October the United States, France and the United Kingdom brought the situation to the Security Council. At this meeting¹ the representative of the Soviet Union described the situation as a reactionary and counter-revolutionary movement against the legal Government of Hungary, stimulated by the United States and other Western Powers. When the Security Council met on 28 October it was already clear that what in fact was involved was a rising of the Hungarian people against Soviet domination, and a heroic nation-wide bid to achieve freedom and independence.

12. As early as 25 October Soviet tanks had been mowing down hundreds of innocent Hungarian people, men, women and children, in the squares and streets of Budapest. During the ensuing week the violent repression continued and the Russian troops continued to attack the forces of the Hungarian Army.

13. At the same time there were reports to the effect that the Russian forces were withdrawing from Budapest and that negotiations had begun between the Soviet Government and the Government of Premier Nagy for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from the whole of Hungary.

14. There were then no further meetings in the United Nations on this situation until Friday and Saturday, 2 and 3 November.² During the two meetings on those

two days, some of us strongly expressed the view that the United Nations should pay the utmost attention to a situation, in which it was being put out that a settlement would be reached by negotiation, but when the city of Budapest was being ringed with Soviet steel. We now know that in fact a fraud was being perpetrated on the Hungarian people; for very late on the night of Saturday, 3 November, the news reached the United Nations that the Soviet Government was forcibly taking over control in Budapest and subduing the country by force.

15. During these agonizing days, when the Hungarian people were being tricked and betrayed, Soviet voices were being stridently raised in the General Assembly in misrepresentation of the attempt of the United Kingdom and France to save the peace in the Middle East.

16. It is only too clear why. I have even heard it suggested that it was the disruption of the peace in the Middle East that prompted the Soviet action in Hungary. It is sufficient to point out that the tragic chain of events in Hungary had already started some time before the Middle Eastern crisis developed. Indeed, on the day that Israel was mobilizing for its attack on Egypt, the Security Council was already discussing the Hungarian situation.

17. Once the Soviet offer of negotiations on the withdrawal of troops from Hungarian soil had been shown to be no more than a cover for their preparations for a new intensive and still more ruthless attack on Hungary, this Assembly passed a resolution [1004 (ES-II)] calling on the Soviet Union to withdraw all of its forces without delay from Hungarian territory, and to permit observers designated by the Secretary-General to enter Hungary. That was on 4 November—five days ago. As I understand it, the Soviet Government has made no response of any kind to this request from the General Assembly. In the meantime, Russian troops are occupying Budapest, and the Assembly will have heard, as I have heard, the reports of looting, pillaging and indiscriminate shooting of civilians. We have reports of the mowing down of women in bread queues and shooting down at sight of any Hungarian venturing to tread the pavements of his own city. The civilian casualties run into many thousands. The numbers will never be known.

18. The United Nations has affirmed the right of the Hungarian people to a government "responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being;". The United Nations has called upon the Soviet Union to desist from all armed attack on the peoples of Hungary and any form of intervention, particularly armed intervention, in the internal affairs of Hungary. The Assembly has also called upon the Soviet Union to cease the introduction of additional armed forces into Hungary and to withdraw all of its forces without delay from Hungarian territory.

19. The Soviet Union has ignored all these requests of the United Nations and, on the contrary, is reinforcing its occupation of Hungary and blotting out the freedom of the Hungarian people.

20. This then is the real situation of the tragedy of Hungary—a sovereign country which we believed, when we voted for its admission last year to the United Nations, was moving at last towards the full exercise of its sovereign rights.

21. This tragic situation cannot be viewed in isolation. If we look dispassionately at the two questions—the Middle East and Hungary—which we have been obliged for the last ten days to consider separately, we see that

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Eleventh Year*, 746th meeting.

² *Ibid.*, 752nd and 753rd meetings.

there emerges from them both one clear, simple and disturbing pattern; the pattern of Soviet imperialism.

22. In Hungary the situation which has come into being within the past few weeks stems from Hungary's incorporation into the Soviet empire after the Second World War.

23. In the Middle East the problems of the last weeks stem from the ambitions of the Soviet Union to extend its influence in the direction of that area also. These ambitions on the part of Russia go back a long way, back to the days of the Czarist régime. But the Communist Government of the Soviet Union has recently taken up this traditional policy of expansion at the expense of Near Eastern countries. For the past few years, both inside and outside the United Nations, by methods open and covert, these efforts have been actively developed. All this created an increasingly inflammatory situation. We all know, only too well, how at last this situation exploded into the Israel attack on Egypt.

24. For the last ten days the United Nations has devoted all its efforts to helping to maintain peace and order in the Middle East. My Government is in every possible way making its contribution to that end in accordance with the plans adopted by the United Nations.

25. I may here interpolate that, in agreeing to the appeal for a cease-fire which went out from this Assembly, we were in no way influenced by the blatant threats of Soviet intervention. Indeed, it is a curious lapse on the part of the Soviet psychological warfare machine to suppose that bullying and intimidation can work on the British people.

26. For the Soviet Union it has been easy during this latest crisis, which it greatly helped to create, to express its sense of outrage at what was happening in the Middle East, to pose before the Assembly and before the world as an apostle of peace. All this time the Hungarian people have been suffering their terrible martyrdom. Those who may look toward Communist Russia as a protector should not forget, but should mark and learn, the lesson of Hungary.

27. During the last two years the free world had been encouraged by slight indications that the Russians were coming to see the need to adopt an attitude toward these matters of empire more in harmony with the liberal ideas of the twentieth century. If the Hungarian tragedy must arouse acute doubts as to the willingness of the Soviet Union to loosen its grip on its European empire, we must equally watch with the utmost circumspection the camouflaged ambitions of Russia aiming at expansion in the Middle East.

28. The United Nations must not relax in its attempts to secure to the people of Hungary the right to express themselves in freedom and to determine their own affairs as a sovereign State. So clear is the right that it seems hardly conceivable that it will be denied to them by repression and violence. It must be the profound hope of every representative in this Assembly that the Soviet Union will heed the dictates of the conscience of the world.

29. From all I have said, it follows that I shall vote for the five-Power draft resolution [A/3316].

30. As I have said, the United Nations must continue its efforts to remedy this tragic situation by every means in its power. But in addition to finding a satisfactory final remedy, we must also strive to alleviate the immediate sufferings of the Hungarian people. In their

renewed attack on the Hungarian people, the Soviet forces are employing not only the conventional methods of war, but also the weapon of starvation. I understand that no supplies of food have been brought into Budapest since the Russian forces reoccupied it on 4 November, and furthermore that anyone venturing out of his house to look for food is liable to be shot at sight by Russian soldiers. In these circumstances, the provision of food and medical supplies to Budapest and other areas of Hungary is a matter of the most extreme urgency.

31. We must consider also the needs of the thousands of refugees who have been obliged to leave Hungary to escape the Soviet attack. My Government has already shown that it regards this question as a matter of the greatest urgency. We have already made available to the International Red Cross a total of £50,000 for the provision of medicine and food and we are now examining as a matter of urgency arrangements whereby 2,500 refugees from Hungary may be received into the United Kingdom.

32. I should like, therefore, on behalf of my Government to welcome warmly the United States draft resolution [A/3319]. It is my hope that its recommendations can be carried out with the greatest possible speed.

33. We have just heard from the representative of Austria proposals from his Government also directed to the humanitarian side of the problem. We all know how much the people of Austria have already done to help the people of Hungary. We shall study the Austrian draft resolution [A/3324] very carefully in relation to the United States draft resolution.

34. Mr. JOJA (Romania) (*translated from French*): The delegation of the Romanian People's Republic has expressed its strong opposition to this resolution A/RÉS/393 because it unquestionably constitutes intervention in a problem which concerns the Hungarian People's Republic and with regard to which the Hungarian Government alone is competent to take such decisions as the situation may require. The Hungarian Government has taken the measures it deemed necessary to defend the fundamental freedoms of the Hungarian people and the constitutional institutions of the popular democratic régime chosen by the people.

35. In view of the new draft resolution [A/3316] submitted to the Assembly, I feel bound once again to draw attention to certain aspects of this matter which are becoming increasingly plain. Firstly, it should be emphasized that the rapid succession of texts, each less well founded than its predecessor, shows that the General Assembly of the United Nations is now the scene of persistent efforts to involve the Organization more and more deeply in a problem which is outside its competence and thereby to weaken its authority, to exacerbate and exasperate the international situation and to maintain a state of unrest prejudicial to peace. It is obvious that the sponsors of the draft resolution disregard the principle in law that a people has the right to organize its own system of national representation and elections without any outside interference in violation of that principle.

36. It is equally obvious that the five-Power draft resolution, regarding the question of the Soviet troops in Hungary which helped the Government to restore order and eliminate the threat to that country's democratic institutions, is in fact directed against the Warsaw Treaty. In other words, it is directed against the right of Hungary and the other countries parties to that Treaty to follow a foreign policy that furthers the

interest of peace and their national security and independence.

37. As is well known Romania is a party to the Warsaw Treaty, whose underlying principle is the defence of the collective security of the European States against the threat of aggression. The Warsaw Treaty was born of the need to defend the peace and security of the peoples of Eastern Europe and, thereby, the security of all the European peoples. It is based on the United Nations Charter, is consistent with the Charter, and is a pillar of world peace.

38. It is unthinkable that the United Nations should have any right to consider the question of the modification, termination, or even interpretation of a treaty which was freely accepted and is in keeping with the interests of Hungary and the other signatory States. It is obvious that the draft resolution seeks implicitly to attain that objective. Such a position is wholly unwarranted, particularly as some of the States whose delegations sponsored the draft resolution are themselves parties to certain military alliances, such as the Paris Agreements providing for the re-armament of Western Germany, whose aggressive purposes led to the conclusion of the defensive Warsaw Treaty.

39. It is clear that intentions such as those expressed in the draft resolution are far-reaching and have nothing to do with the Hungarian people and their interests. The Romanian Government considers that the proper way to solve the Hungarian problem is through the application of the programme of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, which provides for broad measures to restore Hungary's economy and to further its progress on the basis of a freely elected people's democratic régime. My delegation is persuaded that nothing can prevent the Hungarian people from developing socialism.

40. The situation in Hungary has already improved substantially from every point of view. The Romanian delegation wishes again to state its opinion that it is a grave error and an unacceptable violation of the Charter to attempt to associate the United Nations with the fascist elements who tried to overthrow the democratic régime established by the Hungarian people and to undermine Hungary's security. For these reasons the Romanian delegation will vote against the draft resolution [A/3316] before the Assembly.

41. As regards the other draft resolution [A/3319], submitted by the United States delegation, the delegation of the Romanian People's Republic considers that it is normal that a State whose people have lived through the tragic events which have taken place in Hungary should be helped by other States. Like other Governments, the Romanian Government is providing aid. But the acceptance of such aid is nevertheless an internal affair of Hungary. For that reason the question can be legitimately settled only by an agreement between the States prepared to give assistance and the Hungarian Government. My delegation will therefore vote against the draft resolution.

42. I should like, further, to refer to the speech of the United States representative, in which he made an effort to rouse sympathy for the fascist elements who rose in armed revolt against the democratic rights of the Hungarian people and committed many crimes. Neither the United States draft resolution nor the United States representative's statement make any reference to the acts of terrorism committed by the fascist bands. How can the United States representative's words be reconciled with the photograph published in today's

New York Times showing men being shot in the back in cold blood? In Budapest hundreds of thousands of men have been murdered, burned alive and hanged. Neither our contemporaries nor history will ignore these crimes against the Hungarian people, despite the propaganda efforts that can be seen in the draft resolutions submitted by certain representatives of the Western States.

43. Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand): I am glad, as the representative of a free country, to follow in this debate the representative of Romania. I often wonder, as I reflect on the utterances of those in his position, whether in their hearts they fear that the flames which now scorch Budapest could consume Bucharest if its citizens dared to try to be free.

44. There is no need for me to reiterate my country's attitude towards the intervention of Soviet troops in Hungary. Our detestation of the cold-blooded brutalities committed against the Hungarian people was made abundantly clear in my statement at the beginning of this debate [564th meeting]. Most unfortunately, the Soviet Union has done nothing since the beginning of this debate to allay the anxieties and fears of those who watch its stark determination to trample on liberty in Hungary and kill and maim all those men, women and children who dare still to fight for freedom, or even, as I heard Sir Pierson Dixon say, dare to move in their own streets.

45. My delegation will support the five-Power draft resolution [A/3316]. We trust that it will be adopted by an even larger majority than the resolution [1004 (ES-II)] adopted on 4 November 1956. My delegation has understanding of those delegations who were unable to obtain instructions in time to support the earlier resolution. The five-Power draft resolution provides a second opportunity for all Members of the United Nations to make it known where they stand.

46. I find this conception which I am about to set out terrifying and I think that all free peoples will find it terrifying. The conception is this: If you oppose the nationalization of land and industry, certainly if you oppose it vigorously, then you are a fascist, you are a feudalist and you are a capitalist, and as such, in Communist eyes, you deserve to be shot. I ask some of my friends in Asia to reflect on this conception. If this continues to be the philosophy of the Soviet Union—and we see now its terrifying manifestations in Hungary—then the world faces a grim future indeed.

47. My delegation fully supports the draft resolution presented by the United States [A/3319]. My Government has already acted to meet the appeal contained in section II of this draft resolution.

48. In a statement issued today, my Prime Minister said that the New Zealand Government was keeping in close touch with the international measures to assist the refugees from Soviet repression in Hungary. He recalled that the Government had already granted £10,000 to the relief work being undertaken by the International Red Cross and he expressed confidence that the New Zealand public would respond generously to the appeal which had already been launched.

49. The Government, Mr. Holland went on, had given consideration this morning to appeals for assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, the two bodies on which the main burden of maintenance and resettlement measures would fall. A decision had been made to receive up to 500 of the Hun-

garian refugees for settlement in New Zealand. This offer was being conveyed to the organizations concerned. The need for further financial assistance would also receive consideration as soon as the situation was clarified.

50. May I add my earnest hope that the Soviet Union and the present authorities in Hungary will promptly comply with Section I of the United States draft resolution. The least that can be expected—the least—is that the crimes already committed against the Hungarian people will not be compounded by a refusal to admit emergency supplies of food and medicine. Any delay will merely add the miseries of disease and starvation to the ravages already so ruthlessly inflicted on Hungary by the forces of the Soviet Union.

51. Mr. ULLRICH (Czechoslovakia): The position of the Czechoslovak delegation on the item under discussion is, in principle, known from the intervention which we made here yesterday [569th meeting].

52. In view of what is going on in this Assembly and what can be justly called an obstinate attempt by a number of speakers, distorting facts which have so far proved themselves, we should stress once again that we are strongly opposed to any interference in the internal affairs of Hungary by the United Nations. The new Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government in Hungary has communicated to this Assembly, through the Secretary-General, its categorical objections to any discussion of the so-called Hungarian question either by the Security Council or by the General Assembly. Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter is unequivocal in the sense that the United Nations has no right or power whatsoever to interfere in the internal affairs of States. We have voted against the inclusion of the item on the so-called situation in Hungary in the agenda and against the United States draft resolution [A/3286], the main purpose of which was to realize interference where other means and methods have failed.

53. It is regrettable that the majority of the General Assembly has proceeded in a different fashion, despite the protests of the Hungarian Government. It was, however, not surprising after having heard here all the accounts and claims that a situation existed in Hungary which is the opposite of the truth.

54. The intention to divert public opinion from merciless suppression of the peoples of Algeria, Malaya, Cyprus and other areas of Asia and Africa, from the aggression committed against Egypt, is too obvious to be misunderstood, while we are confronted with another attempt to continue interference in the internal affairs of Hungary.

55. A draft resolution has been presented by five Powers obviously acting, so to speak, as foremost crusaders for freedom. The purpose of this action is, however, the same as other preceding ones. There can be no doubt of the reasons why this draft resolution has been proposed over the objections of the legitimate Government of Hungary and after it has made known that order and security have been restored in Hungary. Those who are pressing this matter are not interested in the rights of the Hungarian people. They distort facts, while claiming that freedom has been suppressed in Hungary.

56. They would like to make us believe that what happened in Hungary was a steadily increasing democratic uprising, which became more and more democratic by the hour, and that it was suddenly suppressed. This is a gross falsification of facts for the purpose of restor-

ing the capitalist régime and the Hungarian fascist revival.

57. The outcome of the events in Hungary has shown beyond any doubt that it is not Hungarian freedom, but reactionary and fascist elements which have tried to turn the clock back to Horthyism, that has been suppressed and chased out of the country by the Hungarian people. There is other evidence that the supporters of the old Horthy régime came in great numbers from across the border to join the organized and well-armed underground inside the country, which enjoyed financial and material support of reactionaries overseas, in a treacherous attack against the democratic régime in Hungary.

58. There exists evidence that, during the last days of the Government of Imre Nagy, seventy aircraft of the Red Cross, coming from Austria, landed in Hungary, carrying on board Horthy's officers, whose task it was to command the rebels. These officers were trained in Western Germany for their special mission. Besides that, a great number of cases of medicaments were transported to Hungary, containing, in fact, armaments for the rebels. Thus, what started as a popular upheaval was transformed by the fascist forces of reactionaries into a situation of greatest danger to the democratic régime in Hungary which had developed out of a long struggle of the Hungarian people.

59. The new Government of Hungary, in an appeal to the Hungarian people, set forth a programme pledging national independence and sovereignty of Hungary, defence and democratic socialism, and negotiations for withdrawal of Soviet troops. Such is the true phase of recent events in Hungary.

60. These are the few but most important facts which cannot be denied or disregarded. Those who persist in distortion of facts obviously have the intention of foisting another United Nations decision on the world which would constitute gross interference in Hungary's domestic affairs for the purpose of disturbing the progress and consolidation of peaceful development. If this is their contribution to the settlement of the so-called Hungarian question as presented by them, we shall not hesitate to denounce and to oppose it.

61. At the same time, we cannot support the second United States draft resolution [A/3319], which pretends to offer aid, while aiming, in fact, at carrying out another task, that of spreading slander, instigating hatred, and perpetrating further interference in the internal affairs of Hungary.

62. Finally, I should like to remind the representative of France, who displayed such particular and continuous concern about our freedom and independence, that the Czechoslovak people have not yet forgotten that France did not honour the treaty which it had with pre-war Czechoslovakia, and that it played an outstanding role in the Munich betrayal.

63. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): I wish simply to reaffirm all that we have already said in clarifying our position regarding Hungary's rights and our solidarity with that country in the face of aggression; there is no need to repeat today what was said yesterday [568th meeting].

64. Our attitude remains the same; perhaps we feel even more strongly than before, if that were possible. It remains the same, and is confirmed at the very moment of this continued intervention against Hungary and this pulverization of a country's rights. The rights of a people fighting, as are the people of Hungary, once again, for its sovereignty and freedom. This continued inter-

vention is following its implacable course and so far the aggression has not been halted either by the resolution [1004 (ES-II)] adopted by this Assembly or by the clamour of the general conscience aroused by the outrage.

65. According to information reaching us, events are following the pattern set in the last few days. The forces of aggression continue to crush the life and destiny of an admirable people. Our words at this point are only intended to reaffirm our solidarity with the Hungarian people; we recognize our duty, as an American democracy, to uphold the principles of the Charter and the decisions of the General Assembly by standing side by side with the Hungarian people which is presently struggling for its rights and those of all mankind.

66. This morning we heard the United States representative present proposals we are now considering. The draft resolution [A/3319] which he proposed contains two fundamental concepts. The first of these is to be found in section I. It requests the Soviet Union to cease immediately actions against the Hungarian population which are in violation of the accepted standards and principles of international law, justice and morality. After this American statement affirming the principles which we uphold under the Charter, which the peoples of America have always upheld and which are upheld by the people and the Government of the true functional democracy which I have the honour to represent, the United States draft resolution calls on our feeling of solidarity and requests the Hungarian authorities to facilitate the receipt and distribution of food and medical supplies to the Hungarian people and to co-operate fully with the United Nations and its specialized agencies as well as with other international organizations in this respect. The draft resolution also calls upon the Government of the Soviet Union not to impede this particular task in any way.

67. We will support not only section I of this draft resolution but also section II which seeks to deal with the grievous consequences of war, violence, aggression and arbitrary action. It calls upon the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to assist the victims of this new upheaval who have lost their homes and happiness as a result of a foreign aggression which has deprived them of their rights and imperilled their very existence.

68. We have heard several of the delegations which have spoken on this new problem of refugees avail themselves of the opportunity to stress the sanctity of the right of asylum. This is a right which we regard as an inviolable prerogative of human beings who fight for their freedom, for equal civil and political rights, for the freedom of thought, speech and ideals, and for the rights to defend those ideals. We who believe in the right of asylum not only as an absolute right recognized in our international treaties but also as an accepted incident of social intercourse between American States, can do no less than vote in favour of this draft resolution which envisages the problem of refugees. This had already been stated by other delegations, and my Government will no doubt give this problem the urgent attention which the gravity of the situation demands.

69. As regards the other draft resolution [A/3316] under consideration, circulated this morning and sponsored by five Powers, I should like to say that my delegation will support its operative part. This draft resolution again requests the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Hungary and states that the General Assembly considers that free elections should be held in that country, under United Nations auspices, under the

conditions specified in the draft resolution. This draft resolution also reaffirms the Assembly's earlier request to the Secretary-General to carry out an investigation of the situation created by foreign intervention in Hungary.

70. The explanatory part, or preamble, of this draft resolution may contain features which could be regarded as somewhat redundant, because they are already covered in the operative part to which I have referred. Nevertheless, whatever reservations we may have regarding the wording of this preamble or some of its clauses, which set the keynote for the operative part, the three essential points to which I have referred can certainly count on the supporting vote of my delegation.

71. As we approach the end of this emergency special session of the General Assembly, convened to examine the situation in Hungary, in accordance with the resolution already adopted and in the spirit of unswerving solidarity that inspires them, we wish to salute the fighters in Hungary, in the knowledge that the glare of the flames that illuminate their battle will for ever light the path of mankind in its struggle for justice and freedom.

72. Mr. MACKAY (Canada): Within the past two days, this Assembly has been heartened by the replies received from the Governments recently engaged in military operations in the Middle East. A cease-fire and withdrawal have been agreed to by all concerned. They have also agreed to the entry of a United Nations force pending a general settlement.

73. What a contrast to the situation in Hungary. Not all the facts of the situation in Hungary are available, but there are more than enough to prove the continued unwarranted and brutal interference, by force of arms, of one great country in the internal affairs of a small neighbour.

74. I would ask once again the questions asked of the Soviet Union delegation by our Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, earlier in this debate. For obvious reasons, I address these questions to the Soviet Union delegation rather than to the delegation which purports to represent Hungary. Will the Soviet Union give similar undertakings for a cease-fire and withdrawal—I repeat: and withdrawal—with respect to Hungary? Secondly, will the Soviet Union Government and the Hungarian Government admit a United Nations mission of observers to report back to the Assembly, as approved in the Assembly resolution of 4 November [1004 (ES-II)]?

75. Further, United Nations machinery appropriate to the situation in Hungary is no less urgently required than is United Nations machinery in the Middle East. Where, except from the United Nations, can an impartial and disinterested authority be obtained to hold the ring and thus enable the Hungarian people to form the kind of free national Government they desire, without fear of reprisal? Is the Soviet Union Government prepared to accept any such solution for Hungary?

76. Here is its chance—perhaps its last chance—to prove its good faith. I regret that I can find no evidence in the statement of the representative of the USSR in this morning's debate that his Government has any intention of permitting the Hungarian people any freedom of choice or that it has any intention of withdrawing its forces from Hungarian territory. This, from the Government that has made such loud protestations these last few days about intervention by other Governments in the Middle East.

77. With respect to the five-Power draft resolution my delegation can do no other than vote in favour of it.

78. We shall also support the draft resolution [A/3319] introduced by the delegation of the United States. This draft resolution is solely concerned with the humanitarian aspects of the situation in Hungary. Surely, this purpose and this draft resolution can be supported by all delegations genuinely interested in human welfare and the relief of suffering. In this connexion, I have been authorized to state that Canada is ready to give priority to applications for immigration from Hungarian refugees; to contribute an additional \$100,000 to the High Commissioner for Refugees, specifically earmarked for the aid of Hungarian refugees; and to contribute a further \$100,000 to the Canadian Red Cross for Hungarian relief.

79. Mr. MICHALOWSKI (Poland): While explaining my vote yesterday [568th meeting] on the first United States draft resolution [A/3286] adopted a few days ago, I had the opportunity to clarify the approach of the Polish delegation to the heart of the problem being discussed in this emergency special session of the General Assembly.

80. We are deeply concerned about the tragic events in Hungary, but we consider that, at the moment when the new Hungarian Government has stated its programme which we support, one should not interfere with its tasks and its efforts to regulate, through negotiations with the USSR, the problems connected with the presence of Soviet troops in, and their withdrawal from, Hungary.

81. In these circumstances, I can only deplore the introduction of a new five-Power draft resolution [A/3316]. I should like to point out its irresponsible and propagandistic character. It is obviously meant to be used for propaganda purposes only, and not as a serious attempt to help in the solution of the case before us. The problem is too serious, the events are too tragic, for this kind of political game. I earnestly address myself to the authors of this draft resolution and ask them not to exploit the situation and to withdraw the draft resolution.

82. The United States draft resolution [A/3319], on the other hand, is, in the opinion of my delegation, of a very mixed character. While on the surface expressing certain humanitarian intentions and proposals, at the same time it unfortunately repeats the same political reasoning and conclusions which we considered inappropriate and unjust in the first United States draft resolution and which do not correspond to reality. For instance, in the preamble and in paragraph 2 of section I there is a presumption and implication that Soviet authorities are interfering with the relief action provided for in our first draft resolution. But where is this relief action taking place? What effort has been made by the United Nations to implement paragraphs 7 and 8 of that first draft resolution? Have we heard anything about an effort on the part of the United Nations or its specialized agencies to implement those paragraphs of the draft resolution? So far, the whole interest has been concentrated on the political side of the matter, and I should like to express our regret that that has been the case.

83. In my country, substantial aid has been organized for the Hungarian population. Within a few days, 8 million zlotys—about \$2 million—has been collected, and we are sending transports of food and medicine to Hungary without any difficulty. I submit that paragraph 2 of section I of the new United States draft

resolution, instead of calling for non-interference, should call for relief, for food and medicine and action on the part of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. As it stands now, we cannot support section I of the resolution.

84. We find ourselves in a similar position in regard to section II of the draft resolution. We would be the last ones to interfere with help for refugees. Poland has already declared its readiness to take care of Hungarian children orphaned in the recent events. But we must remember that among the refugees there are not only women, children and other innocent victims of the recent events, but also people responsible for terrible crimes, examples of which could be seen in the pages of yesterday's New York newspapers. The political purpose of section II of the draft resolution is also clear from its preamble. Therefore, my delegation cannot support it.

85. But now a new draft resolution has been submitted by the representative of Austria [A/3324]. I have still not received a typewritten copy of the draft resolution but, according to my understanding of the text of the proposal, it has a really humanitarian character and is drafted with the purpose of bringing substantial and immediate help to the Hungarian people. In view of this, my delegation, anxious to contribute to the effort to bring help to Hungary, is prepared to put aside its legal doubts and to give to this draft resolution, as it would give to any other proposal of this character, its careful and favourable consideration.

86. Mr. OLIVIERI (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): The Assembly has before it a United States draft resolution [A/3319] providing for aid to the Hungarian people which, owing to its noble, humanitarian purposes, cannot fail to gain the unanimous approval of this Assembly.

87. Also before us is a draft resolution [A/3316] submitted by five Powers calling upon the Government of the Soviet Union to withdraw its armed forces from Hungary without any further delay. The draft resolution further expresses the desire that free elections should be held in Hungary to enable the people of Hungary to determine for themselves the form of government they wish to establish in their country. It also reaffirms the request to the Secretary-General to investigate the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary and to report to the General Assembly on compliance with the decisions of the United Nations.

88. With regard to the draft resolutions I have just mentioned, the Argentine Republic takes the view that the Soviet Union, by invading Hungarian territory with its troops and by failing to withdraw its armed forces from Hungarian territory despite repeated requests, has violated the fundamental purposes and principles of the United Nations.

89. The attitude of the Soviet Union is, in fact, in conflict with the following commitments entered into by that country as a signatory of the United Nations Charter:

Firstly,

“To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace . . .”

Secondly,

“To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and

self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;”

Thirdly,

“All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.”

90. Considering that by its violation of these basic provisions the Soviet Union has acted against the spirit of the United Nations, the Argentine Republic proposes that, if the Soviet Union fails to comply with the recommendations contained in the draft resolution [A/3316] to which I have just referred and which will surely be adopted, the Members of the General Assembly should sever diplomatic relations with the USSR. Moreover, in view of the vicious onslaught against the Hungarian nation, unique in its repercussions on history and in the dismay to which it has given rise throughout the world, we request the General Assembly to recommend non-recognition of the new Hungarian Government and rejection of the Hungarian delegation's credentials on the ground that it does not represent any lawfully constituted authority.

91. Mr. SHAHA (Nepal): I shall be brief, and what I shall say will be in the nature of an explanation of my delegation's vote on the General Assembly's [1004 (ES-II)] previous resolution of 4 November, and also an explanation of its votes on the two draft resolutions [A/3316, A/3319] that are under discussion now.

92. At the very outset I should like to make it clear on behalf of my Government that we are against all kinds of imperialism, and that we stand by the principle of self-determination for all nations. We deplore aggression wherever it may occur in the world, be it in the Middle East or in Eastern Europe. Nepal, in spite of its being a small country, has in its history prized independence more than anything else. My country has always been a firm and conscientious believer in the cause of freedom of the smaller nations.

93. Naturally, our heart goes out in sympathy to the people of Hungary which is struggling against heavy odds for freedom and democracy. The blood-curdling events that have occurred in Hungary as a result of the armed attack of the Soviet Union have shocked the moral conscience of mankind.

94. The Hungarian people must be free to live under the form of government it chooses, and the USSR must be compelled to withdraw its troops from Hungary. I think that this may be possible only through unrelenting world public opinion. We condemn the armed intervention of Soviet Russia in the affairs of Hungary just as we condemned the military aggression of the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt.

95. We abstained from voting on the draft resolution of 4 November [A/3286] sponsored by the United States specially for the reason that some of its paragraphs were such as to require instructions from our Government, although there were others in which we concurred fully and completely—for example, the sovereign equality clause, the human rights, and so on. Communications with Nepal being extremely difficult we decided to abstain, but we should like it to go on record that we do not approve of the Soviet Union's armed intervention in Hungary. Our belief in non-aggression and non-intervention as the principles of international conduct was very eloquently endorsed at the Bandung Conference of April 1955.

96. With regard to the draft resolutions now before us, we thoroughly approve the humanitarian purposes underlined in that submitted by the United States [A/3319], although we feel that some of its paragraphs could be so reordered as to make their humanitarian content appear more pronounced by removing the political colour. I learn that some of the African-Asian nations have suggested [A/3325] amendments, and I hope that these amendments will meet this suggestion of mine. The general idea of extending humanitarian assistance to the people of Hungary, who obviously are in very great need of such assistance, is highly commendable. We shall therefore be able to vote in favour of the United States draft resolution, with the amendments which I understand have been submitted by some of the African and Asian Powers.

97. We shall abstain from the vote on the five-Power draft resolution [A/3316], because certain paragraphs of that draft resolution are rather strongly worded and would have to be referred to our Government.

98. Mr. DE GRIPENBERG (Finland): Under the agenda item entitled “The Situation in Hungary”, the Assembly has before it three draft resolutions: one submitted by five Powers [A/3316], another by the United States of America [A/3319]; and the third [A/3324], presented by Austria.

99. The Finnish delegation will abstain from the vote on the five-Power draft resolution only because we do not find it possible to associate ourselves with the formulation of some of the paragraphs of the draft resolution. We shall vote in favour of the draft resolution presented by Austria. In this connexion, we should like to emphasize Finland's fervent hope that Hungary and the Soviet Union will be able to agree on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and on the safeguarding of the fundamental human rights of the Hungarian people, in a way corresponding to the traditions of freedom which have existed in that country for many centuries.

100. Mr. SUDJARWO (Indonesia): Yesterday [569th meeting], I set forth my Government's basic attitude towards this question of Hungary which is now being dealt with by the General Assembly in emergency special session. Delegations are prone to state the high and noble principle on which the policies of their Governments are based. This is a good thing, and my delegation has followed this practice, also.

101. I believe that, so far as declared principles are concerned, there is not much disagreement among delegations to the General Assembly. Indeed, the very fact of being a Member of this Organization entitles each of us here to claim that, in our policies, we uphold the noble principles expressed in the Charter.

102. My delegation has clearly stated the principles involved in this question of Hungary. What is important now is the fact that we must solve the problem, that we must seek a solution to a grave and serious situation which presents itself to us, but even more to the people and country of Hungary. I should like to repeat what I said here yesterday:

“Whatever we do, at this crucial time in the history of the Hungarian people, we should do in the real interests of the Hungarian people as a whole, for the country as a whole, and thereby assist the Hungarian Government to carry out such objectives, taking into account, however, the need for a country, especially a small one, to maintain friendly relations with its neighbours.” [569th meeting, para. 80.]

103. We must seek a peaceful solution in the interests of the Hungarian people. We must contribute to the cessation of fighting and destruction in that country. We must do that in the real interests of the country and its people, but also, I believe, in the interests of peace in that entire area of the world. My delegation will view every draft resolution in that light, basing its final position on the usefulness or the effectiveness of the draft resolution in paving the way for a rapid and peaceful solution of the problem.

104. Sentiments of sympathy, of anger and of condemnation of one another have been expressed. Everyone is, of course, free to state his views and to express his feelings. We respect all those sentiments and feelings, many of which, indeed, we share. If, however, we ask the Assembly to take a decision, the prime consideration should be whether, after the adoption of the first resolution [1004 (ES-II)] on 4 November, the adoption of another draft resolution would really contribute further to the solution of the situation, even though it might satisfy our sentiments and feelings.

105. Moreover, we are dealing here with a Member State, a sovereign State with a government of its own—whether we like it or not—which, according to the Charter, has its own rights and obligations. Nothing, in fact, can be solved now without the co-operation of the Hungarian Government. Only yesterday, the Secretary-General communicated to that Government an *aide-mémoire* [A/3315], which was also circulated to delegations here, bringing to the attention of the Hungarian Government the provisions of the Assembly resolution of 4 November and seeking that Government's co-operation in implementing the provisions. Thus, we are in fact at this moment awaiting the Hungarian Government's answer to and comments on the *aide-mémoire*. Now, a five-Power resolution [A/3316] has been submitted which seeks to make further demands of that Government and contains further expressions of condemnation. I do not know whether such a draft resolution will be helpful at a time when we are seeking, through the Secretary-General, the co-operation of the Hungarian Government in many matters. I do not want to challenge or to question the principles involved in this draft resolution. In fact, my delegation supports the idea of the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary; this is a matter to be negotiated by the Hungarian Government with the Soviet Union.

106. We also support the idea of free elections in Hungary, but, again, let this be their own choice, the choice of the people of Hungary. With all respect to the sentiment and principles which are expressed in this draft resolution, in all fairness we do have honest doubts whether this draft resolution, if adopted, would have the effect it seeks to achieve. Therefore, the Indonesian delegation will be unable to support this draft resolution because of the considerations I have mentioned. The difference between my delegation and the sponsors of this draft resolution is not, I believe, on matters of principle, but rather on the conduct of policy at a certain moment in seeking a peaceful solution of a certain situation.

107. My Government believes in the kind of approach I have described dealing with a difficult and delicate situation such as the one before us. Exploring persistently the possibilities for a just but peaceful solution, we will continue to conduct ourselves in that way.

108. In regard to the second draft resolution presented by the United States delegation [A/3319] I think its intention is to carry out the humanitarian

tasks recommended in the resolution of 4 November as quickly and as smoothly as possible. This endeavour certainly has my delegation's support. This morning we heard with satisfaction the announcement of the Government of the Soviet Union that it, too, has already begun to send medical supplies, food and so on to alleviate the plight of the Hungarian people.

109. The United States draft resolution, however, unfortunately is couched in terms which are rather controversial and which will therefore, I am afraid, make its implementation only more difficult. This certainly would not be helpful in serving the purpose intended. My delegation would like to see this draft resolution confined to the humanitarian tasks, that is, couched in terms which would make its implementation easier rather than more difficult. If the harsh or accusing phrasing were taken out, my delegation would be able to support it wholeheartedly. The question of phrasing is important in this kind of endeavour.

110. If one wants a resolution to be adopted by the greatest possible majority, one can, without relinquishing one's principles, permit or acquiesce in the use of a kind of terminology in a resolution which, while not wholly meeting with one's sentiments, still is most appropriate to meet the need for general support. In the case of the Middle East question, for instance, or rather in the case of the aggression of the United Kingdom and France against Egypt, my delegation and all the Asian and African delegations acquiesced in terming this United Kingdom and French aggression against Egypt just "military operations against Egyptian territory" [resolution 997 (ES-I)]. This term did not fully meet our sentiments, but we agreed to it for the sake of attaining general support, taking into account the different positions of several delegations towards the United Kingdom and France, positions we wished to understand. While for us, indeed, for the great majority of the Assembly there was the fact of clear-cut aggression against Egypt by the United Kingdom, France and Israel, the word "aggression" or even the phrase "deploring such aggression or such actions", let alone condemning them, was not introduced in the draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation. The word used in the preamble was merely "Noting" and the draft resolution only expressed the grave concern of the General Assembly over the developments.

111. We indeed gave much consideration to the objections of some Powers against using those harsh words in a resolution. We acquiesced in this moderation and incorporated words in the resolution only in the most business-like way. Therefore, we hope that in this question of Hungary also the same considerations can prevail, without, I must say again, compromising anybody's principles. Accordingly, with regard to the United States draft resolution [A/3319] I should like to suggest that it be amended in such a way as to read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"I

"Considering that distribution of food and medical supplies is urgently needed by the civilian population in Hungary,

"1. Requests the Hungarian authorities to facilitate the receipt and distribution of food and medical supplies to the Hungarian people and to co-operate fully with the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as other international organizations

such as the International Red Cross, to provide humanitarian assistance to the people of Hungary;

"2. *Urges* the Hungarian authorities to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General and his duly appointed representatives for the carrying out of the tasks referred to above.

"II

"*Considering* that large numbers of refugees are leaving Hungary,

"1. *Requests* the Secretary-General to call upon the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to consult with other appropriate international agencies and interested Governments with a view to making speedy and effective arrangements for emergency assistance to refugees from Hungary;

"*Urges* Member States to make special contributions for this purpose."

112. Amendments [A/3325] to this effect will be formally submitted by the delegations of Ceylon, India and Indonesia. I believe that so amended the draft resolution would maintain its essence of obtaining the speedy carrying out of the needed humanitarian work which is indeed a very urgent matter and one which should be viewed in the most objective manner in order to secure its success.

113. With regard to the draft resolution submitted by the Austrian delegation [A/3324], I think that in general we agree with the ideas contained in it. I hope that my delegation will be able to support that draft resolution, but first I should like to study it and I reserve the right of my delegation later to define its final position on it.

114. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): The General Assembly has before it a number of draft resolutions, the amendments to one of the draft resolutions presented by the delegations of Ceylon and Indonesia together with my own delegation, and there is also pending the resolution of 4 November 1956 [1004 (ES-II)]. I should like to deal with the resolutions which are before us today in the order in which they have been submitted.

115. There is first of all the five-Power draft resolution [A/3316] which deals in substance with the situation in Hungary. With regard to that draft resolution, the position of most delegations has already been stated, because that draft resolution deals with the subject matter covered by the resolution of 4 November.

116. I should like to reiterate what I said from this rostrum yesterday [569th meeting]. Having considered the position in Hungary, the Assembly passed a resolution which requested the Secretary-General to make certain investigations and report to it. That resolution is still pending. We are told and the Secretary-General has informed us that he is not in a position to make that report. It appears to me in the normal course of things entirely an unusual proceeding to go on to other decisions. The decision of the Assembly of 4 November is, on the face of it, a clear indication that the Assembly wants information. The Assembly wants to know what the Secretary-General is able to do in these matters.

117. It is quite true that my delegation abstained on this resolution for the reasons I set out yesterday. But even though a delegation abstains on the vote, when a resolution is adopted it becomes the resolution of the Assembly. In our opinion, there is a duty cast upon the Assembly at least to conform to its own resolution passed only a few days ago. Therefore, we think that the five-Power draft resolution apart from all other

considerations, to which I shall refer in a moment, is misconceived. We are not able to support it, and shall vote against it.

118. Secondly, in making this approach to the problem, my delegation desires to submit with respect that we are not giving sufficient thought and attention to the resolving of the problems and the difficulties that exist in Hungary at the present moment. There was no one here who does not appreciate that there has been fighting, suffering and unsettlement and that there is not the stability required. Any decisions that we adopt here must be directed to the improvement of those conditions. Furthermore, my delegation cannot subscribe at any time to any phraseology or proposals before the Assembly which disregard the sovereignty of States represented here. For example, we cannot say that a sovereign Member of this Assembly, admitted after due procedures, can be called upon to submit its elections and everything else to the United Nations without its agreement. Therefore, any approach that we make as though this is a colonial country which is not represented at the United Nations, is not in accordance either with the law or the facts of the position.

119. With regard to the subject matter, it has disturbed our minds and caused my Government and people a great deal of anxiety; as I said yesterday on this rostrum, we have, as a Government, as all Governments do, the right to exert what influence we have and make such approaches as are possible to assist in resolving this problem and to bring about a situation where the Hungarian people will be able to settle down to constructive tasks and enjoy their national independence.

120. I am to say that in the correspondence between the Prime Ministers of the Soviet Union and India, the last part of which was communicated from New Delhi and received here this afternoon, the Soviet Government informed us of a determination to deal with its relationships with their neighbouring socialist States on the principles of mutual respect of their sovereignty, territorial integrity, and friendship, co-operation and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. This appears in the declaration of the Soviet Government of 30 October, and it is reiterated.

121. There is the problem of the Soviet troops. The Government of India is informed that Soviet troops are to be withdrawn from Budapest in agreement with the Hungarian Government as soon as order is restored. And the Russian Government intends to start negotiations with the Hungarian Government in regard to Soviet-Hungarian relations in conformity with this declaration.

122. It is entirely up to the Assembly to make its own decision with regard to these matters. As far as our Government is concerned, we have made efforts in this direction with a view to attaining the ends that are put forward in these resolutions. In agreement with Yugoslavia, Poland and other countries, who are very near to Hungary and whose problems though not identical are of a similar character, we think that we should not do things here merely out of emotion or other reactions or out of our political predilections, forgetting the interests of the Hungarian people and of the Hungarian State. Therefore, any attitude which is taken which will retard this process of the withdrawal of troops and the settling down of the Hungarian people will be contrary to our general purposes.

123. For those reasons, we think that the five-Power draft resolution is not one which we can support. We consider that it will not assist in the purposes in which

the Assembly has interested itself. We also think it is not consistent with the requests we have made to the Secretary-General and the tasks assigned to him. What we are really doing is asking the Secretary-General to make an investigation and to report; and then, before we hear from him, proceeding to take decisions. Either our first decision was wrong and we do not want information—in which case we should say so—or we ask the Secretary-General to do something and then we disregard that. There is also the *aide-mémoire* which he submitted yesterday [A/3315], in which he informed the Assembly that he had taken steps in this direction and that he is awaiting a reply. He also points in that *aide-mémoire* that nothing of this kind can be done without the co-operation of the Hungarian Government. In his communication, the Secretary-General says that there is a Hungarian Government with which he is in correspondence. I think that *aide-mémoire* should be regarded as expressing the view of the United Nations, because no one has challenged it so far.

124. We come now to the second draft resolution [A/3319] before us, which stands in the name of the United States of America. This draft resolution is of an entirely different category, and I would like to say that we are in agreement with its purposes. If I am right, the purposes of this draft resolution are humanitarian, that is, the relief of suffering. But a purpose always gets rather distorted when material that is relevant to other purposes is imported into it. Therefore, my delegation, while agreeing with the purposes as being in conformity with the general approach towards relieving suffering whatever may be the causes, has tried to remove from the United States draft resolution such parts as make it unacceptable to us, and to retain all the rest, even though we might not have phrased it in that way; that is to say, if my delegation and those who co-sponsored these amendments had to submit a draft resolution *de novo*, we might not have adopted this phraseology. But we are anxious to retain as much of this draft resolution as we can and to take away from it only those things that have no relevance at all or may come in the way of its purposes. I will not read out the various amendments since the Indonesian representative has already read them out to this Assembly [A/3325].

125. It is our submission that the draft resolution as we seek to amend it meets the purposes which the United States draft resolution has in view, without importing into it other considerations and that it will achieve the end to which my colleague from Indonesia has just referred, namely, to bring to this draft resolution a larger degree and wider extent of support.

126. In regard to the whole question of the relief of suffering in conditions of war or conditions of civil disturbance, I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the fact that these matters have been taken into consideration by the nations of the world and have led to the formulation of the Geneva Convention in regard to a disturbance of this character, whether the disturbance be a civil disturbance, a civil commotion, internal might be said—and therefore as coming within Article 2, paragraph 7 of the United Nations Charter—or an international war. It is the submission of my delegation that these matters of relief should be dealt with in accordance with the Geneva Convention. If it is dealt with in accordance with the Geneva Convention, the channelling of aid should be through organizations of a character which do not call into question the nature of that aid or its purposes or whether, in a packet con-

taining medicaments, arms are going in, or anything of that kind. Therefore, in these circumstances, the aid should go to the International Red Cross which would decide the local organs through which their further transmission should take place.

127. I am sure that the Assembly will share the feeling of my delegation that we were glad to hear this morning from the representative of Yugoslavia that the International Red Cross has not met with any resistance from any party concerned, and that the International Red Cross is functioning through the Hungarian and Yugoslav Red Cross missions. Therefore, it is the appropriate international authority free from political or national bias which conforms to the terms of the Geneva Convention, and is the appropriate authority to deal with this matter.

128. While we have no desire to have a specific mention of this apart from what appears in the draft resolution, half the troubles arising from political controversy would disappear if we would separate the humanitarian aspects from our own political objectives. That is why my delegation has moved these amendments, and I hope that after the statement that the representative of Indonesia has made and that I have made—and that I am sure those who speak after me will make—it will be seen that we are in agreement with the purposes and the motives that lie behind the United States draft resolution [A/3319]. But we cannot agree with its formulation; however, we are in agreement with the main purposes. We hope, therefore, that these amendments will find favour with the sponsor of the draft resolution.

129. I will not follow one of the preceding speakers into a discussion of topics that are not before us now. This is the second emergency session of the Assembly dealing with the problem of Hungary. The first one dealt with the problem of Egypt and, normally speaking, it would be out of order, I suppose, to deal with the topic of the first emergency session in the second emergency session; but it would not be out of order to deal with what has been said in the second emergency session by someone else if the President did not rule him out of order. Therefore, it is necessary to state that it is a little inconsistent to try and tell us at this time that the aggression committed by the Anglo-French alliance on Egyptian territory is in defence of peace and has any relation to this problem whatsoever. Therefore, in view of that fact having been mentioned, my delegation wants its expression of opinion to be placed on the record.

130. Mr. VAN LANGENHOVE (Belgium) (*translated from French*): I have already had the honour at the outset of this debate [564th meeting] to state the position and sentiments of my country. I shall confine myself at this juncture to explaining the vote which we intend to cast on the draft resolutions now before us. Belgium was among the countries which immediately offered assistance to Hungary. My country has in particular offered to admit 4,000 Hungarian refugees. There is therefore no need to say that we will vote for the United States draft resolution [A/3319]. There is also no need to say that we sympathize with the thought underlying the Austrian draft resolution [A/3324].

131. With regard to the five-Power draft resolution [A/3316] I can best express the feelings which will prompt our vote by reading a passage from a statement made last Sunday in Brussels by Mr. Spaak, the Foreign Minister of Belgium. Mr. Spaak said:

"The Soviet Union is in the process of destroying all the hopes awakened by recent developments in

that country. Was de-Stalinization to lead to this bloody adventure? I do not yet know what will result from the discussion now taking place in the United Nations. I hope with all my heart that a strong expression of reprobation will cause the leaders of the Soviet Union to reflect. I hope that they will understand that their honour, their interests and their reputation in the world require that they should allow the Hungarian people themselves to choose in freedom the régime they desire. Whatever the outcome of this struggle, the events in Hungary are taking their place in the glorious history of the age-old struggle men have fought to safeguard their rights so that justice may triumph and freedom reign."

132. Mr. JOJA (Romania) (*translated from French*): I must apologize for taking up the time of the Assembly but I feel obliged to reply to a number of assertions that have been made. I will be very brief. The New Zealand representative was, I fear, unfortunate in his strange reflections on recent events. He wondered whether the Romanian representative did not expect the flames of Budapest to spread to Bucharest. I believe that I can tell him not to worry; they will not spread. The Romanian people will be prepared to give a fitting reply to any reactionaries who might hope from a safe distance that the flames of rebellion and white terror will destroy its creative work. But that is not why I asked to speak.

133. I feel that I must draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that it is odd and inadmissible that the representative of a Member State of the United Nations should feel able to ask such a question. Does it not reveal the sinister thoughts that lie behind the solemn phrases that abound in the statements of certain representatives? I should like to record the Romanian delegation's disapproval of, and protest against, the New Zealand representative's statements. I trust that I have the Assembly's permission to do so.

134. Mr. GUNewardene (Ceylon): I stated yesterday [569th meeting] in categorical terms that as regards the Government of Ceylon, we would only be too prepared to accede to any request for a cease-fire. In point of fact, we are able to support very strongly the request made in the previous resolution [1004 (ES-II)], as well as in the draft resolution [A/3316] that has been placed before us, for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Hungary and also that no further military forces should be brought into Hungary for any purpose whatsoever.

135. In the same way that we registered our protest against the United Kingdom and France for their armed intervention in Egypt, we certainly protest even in stronger language against the action of Soviet forces in Hungary.

136. The point was made by Sir Pierson Dixon, my very esteemed friend and distinguished colleague from the United Kingdom, that the United Kingdom and France have accepted the cease-fire and have freely undertaken to withdraw their forces from Egyptian territory. We are certainly grateful for that statement. At the same time, although there was no reason for bringing up the Egyptian question in connexion with this debate, the statement was also made that they were willing to do so and that Soviet Russia was not so willing. I should like to remind Sir Pierson Dixon that in spite of the resolution adopted by the General-Assembly, Anglo-French forces landed in Egypt in defiance of the resolution [997 (ES-II)]. I believe that such action may sometimes set a bad example for others.

137. Soviet Russia seems to be carrying out the same policy, at least for the time being, of retaining its forces in spite of the resolution adopted by the Assembly. I hope that Soviet Russia will have the same realism and practical wisdom which were displayed by the United Kingdom and France, and agree to remove their forces from Hungary forthwith and promptly. As a rule I do not like such qualifications as "as soon . . . as order is restored". It can take many years before order is restored. Also, of course, it depends on one's definition of "order".

138. In these circumstances, I would rather adopt the phraseology that was used in the case of the resolutions relating to the United Kingdom and France "promptly", "without delay", "immediately". I trust that Soviet forces will be withdrawn from Hungary so that the people of Hungary may be able to settle their own affairs.

139. We certainly denounce armed intervention in the affairs of a country, whichever that country may be. I freely admit that there was a Warsaw Treaty, under which Soviet troops had the right to be in Hungary, a reason which certainly could not cover the action of the United Kingdom and France in Egypt. If comparisons are being made, however odious it may be, it is sometimes necessary to point out such facts.

140. My Government holds the view that, whether for reasons of restoring order or in the name of peace, we do not want foreign forces to interfere in the internal affairs of a country, whatever pacts there may be. The Government of Ceylon does not believe in military pacts and has always denounced them. These actions are sometimes the results of military pacts. We do not believe in military pacts. I hope that Soviet Russia will not plead the Warsaw Pact in order to keep its forces in Hungary.

141. An extremely unfortunate and tragic situation has taken place. I want to assure my Latin American friends, who stated that the lips of the Asian countries have been sealed on this question, that the lips of the Asian Prime Ministers have not been sealed. Prime Minister Nehru has in unmistakable terms expressed his point of view. My own Prime Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike, used strong language just the other day in connexion with the presence of foreign forces in Hungary. All political parties in Ceylon, except the Communist Party, have expressed similar sentiments. All the Asian countries and all their Prime Ministers have expressed their horror at the unfortunate happenings in Hungary. That does not mean, however, that we are here to make political capital out of other people's sufferings.

142. We in Asia believe in a philosophy of life; we do not believe in making political capital out of human suffering. In the name of humanity and in the furtherance of humanitarian causes we do not try to make use of such occasions for the expression of our political views, even for purposes that are supposed to be noble. Believing as we do in a philosophy of life, we deplore the fact that political considerations should be brought into humanitarian work.

143. There is no denying the fact that Hungary needs assistance. Hungary needs aid, medical supplies and all the sympathy and good will that people can give. However, let that be given in the spirit of humanitarian work, in the spirit of humanity, in the spirit of understanding. This is not the occasion for vindictiveness, for revenge or for the gospel of hatred. In the name

of humanity, let there be no gospel of hatred. Whatever one's views may be, they have been expressed on the political issue. On the humanitarian issue, however, let us get rid of such considerations.

144. In these circumstances, I have no alternative but to express my strong disapproval of the United States draft resolution [A/3319] in its present wording. I should certainly wish to applaud the United States for the noble objectives which it has in view, for the very real interest in its expressions of sympathy and support and for the declaration that the United States is prepared to spend so much money. However, even in a good cause, words sometimes matter—language counts.

145. Therefore, together with the delegations of India and Indonesia, and with the support of the delegation of Burma, we concluded that the humanitarian objective should be the primary motive of the draft resolution. I hope that it will be possible, therefore, to accept unanimously the amendments that we have proposed. This question should not be a subject of debate, because the relief of human suffering is not a matter for debate. There is not one of us who is not moved by the suffering in Hungary. Let us therefore take a unanimous stand on this question. It is in order that we might be able to take a unanimous stand that our amendments [A/3325] have been placed before the Assembly, and I hope that they will be received in that spirit.

146. As regards the political issues, I state again in categorical language that we are pledged to the upholding of the democratic ideal. We who believe in democracy would like to see the right of self-determination be given to every country of the world. We believe in the freedom of speech, we believe in the freedom of assembly, we believe in the freedom of the people to vote a government out of office. We believe that it is the right of a people to determine what their future should be.

147. Therefore, we would always welcome free elections. But in the name of free elections I would certainly not support the five-Power draft resolution [A/3316] because it serves no practical purpose. I certainly would like to have free elections—in the way I think they are free—in Russia, in Poland, in Romania, in Eastern Germany, in Hungary, in all countries of the world, and even in some of those other democratic countries with different political ideologies. There are also others with the name of democracy, with the name of freedom, who do not have the same concept of democracy as I have. There are countries in the world who believe that sometimes the bullet is superior to the ballot. But we who believe in the supremacy of the ballot would like to have seen free elections.

148. The mere moving of a resolution to the effect that we should like to have free elections in Russia, in Poland, in Hungary and in these countries will not secure the result. It may have excellent propaganda value, but I am not a party to that business. We are not aligned with any power politics. We are not aligned with any power blocs. We only deal with questions as and when they arise. With regard to the present occasion, the bringing into this resolution something in connexion with elections and asking the United Nations to interfere with the sovereign rights of peoples is a dangerous principle. On the present occasion it may sometimes suit the fancies and the wishes of several Members. But they must visualize the time when such interference may be possible even in the domain of their own affairs.

149. Therefore, on principle, I would not have the United Nations interfering in elections. How are elections to be held? Surely elections must be held on the basis of a constitution. Did it not take Pakistan eight years to draft a constitution? Are we going to say that elections are to be held pending a constitution? Are we going to wait for eight years for it? No, I certainly do not say so. Elections therefore must be based on a constitution, and a constitution can be drafted only after peoples have expressed their wishes. It is a long process. The mere saying that elections must be held means nothing.

150. Let us get down to practicalities. It is all very well to talk of free elections. I believe in free elections. My country believes in free elections and all of us believe in free elections. But the mere adoption of a draft resolution in this form does not bring about free elections. Therefore, I have no alternative but to say that I cannot understand how this should be interposed in the draft resolution, asking the United Nations to do something which is impossible of achievement. Of course, I have no doubt that it is also premature, because we have already assigned to the Secretary-General a task of first-class importance, of great magnitude, to survey the position and to submit a report to us. It is only after the observers have gone in, if they do go there—and that must be at the express wish of the Government of the country—and it is only after the submission of a report that we can get down to the practical business of what we should do: whether elections are to be held, what elections should be held, and what should be done next. It is like putting the cart before the horse. I am not prepared, therefore, in the name of propaganda, or in the name of revenge, or in the name of anything else, to subscribe to something that is utterly futile. In those circumstances I have no alternative but to oppose that draft resolution, though with much regret.

151. I have already commented on the two draft resolutions before the Assembly and I hope that we will be able to take a unanimous stand on this affair. Believe me, we feel very deeply about the sufferings of the people of Hungary. All Asian countries feel very strongly about it, and it is a pity that even the Hungarian sufferings should have brought to the political arena the injection of a discussion on the Egyptian issue, which is quite apart. I do deplore these tendencies. Let us discuss issues as and when they come and express our verdict on the issues before us.

152. U PE KIN (Burma): My delegation has already made its position clear on the question of Soviet intervention in Hungary. For the benefit of those who may still be in doubt, may I be allowed to repeat that my Government does not see any justification whatever in the course which the Soviet Union has taken in Hungary and has expressed the hope that the Soviet Union would take steps to effect speedy withdrawal of its troops from there. My delegation also added that the Government of Burma would support any effort of the United Nations which is not incompatible with the Charter or which the people of Hungary will not consider as tantamount to interference in their internal affairs. My delegation reaffirms its adherence to that declaration.

153. We now have before us a five-Power draft resolution [A/3316]. It will be recalled that on 4 November a resolution [1004 (ES-II)] was adopted by the Assembly to deal with the situation in Hungary. That resolution directed the Secretary-General to take certain actions, one of them being to get in touch with the

parties concerned in Hungary. The Secretary-General has reported to the Assembly that he has addressed an *aide-mémoire* [A/3315] to the Hungarian authorities on the subject and circulated it to the Assembly yesterday [569th meeting]. We have received no further progress report from him and my delegation therefore cannot appreciate the necessity for the draft resolution I have just referred to at this stage.

154. My delegation does not want to give any impression that it is opposed to the entire draft resolution. For example, my delegation is perfectly agreeable to the expression of deep concern that the provisions of the previous resolution have not been met. We support the view that the Hungarian people should enjoy freedom, independence and fundamental rights. We also consider that the Soviet Union's interference cannot be condoned as it constitutes a violation of the Charter. We have also expressed the hope that the Soviet Union will withdraw its troops speedily from Hungary. We also endorse the fact that the Secretary-General should continue to make every endeavour to obtain further particulars on the situation existing in Hungary.

155. But where does all this repetition of previous resolutions of the Assembly on the subject lead us? With due respect to the representatives who have sponsored this draft resolution, my delegation could find no constructive contribution in it towards a solution of the problem. It has only afforded further expressions of feelings of outrage.

156. Then, there is the question of elections as soon as law and order have been restored. That, in the opinion of my delegation, is the concern of the Hungarian people, and it is not for us to proffer suggestions. What do we mean by the term "as soon as law and order have been restored"? My delegation assumes that it envisages a situation following the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, and not before. Then, it is entirely up to the people of Hungary to say whether they want assistance from the United Nations in holding their elections.

157. If this contention of my delegation is erroneous, and if the draft resolution envisages a situation while the Soviet Union troops are still in Hungary, then it is impracticable and would remain only a pious wish.

158. For these reasons, and for no other, my delegation finds it difficult to vote in favour of the draft resolution [A/3316], but, because it contains, in several other paragraphs, sentiments which we fully share, my delegation will not oppose it. We shall abstain.

159. I come now to the second draft resolution that is before us today, the one submitted by the United States delegation [A/3319]. To be quite frank, my delegation does not feel quite happy about the wording of this draft resolution, although we are in full sympathy with its objectives. In connexion with a measure such as this, a measure taken to meet the needs of a people in a national tragedy, on purely humanitarian grounds, my delegation considers it inappropriate to introduce extraneous considerations—considerations of a political nature. All of us have had ample opportunity to express our views in that regard, and many of us have done so quite vehemently. Further opportunity to express their feelings on the subject has been taken by many delegations. That is the right of every delegation, and no one can deny it. But my delegation feels that this is no time to infuse angry feelings in a measure which is designed purely on humanitarian grounds. What we want is urgent action. Food and medical supplies and other neces-

sities should reach those who are in urgent need of them.

160. For that reason, my delegation welcomes the steps which the Soviet Union, as announced this morning by its representative in the Assembly, is taking to send food and supplies to Hungary. Generosity and relief—I do not wish to call it charity in this case—cannot be the monopoly of any side or of any one nation. Emotional and condemnatory remarks—for which there may be some basis for justification, or there may not—will not make the food that we are sending more palatable, nor the medical supplies that we despatch to possess more remedial properties. What we want is to despatch them speedily.

161. For that reason, I would recommend that we accept the amendments [A/3325] submitted by Ceylon, India and Indonesia, and introduced by the representative of Indonesia. Incidentally, the representative of Indonesia has very kindly associated the name of Burma with the amendments. I feel greatly honoured for that. But I have played no significant part in their preparation, and I would request the Assembly to accept the amendments as they appear in the document. I fully share the thought behind them, and I would happily commend to the Assembly the draft resolution as amended.

162. Mr. NUÑEZ PORTUONDO (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): With the same respect that the representative of India showed when he said that, by their action, the sponsors of the draft resolution [A/3316] were not expecting to resolve the Hungarian problem, I must say that we had not expected to find so influential and enthusiastic a defender of the Soviet Union's position in the person of the representative of India.

163. I should like calmly and serenely to review recent events because, from certain statements just made, it might appear to anyone not familiar with the background that the aggression in Hungary was perpetrated, not by the Soviet Union, but by certain countries which sponsored the draft resolution. Let us not distort the facts to such an extent that we seem to be the ones responsible for the slaughter in Hungary while the Soviet Union appears to be the country to have rushed to its aid.

164. The facts are indeed otherwise. The incontrovertible facts are as follows: Hungary had a Government which, owing to the invasion by Soviet troops, appealed to the United Nations for assistance. That cannot be denied. The Hungarian people resisted the invasion by Soviet troops. That, too, cannot be denied. They were Soviet troops, not any others. Soviet troops, in other words the Soviet army, accounted in Hungary for over 75,000 dead and nearly 100,000 wounded. That is another fact which cannot be denied, on which all of us agree, except, of course, the authors of the aggression.

165. A puppet Government has been imposed upon Hungary, not through any intervention by Cuba, Ireland, Italy, Pakistan or Peru, the sponsors of the draft resolution. I repeat, a puppet Government has been imposed by the might of Soviet arms and against the will of the Hungarian people who are still resisting the invasion by Soviet forces. That, too, cannot be denied.

166. That is why—and may I say so with all respect—I take such a grave view of the thesis expounded here by the representative of India who held that all this was legal, that such action was proper, and that the United Nations must not react when confronted with

an invasion launched by a Member State which by force, violence, and the use of its army, imposes a Government which does not reflect the wishes of the population. However you look at the problem, that would, in my view, constitute a precedent which the United Nations cannot and must not accept.

167. What do we actually propose? We propose in our draft resolution that, in the first place, the Soviet Union should be called upon again to withdraw its forces from Hungary. Why? Because they are invading forces, forces which have no right to be on Hungarian territory. Why do we reiterate our request? Because we must do so since the Soviet Union has failed to comply with an earlier resolution [1004 (ES-II)] which we had adopted.

168. The statement of the representative of India that from an exchange of correspondence between the Governments of New Delhi and Moscow, it appeared that the Soviet Union would withdraw from Hungary when order has been restored, is another reason for all the free peoples of the world to be alarmed. The withdrawal of the Soviet army under those conditions means that no Hungarians will be left alive. If it has taken them only four or five days to kill 75,000 persons and wound 100,000, surely if they remain for another month there will be no Hungarians left to form a Hungarian society.

169. We consider that the first thing the Soviet Union Government must do is withdraw without delay. Until that happens there can be no negotiations between the Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of Hungary, since they are one and the same thing.

170. Two Governments can negotiate only if they have equal status; they can negotiate only if they are truly sovereign; two Governments, even those of a great Power and a small Power, can negotiate provided that they really represent the legitimate interests of their peoples. But the Soviet Union cannot negotiate with the present Government of Hungary for it actually is that Government; in other words it is the Soviet Union Government disguised as the Hungarian Government which has been imposed by the invasion, by the armed might of the USSR. This is so obvious that to speak of possible negotiations is a mistake which can only serve further to confuse world public opinion, enlightened though it may be.

171. With regard to the amendments [A/3325] that have been proposed, I do not believe that the representatives of Ceylon, India and Indonesia realize the implications of their amendments for if they did so I am sure that they would not have presented them.

172. I shall venture to explain to the Assembly the meaning of these amendments. I refer to the draft resolution [A/3319] submitted by the United States of America, operative paragraph 1 of section I of which is proposed to be deleted under one of the amendments. In other words, we are being asked to delete from the draft resolution the very essence of the United Nations Charter, the very essence of the provisions of the United Nations, the most elementary principles of international law and international morality. Public opinion would be confronted with the spectacle of the United Nations—the General Assembly—agreeing to delete a request calling on the USSR to cease immediately actions against the Hungarian population. That would be a mistake which, I think, we can in no circumstances permit, not even for the sake of achieving unanimity which, for obvious reasons, we shall not achieve in any case.

173. We are also asked to delete from the preamble of section I the words “that the military authorities of the

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are interfering in the transportation and distribution of food”. But what if that statement happens to be true? It certainly is true because had they not intervened there would be no problem. Had the armed forces of the Soviet Union not prevented food supplies from reaching Hungary through Austria, there would have been no problem at all. And if the statement happens to be true, why omit it? For what reason? Because the truth must not be told when the Soviet Union is involved but can be told only when other Powers are involved. I do not think this is a sufficient reason for amending this draft resolution.

174. The only effect of the amendments proposed by Ceylon, India and Indonesia would be to give full and open satisfaction to the Soviet Union. It would appear as if the Soviet Union were not responsible for the invasion of Hungary. We are asked to delete every reference to the Soviet Union and to the armed forces of the Soviet Union. The General Assembly would be making a serious mistake and would severely disappoint world opinion if it adopted the proposed amendments.

175. The representative of Burma raised an interesting question concerning a passage in our draft resolution which caused us to reflect at the time, for it may genuinely give rise to doubt. It is the one which says “that free elections should be held in Hungary under United Nations auspices, as soon as law and order have been restored . . .” [A/3316, para. 2]. The first step to be taken before law and order can be restored is, of course, the withdrawal of the invading Soviet occupation troops. Only when the people of Hungary are in a position to determine for themselves, through the United Nations, the form of government they wish, should the elections be held.

176. In my view that does not constitute interference, for it would remedy the situation created by the Soviet Union's interference. Can the action of the Soviet Union in Hungary be effected with impunity? Can an invading army enter each of our countries, destroy the Government, slaughter 75,000 persons, wound 100,000 others, eject the remainder from the country, force women and children out of the country, set up an absolutely spurious puppet Government, and then claim that the action taken was quite proper and the United Nations can do nothing about it for if it did it would be interfering in the domestic affairs of the country concerned?

177. Clearly, we are faced with a theory which, if it is allowed to constitute a precedent, will be the end of the United Nations itself. About this, there can be no doubt. The Cuban delegation, in the case of the Egyptian question, voted in favour of all the resolutions presented. The nineteen-Power resolution, the Canadian resolution, the United States resolution—all of them, one after the other, were voted on affirmatively, by the delegation of Cuba, because we felt that Egypt was in the right. In this case, we shall vote the very same way, because we feel that in this particular case the people of Hungary are in the right. They have been the victims of an unjustified persecution, and the free nations of the world have a sacred duty to defend the rights of the people of Hungary. The delegation of Cuba will vote in favour of the draft resolution which it has co-sponsored [A/3316]; it will vote in favour of the United States resolution [A/3319] without any amendments; and, of course as we do not oppose any of the other previous resolutions, we shall certainly vote in favour of the Austrian resolution [A/3324].

178. Mr. BRILEJ (Yugoslavia): I hope I explained very clearly yesterday [568th meeting] the views of my delegation on the general aspects of the question now under consideration. I should like now merely to say a few words in explanation of my delegation's vote on various proposals that are now before the Assembly.

179. My delegation will vote in favour of the amendments to the United States draft resolution [A/3319] submitted by the delegations of Ceylon, India and Indonesia [A/3325]. If these amendments are adopted, we shall naturally vote in favour of the resolution as thus amended. In our opinion, these amendments eliminate the unnecessarily controversial elements which make it impossible for my delegation to support the original United States draft resolution—although we are in agreement with the purposes of that draft. The amended draft resolution would thus provide for the kind of action which, in our view, is most feasible and desirable at this juncture.

180. The Austrian draft resolution [A/3324], on the other hand, does not, in our view, differ in any really essential aspects from the United States draft resolution [A/3319] as sought to be amended by the delegations of Ceylon, India and Indonesia. It is therefore generally acceptable to my delegation, and we shall vote in favour of it.

181. As regards the five-Power draft resolution [A/3316] my delegation does not feel that this draft resolution is of such a nature as to contribute to an early solution of Hungary's present difficulties. It is more likely to aggravate the situation in which a solution might be sought and would thus merely add to the present difficulties. We shall therefore be obliged to vote against it.

182. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): I am sorry that I am constrained to differ with the representatives of Ceylon, India and Indonesia as regards their amendments [A/3325] to the United States draft resolution [A/3319]. I appreciate the courteous frankness with which they disclosed their views, and I shall try to be equally frank and, I may say, equally courteous.

183. It seems to me that we would be making a great mistake if we were to strike out the various phrases which these three delegations suggest that we strike out. I should like to read what these phrases are. First, we are asked to strike out the words "the military authorities of the USSR are interfering in the transportation and", in the preamble to section I, before the words "distribution of food and medical supplies . . .". Well, we know it to be a fact that the authorities of the USSR are so interfering. Do we want to go on record as voting that something is not a fact when we know that it is a fact?

184. The next amendment would strike out paragraph I of the operative part:

"1. *Calls upon* the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cease immediately actions against the Hungarian population which are in violation of the accepted standards and principles of international law, justice and morality;"

We have absolutely first-hand information—we in the United States from our own legation, and many in this hall from other sources—that that is precisely what is happening. Do we want to vote that it is not happening, when we know that it is?

185. Then the word "*Request*" would be substituted for the words "*Calls upon*", and the words "and the

USSR not to interfere with" would be deleted in paragraph 2 of section I. Well, the same objection holds to that amendment and to amendments to other places where "the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" would be struck out.

186. Then, in section II of the draft resolution, the words

"as a result of the harsh and repressive action of the Soviet armed forces, increasingly . . . being obliged to leave . . . and seek asylum in neighbouring countries"

would be struck out from the preambular paragraph. Well, that is what is going on. We have heard from a number of countries which were volunteering to take as many as 1,000 of these refugees each. President Eisenhower is moving to take 5,000 of them here. There is no use saying that these dreadful things—unpleasant and tragic though they are—are not happening, when in fact they are.

187. We have no interest in propaganda. We have no interest in revenge. But we do not see that there is a distinction that can be drawn between the intent of these words which would be stricken out and the other passages relating to medicines and food. We think that both these provisions are humanitarian.

188. We think that it is humanitarian to take a step which may free a man from being oppressed. We think that it is just as humanitarian to take steps to provide people with international law, justice and morality as it is to take steps which will put food in their stomachs and give them medicines to cure their illnesses.

189. The fact is—and we sometimes forget it—that the United Nations is a moral organization. The United Nations has a moral standard. The United Nations Charter does distinguish between right and wrong. The United Nations was never intended to be a mere sordid cockpit in which the values of the criminal and the values of the law-abiding were indiscriminately scrambled up, and it is not that and should not become that.

190. That being true, it follows that there cannot be a double standard of international morality in the world. If discrimination is bad in one part of the world, as it is, then it is bad in another part of the world. If we deplore injustice here, we must deplore injustice there. If we are against prejudice in one area, we should be against prejudice in another area. If we resist brutality in one region, we must resist brutality in the other. And if we are going to raise our voices against oppression, if we are going to raise our voices against occupation by foreign troops in one part of the world, then we must be equally steadfast, we must be equally stalwart, with regard to other parts of the world.

191. So, in that spirit and for those reasons, I hope that the amendments offered by my friends from Ceylon, India and Indonesia will not prevail, and that our draft resolution [A/3319] will be adopted as written.

192. Mr. VITETTI (Italy): After the very eloquent and pertinent observations of the representative of Cuba, I have nothing to add with regard to the five-Power draft resolution [A/3316]. We have not heard anything from the Secretary-General because the Secretary-General probably has not received any information. Nevertheless, events in Hungary are becoming more and more grave, and while the Secretary-General studies, investigates and reports, the Hungarian people is being massacred.

193. I do not believe that there is anyone in this hall who considers that the murder of the Hungarian work-

ers, peasants and students is not important, and that what is important is procedure.

194. Coming now to the United States draft resolution [A/3319], I give it the full support of the Italian Government and I hope that it will be approved. At the same time, as soon as it heard of these initiatives the Italian Government decided and informed the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees that it was ready to admit 2,000 refugees from Hungary and to take care of them, and that it would also pay for transportation. I am happy to communicate this message to the General Assembly. I wish now to add that it has been suggested that the words "and of the Convention on Genocide" should not be mentioned in our draft resolution [A/3316], and I am in full agreement that they should be deleted from the text.

195. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): It was not my intention to return to this rostrum so soon after I had left it. I have heard as much as I could through the translation system of the observations of the representative of Cuba. My country happens to be in diplomatic relations with the Republic of Cuba, and I have not the liberty to follow him in the way in which he chooses to speak about other Governments and representatives. Nor am I consumed with passion and political prejudice in such a way as not to be able to discharge my obligations to this Assembly in conformity with the provisions of the Charter and the rules of procedure. Furthermore, the observations that my delegation makes are addressed to this Assembly and not to the gallery.

196. For these reasons, I shall merely confine myself to the correction of errors of fact. If I thought differently, or if I behaved differently, I would read out the article on Cuba in *The New York Times* of 30 October, but that would not be proper.

197. Reference has been made to the "valiant defence" by my delegation of the Soviet Union. I think there are many differences about the Soviet Union in this Assembly. My Government often differs from it and has criticized it, but one thing about which there is no difference is that the Soviet Union is strong and, therefore, does not require my support.

198. There is another thing which I desire to convey to my distinguished colleague from Cuba. I represent here the Government of India—not the Government of Cuba or the Government of the Soviet Union—and therefore what I state here are the views of my Government. I have said repeatedly that we deplore the situation in Hungary. We would like to see the position where foreign forces were withdrawn from any country—whether they be called bases, contingents, parts of alliances or the conditions to which my colleague from Ceylon has referred. This does not mean that one may not treat the problem calmly, in the context of a legislative deliberation, as it were.

199. What I was really defending was the procedure adopted by the General Assembly. A few days ago, the Assembly adopted a resolution [1004 (ES-II)] in which the Secretary-General was charged with the task of performing certain duties. The Secretary-General is the highest officer of the United Nations. He is the number one public servant in the world. What is more important, his position is established by the Charter. Now, to that Secretary-General the Assembly has given certain obligations and certain duties as regards the present matter. Yesterday, he submitted to the Assembly an *aide-mémoire* [A/3315], stating that the investigations were being made.

200. What I said in my previous statement was simply that a resolution had already been adopted by this Assembly, that that resolution was still pending, and that an attempt was now being made to have the Assembly adopt another resolution which, so far as this aspect was concerned, contained nothing new.

201. I do not wish to make any protests against observations which the representative of Cuba addressed to me personally. It is not my practice or the practice of my delegation to answer personal attacks. When, however, statements are made to the effect that one Government is observing the whims of another Government, I must say this: perhaps the representative of Cuba is speaking from his own experience.

202. My Government does not owe allegiance to any other Government. I come from a country which is governed by a sovereign Parliament and in which the people have the free and democratic right to choose their own governors. We are not in any military alliances, and we are not under the military subjugation of anyone. I resent the observations which have been made in this respect. I am sorry that the President continues to permit the gallery to applaud observations that are totally unparliamentary in nature.

203. I would say the following with regard to the message that I read out. It results from the observations that I have made in this Assembly that my Government is trying, to the best of its ability, to use its good offices to bring about a solution of the present unfortunate, ugly and disastrous situation. I thought that, out of courtesy to the Assembly, I should communicate to Members information which I had—that is, that we were looking forward to the termination of the presence of foreign troops on the soil of another country. We also felt that we should communicate to the Assembly the fact that we had been informed that discussions on this matter were taking place with the Government of that country. Passions apart, I should like anyone to tell me how it would be possible to withdraw foreign troops from a country if no discussions to that end were held with whatever authority happened to obtain in the country. The troops cannot just fly into the air.

204. I can understand passions: I can also arouse them, if I want to. I am, however, speaking to intelligent people who represent Governments. I am not speaking only to people who come to listen to these debates. I hope that there will be no need hereafter to answer these rather unrestrained and irresponsible remarks by representatives who really ought to know better.

205. I come now to the observations made by the United States representative. I need hardly say that I appreciate those remarks, and that I am grateful to the United States representative for what he said. With almost every word of what he said in the latter part of his statement, my delegation and, indeed, all delegations here are in hearty agreement.

206. We make no distinctions about repression. We condemn repression whether it occurs in North Africa, in Central Europe or in Asia—and, for that matter we would condemn repression even if it should occur in our own country. Hence I could not agree with the United States representative more. When, however, we are asked to address ourselves to the particular problem of sending assistance and support in the context and on the basis, as I understand it, of what is contained in the Geneva Convention as regards the consequences of either foreign wars or civil commotions, then I say that that is an entirely different matter.

207. Surely, Mr. Lodge would be the last person to deny that, however complex a problem may be, however many aspects it may have, it is possible to deal with each aspect in its particular context; surely he would agree that one must confine oneself to each aspect if one is going to move forward with all the support required for the purpose.

208. The other aspects of the present problem have been dealt with in another resolution. I have not said that this fact was true or that that fact was untrue. We have been told that supplies to Hungary have been stopped. We are expecting the Secretary-General to inform us about this: that is what the Assembly has asked him to do. How am I as a representative of a Government going to convince other persons that I have all the facts before me when I am asked to vote on something which has no relevance to the conclusion?

209. I beg the United States representative to examine the amendments [A/3325] that we have proposed. We are not saying that no attention should be paid to the refugees. What we are saying is that the refugees must come under the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner, and that Governments should also be called upon to give any possible assistance. The Assembly will remember that, in my previous statement, I said that we had retained as much of the draft resolution [A/3319] as we could possibly subscribe to, in conformity with our thesis that the other aspect of the matter—the political aspect, if one wishes to call it that—was dealt with in another Assembly resolution and should be treated separately.

210. I am sure that the United States representative will forgive me if I say that my Government does not have to be told what are the fundamentals of liberty, that my Government does not have to be told that it is the duty of our people always to subscribe to those fundamentals of liberty. I hope that the kind of passion that has been demonstrated in this debate will be forthcoming in connexion with the oppression by imperial Powers in colonial areas. I hope that the same passion will be forthcoming when, in the Fourth Committee of the regular session of the Assembly, we speak about conditions in East Africa and in other parts of the colonial empires of the world. It is not my delegation that needs to be read any lessons on this matter.

211. I want to assure the General Assembly that we make no distinctions about repression, whether perpetrated by one Government or another. We make no distinctions, whether tragic events take place in one country or another. What is more, we go to the extent of saying that, if errors of this kind were to take place in our own country, we would not hesitate to be criticized for those errors.

212. In these amendments, we are not dealing with the position or the policies of the Soviet Union. That is not the policy of my Government. We should like to see the end of this situation in Hungary. We support the position that the Hungarian people, like any other people, must be able to have their own government. What I have said is this: When we are dealing with a country which is a sovereign Member of the United Nations, it is not possible for us here to sit down and decide that we are going to run an election in that country. I should like this prescription to be applied to the people who are prescribing it. Would the representative of Cuba agree that the United Nations should send a commission to Cuba to supervise elections there? I should like an answer to that question. I am sure that my Government would not agree to a commission being sent

to India for that purpose, because that would be a challenge to the integrity and liberty of our people. The situation would be different if we were not dealing with a country represented in the United Nations.

213. What I have said is not meant for a moment to minimize the position arising from the presence of foreign troops in any country. I think that the presence of foreign troops in any country—under the guise of bases, or alliances, or protection, or anything of that kind—is deplorable and is to be condemned as an action inconsistent with the liberty of nations.

214. A remedy to the Hungarian situation cannot be found in throwing political stones at people whom one does not like. I shall never come to the position where I should have to agree with the representative of Cuba on questions of human liberty.

215. I would, in all conscience, ask the United States representative to consider the amendments that we have moved. Their purpose is not to water down any political attitudes, but to enable us to give support to the humanitarian aspects of the present problem and to make our solution generally acceptable to the peoples of the world. The International Red Cross, the provisions of the Geneva Convention, the confining of the problem to the needs arising from the purposes of the Assembly resolution: these are the requirements of the present situation.

216. Once again I thank the United States representative for the courteous way in which he has responded to our request that these amendments be accepted. My co-sponsors and myself have submitted these amendments for only one purpose. Otherwise, it would have been easier for us either to abstain or to vote against the draft resolution and to say no more. We are as anxious as anybody to make a constructive contribution, and I am sure the United States representative would be the first to see that we all have our limitations and our points of view and that, therefore, we do this so far as our points of view and our understanding and knowledge permit us. The United States representative is in the happy position of knowing that certain things have happened. There are certain representatives who say they know that certain contrary things have happened. We have not been there, and we do not know the circumstances. We have asked the Secretary-General to inform us, and I say that it is not necessary to pronounce on these matters in order to obtain the purposes and objectives sought by the draft resolution [A/3319]. I feel, therefore, that the United States representative will understand the purpose of these amendments, and we hope that after further consideration he will be able to accept them.

217. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand): I come to this rostrum to outline in a few words the attitude of my delegation. The two draft resolutions which have already been submitted, one by five Powers [A/3316] and the other by the United States delegation [A/3319], in the view of my delegation contain the measures which are required by the situation in Hungary.

218. Some of the measures proposed in the United States draft resolution are of an urgent nature and should be adopted by this Assembly in order to bring much needed relief for the great sufferings of the Hungarian people. Consistent with the position it made known yesterday [569th meeting], my delegation will lend its wholehearted support.

219. Before I pass to the five-Power draft resolution, I wish to make a few comments on the draft resolution which has just been submitted by the Austrian delega-

tion, since it also deals with the question of relief and assistance [A/3324].

220. In the first place, my delegation finds that it adequately amplifies paragraphs 7 and 8 of the General Assembly resolution of 4 November [1004 (ES-II)]. At the same time, my delegation finds that the Austrian proposal emphasizes the urgency and the importance of the needs of the Hungarian people in their tragic plight. These considerations will show that my delegation appreciates with sympathy the motives which led the Austrian delegation to submit its draft resolution. We cannot help feeling, however, that it would be more appropriate and expedient if such a draft proposal could be amalgamated with the United States draft resolution, but, if for one reason or another, this cannot be done, my delegation will also vote for the Austrian draft resolution.

221. With regard to the five-Power draft resolution, my delegation feels that the measures proposed therein, particularly with regard to free elections, although they may be of less immediate urgency in comparison with the needs for relief, are also essential for the free and sovereign existence of Hungary. Without these measures, the sovereignty of Hungary would be only fictitious.

222. I turn now to the three-Power amendments [A/3325], to the United States draft resolution and particularly to the proposal to delete certain clauses. My delegation finds it difficult to understand why such clauses should be taken out of the United States draft resolution [A/3319].

223. In the first place, it seems to us that if we all want the relief supplies to reach the Hungarian people it is imperative that we must make a clear and specific request in the General Assembly resolution that the Soviet Union should not interfere with the receipt and distribution of these supplies. If we are reluctant to make such a request, we may defeat in advance the generally accepted purpose of bringing relief to the hands of the Hungarian people.

224. With regard to some of the other proposed deletions, although we may not have, and this applies especially to my delegation, tangible and concrete proofs as yet regarding certain actions of the Soviet Union for the simple reason that we have not an opportunity to go inside the steel ring around Hungary, I believe that no one can deny that the repressive action taken against the Hungarian people has been harsh. On the other hand, it would be difficult for anyone to dispute the fact that a large number of refugees are being obliged to leave Hungary and seek asylum in neighbouring countries. These, I maintain, are known to be facts, or at least some of them are known to be facts, and we must face them as such. My delegation, therefore, will not be able to support the three-Power amendments [A/3325].

225. However, in case the three-Power amendments are adopted, my delegation would be obliged to move two sub-amendments to paragraphs 2 and 3 of section I. In that case we should have to propose that the words "Hungarian authorities" be replaced by the words "authorities in control of Hungary", which obviously would mean and would cover both the Hungarian and the Soviet authorities, since it is known to be a fact that those two authorities are at present in control of Hungary. I repeat that my delegation will move these sub-amendments only if the three-Power amendments are adopted, and my delegation will do this only with the objective of rallying a large majority in support of the draft resolution.

226. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Brazil on a point of order.

227. Mr. DE FREITAS-VALLE (Brazil): I wish to raise a point of order. Last evening and again this morning the representative of France complained about the length of our debates on this very important matter. I think that so many speeches have been made that the matter has been fully discussed and that we are now just on the point of voting. It will be a lengthy process to hold a vote on three draft resolutions, with many amendments, so I move the closure of the debate.

228. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of Brazil has moved the closure of the debate. If it is so desired, two representatives can speak against the motion and two can speak for it, but if there are no objections to the proposal of the representative of Brazil, I shall take it that the Members of the General Assembly are prepared to accept it.

It was so decided.

229. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We have before us three draft resolutions, which have been submitted in the following order: firstly, the draft resolution submitted by Cuba, Ireland, Italy, Pakistan and Peru [A/3316]; secondly, the draft resolution submitted by the United States [A/3319]; and thirdly, the draft resolution submitted by Austria [A/3324]. In accordance with the rules of procedure, the draft resolutions will be put to the vote in the order in which they were submitted. We shall therefore vote first on the five-Power draft resolution [A/3316]. The representative of the Netherlands has asked for it to be voted on paragraph by paragraph and the representative of Peru has asked for a roll-call vote.

230. We shall now vote on the first paragraph of the preamble.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Australia, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina.

Against: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania.

Abstaining: Austria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan.

The paragraph was adopted by 50 votes to 9, with 16 abstentions.

231. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the second paragraph of the preamble.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Iceland, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New

Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras.

Against: Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary.

Abstaining: India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt.

The paragraph was adopted by 51 votes to 9, with 15 abstentions.

232. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the third paragraph of the preamble.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Libya, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Liberia.

Against: Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary.

Abstaining: Libya, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Austria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon.

The paragraph was adopted by 49 votes to 9, with 17 abstentions.

233. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Secretariat has informed me that the co-sponsors have agreed to eliminate the concluding words "and of the Convention on Genocide" from the fourth paragraph of the preamble. We shall now vote on this amended fourth paragraph.

A vote was taken by roll call.

The Philippines, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru.

Against: Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary.

Abstaining: Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Austria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Nepal.

The paragraph as amended was adopted by 48 votes to 9, with 18 abstentions.

234. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the fifth and last paragraph of the preamble.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Panama, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan.

Against: Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary.

Abstaining: Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Nepal.

The paragraph was adopted by 51 votes to 9, with 15 abstentions.

235. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on operative paragraph 1.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Iceland, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras.

Against: Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary.

Abstaining: India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Austria, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland.

The paragraph was adopted by 51 votes to 9, with 15 abstentions.

236. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on operative paragraph 2. The South African delegation has asked for a separate vote to be taken on the phrase "under United Nations auspices".

A vote was taken by roll call.

Ceylon, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Laos, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada.

Against: Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, India, Philippines, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Abstaining: Egypt, Haiti, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mexico, Nepal, Nicaragua, Poland, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Syria, Union of South Africa, Venezuela, Yemen, Afghanistan, Austria, Burma, Cambodia.

The phrase was adopted by 39 votes to 12, with 24 abstentions.³

237. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the whole of operative paragraph 2.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Greece, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France.

Against: Hungary, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia.

Abstaining: India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Austria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt.

The paragraph was adopted by 49 votes to 9, with 17 abstentions.

238. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on operative paragraph 3.

A vote was taken by roll call.

The Union of South Africa, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru,

Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey.

Against: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Abstaining: Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Austria, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria.

The paragraph was adopted by 53 votes to 9, with 13 abstentions.

239. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on paragraph 4.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Liberia, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos.

Against: Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary.

Abstaining: Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon.

The paragraph was adopted by 53 votes to 9, with 13 abstentions.

240. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the draft resolution as a whole as amended.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Bolivia, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium.

Against: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, India, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Albania.

Abstaining: Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, Haiti, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, Austria.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted as amended by 48 votes to 11, with 16 abstentions.

241. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the draft resolution proposed by the United States of America [A/3319]. The Indian

³ On 11 December 1956 the delegation of Poland requested that the name of Poland be included among the Members who had voted against.

delegation has suggested that we should take one vote on all the amendments submitted by Ceylon, India, and Indonesia [A/3325]. If there are no objections it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

242. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall therefore vote first on the amendments submitted by Ceylon, India and Indonesia [A/3325].

India, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Nepal, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Austria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Finland, Hungary.

Against: Ireland, Israel, Italy, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland.

Abstaining: Iran, Iraq, Laos, Romania, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Egypt.

The amendments were rejected by 45 votes to 18, with 12 abstentions.

243. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the draft resolution submitted by the United States of America [A/3319].

A vote was taken by roll call.

Thailand, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden.

Against: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania.

Abstaining: Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria.

The draft resolution was adopted by 53 votes to 9, with 13 abstentions.

244. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Lastly, the Assembly is called upon to vote on the draft resolution submitted by Austria [A/3324]. The Austrian representative informs me that he wishes to delete the last phrase of the first paragraph of the preamble, namely, the words "by the fighting which is still continuing". The first paragraph will therefore end with the word "subjected" and will now read:

"The General Assembly,

"Considering the extreme suffering to which the Hungarian people is subjected".

245. We shall accordingly vote on the Austrian draft resolution as a whole, with that amendment.

A vote was taken by roll call.

India, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favor: India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Liberia, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia.

The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by 67 votes to none, with 8 abstentions.

246. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I give the floor to the representatives who wish to explain their votes.

247. Miss BROOKS (Liberia): I did not understand that we were voting on the Austrian draft resolution as a whole, and that is why I abstained. It is not that the delegation of Liberia is not in agreement with the draft resolution submitted by Austria. We thought that the Assembly was voting on the phrase "by the fighting which is still continuing".

248. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): I feel that I owe my fellow representatives an explanation of why I asked that we should vote paragraph by paragraph on the five-Power draft resolution. The reason for this request was that I thought that in this very serious matter it would be of great interest for all of us to know how far those countries which wish to avoid at any price expressing any opinion on the sufferings that are taking place in Hungary, and on those who are guilty of causing those sufferings, would go in their abstention.

249. I find now, as a result, that there are certain countries which have even refused, or not given their vote to, a reaffirmation of a request to the Secretary-General to continue to investigate. I think that that is one extreme.

250. I am happy to note, on the other side, that there are certain countries which have not found it in their conscience to refuse to go along with certain paragraphs with which the whole of the neutralist bloc—if I may so call it—would not go along. There are certain of those countries which found that their conscience told them to vote for the second paragraph of the preamble; these also voted for the fifth paragraph of the preamble, and for paragraph one of the operative part. I wish to pay tribute to those in the neutralist bloc who have had the courage to vote in that way.

251. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): My delegation wishes to record its protest against the use by one delegation of the opportunity to explain its vote in order to explain the votes of other delegations. It is not part of the business of one delegation to come here and say why other delegations voted in particular ways. We also

object to labels being placed upon blocs of delegations. My delegation is the delegation of India, and that should be the end of it. We feel that if we are to be called a neutralist bloc we should, presumably, call others belligerent blocs, because neutrality only arises from belligerency. I wish to draw the President's attention to this and I am very sorry that he permitted that speech to go on.

252. Mr. WADSWORTH (United States of America): I asked for the floor not for an explanation of vote but in order to make a very brief announcement which we believe should come at this time since it has to do at least with two of the resolutions which have just been passed by this Assembly.

253. In answer to the last operative paragraphs both of the United States resolution and of the Austrian resolution, I am authorized to announce that the United States Government is making available at once \$1 million to the Secretary-General for immediate use, through appropriate channels, for assistance to Hungarian refugees. We hope by this action to emphasize the urgency of this vital task which has become the responsibility of the world community.

254. Mr. LEGER (Haiti) (*translated from French*): The delegation of Haiti wishes briefly to explain the reason for its abstention from voting on the five-Power draft resolution. We could not agree that the United Nations should intervene in order to ensure that free elections were held in Hungary. We believe that the United Nations would have neither the time nor the opportunity to implement such a provision. Had it not been for that reservation which we have just expressed, we should have been very happy to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Appointment of a Credentials Committee

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE (A/3321)

255. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Assembly has before it the report of the Credentials Committee [A/3321]. In paragraph 16 of this report, the Committee recommends that the General Assembly should adopt the following draft resolution:⁴

"The General Assembly

Approves the report of the Credentials Committee."

256. If there is no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted by 68 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

257. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I give the floor to those representatives who wish to explain their vote.

258. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The Soviet

⁴ This draft resolution concerns the credentials of representatives to the first and second emergency special sessions of the General Assembly.

delegation voted in favour of approving the report of the Credentials Committee. At the same time it would like to emphasize that this vote does not mean that it considers that the People's Republic of China should be represented here by a member of the Kuomintang.

259. Mr. TSIANG (China): I voted in favour of the draft resolution approving the report of the Credentials Committee, despite the illegal stand which was taken by the Soviet Union delegation in that Committee and which is reflected in the report. I am glad that, in the Committee, there were six votes against the motion of the Soviet Union.

260. The Soviet Union representative thinks that I should not be here. One of the reasons why he thinks that I should not be here is that I do not like the doings of the Soviet Union in Hungary. The Soviet Union representative would like to have the Chinese Communists here, because they have declared their solidarity with the doings of the Soviet Union in Hungary.

261. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution approving the report of the Credentials Committee. We observe that the Committee decided that the credentials of the Chinese Nationalist representative were in order and formally embodied that decision in its report. My Government recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the Government of China, and my delegation feels that we should place it on record that we voted in favour of the adoption of the Credentials Committee's report solely on the grounds that the credentials concerned, considered as a document, were in order. We reserve our position on the right of the Chinese Nationalist authorities to issue a document appointing representatives in the name of China.

262. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): Our vote in favour of the Credentials Committee's report does not extend to the credentials of the Kuomintang representative. This was clearly stated in our letter to the Secretary-General [A/3300]. I request that that letter be included among the official documents considered at the same time as the Credentials Committee's report.

263. Mr. SAPOZHNIKOV (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic wishes to declare the following in explanation of its vote on the report of the Credentials Committee.

264. China can be lawfully represented in the emergency special session of the General Assembly, as in other organs of the United Nations, only by a representative appointed by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic does not recognize the Kuomintang's right to represent China in the United Nations. We therefore consider that this person's credentials should be regarded as invalid.

265. Our vote in favour of the draft resolution approving the report of the Credentials Committee in no way means that we recognize the Kuomintang representatives' credentials as valid.

The meeting rose at 8.10 p.m.



*Friday, 9 November 1956,
at 3 p.m.*

SECOND EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

New York

CORRIGENDUM

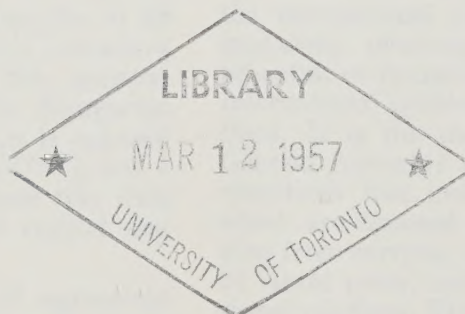
Page 79: first column, second paragraph, line 2, after "Philippines",
add "Poland".

Page 79: first column, third paragraph, line 3,
delete "Poland".

Page 79: first column, fourth paragraph,
delete "39 votes to 12, with 24 abstentions.³" and substitute "39 votes
to 13, with 23 abstentions".

Page 79: delete footnote 3.

Page 81: re-number footnote 4 as footnote 3.





CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 5:

The situation in Hungary

Transfer of the item to the provisional agenda of the
eleventh regular session of the General Assembly... 83

Statement by the President..... 88

President: Mr. Rudecindo ORTEGA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 5

The situation in Hungary

TRANSFER OF THE ITEM TO THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA
OF THE ELEVENTH REGULAR SESSION OF THE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

1. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The draft resolution which the United States is submitting on this matter [A/3330] is almost identical in its wording with the resolution [1000 (ES-I)] which the Assembly adopted at the close of its first emergency special session [572nd meeting]. It merely provides that the question of the situation in Hungary should be placed on the provisional agenda of the eleventh regular session of the General Assembly so that it may be considered there. It seems to me that that is in the interests of orderly procedure in this case just as much as it was in connexion with the matter considered at the first emergency special session.

2. Mr. SZABO (Hungary): Let me refer to the declarations of the Hungarian People's Republic of 28 October [S/3691] and 4 November [A/3311], in which the Hungarian Government stated that this question was within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hungarian People's Republic. Therefore my delegation is opposed to the United States draft resolution [A/3330], and I request the General Assembly not to place this item on the provisional agenda of the eleventh regular session.

3. Mr. VITETTI (Italy): I am in full agreement with the proposal made by the United States delegation in the draft resolution before us. I should like only to make the following remark and suggestion.

4. We have just adopted a resolution in connexion with the first emergency special session. There is a certain difference between that resolution and the draft resolution now before us. The real difference is that in the one connected with the first emergency special session, mention is made of the draft resolution which was introduced, but neither discussed nor approved.

5. Since the points contained in paragraphs 2 and 3 of the draft resolution with reference to the first emer-

gency special session have been omitted, I see no reason why there should be any difference between the resolution which we have just adopted for the first emergency special session and the one for the second emergency special session.

6. Therefore I would suggest that we adopt the same text, including after paragraph 1 of the United States draft resolution a second paragraph stating:

"Refers to its eleventh regular session for consideration the records of the meetings and the documents of its second emergency special session."

Accordingly the present paragraph 2 would become paragraph 3.

7. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The day after tomorrow the eleventh session of the General Assembly is to convene. The peoples of the world are entitled to expect that the forthcoming session of the General Assembly will, in accordance with its noble purposes, contribute to the improvement of international relations and the growth of confidence, and will thus help to maintain and strengthen peace, as is so ardently desired by all peoples of the world.

8. As is well known, the efforts of a number of peace-loving States and peoples, and their ever more pressing demands for the maintenance of peace and security, resulted in a general lessening of international tension after the tenth session of the General Assembly. Latterly, however, forces which are opposed to co-operation and to the lessening of tension in international relations have aggravated the international situation by launching an aggressive war against Egypt.

9. Notwithstanding the clouds that have appeared on the international horizon, there is every prospect of improving relations and extending and strengthening peaceful co-operation between States, if outstanding international problems are settled by means of negotiations. It is the duty of the eleventh session of the General Assembly to take advantage of the favourable conditions that exist in order to prevent the forces which are opposed to a lessening of international tension from carrying out their intentions, to the detriment of world peace, and from further aggravating international relations. There are a number of outstanding international problems whose solution would help considerably to lessen tension, to strengthen international confidence and to promote friendly international co-operation. Naturally the General Assembly should refrain from raising such issues as would impede the fulfilment of this fundamental task.

10. The proposal that the so-called Hungarian question should be placed on the agenda of the eleventh session is certainly not intended to further the realization of the lofty principles of the United Nations. On the contrary, it can serve only one end, namely, to divert the attention of the eleventh session of the General

Assembly from the solution of problems which are really urgent and which have a direct bearing on the strengthening of peace.

11. The inclusion of the item on the situation in Hungary in the agenda of this emergency special session of the General Assembly was illegal and a violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, which prohibits interference in the domestic affairs of States. The consideration of this question has been made all the more illegal by the fact that those responsible for raising it have ignored the Hungarian Government's formal protest against United Nations interference in the domestic affairs of Hungary.

12. Certain circles in the United States, the United Kingdom and France wanted to include this question in order to divert public attention from the armed aggression of the United Kingdom, France and Israel in Egypt and from the inhuman behaviour of the aggressor countries towards the Egyptian population.

13. From the statement made today by the representative of Egypt [572nd meeting] we can see that the afore mentioned aggressor Powers do not for the time being intend to implement the resolutions adopted at the first emergency special session of the General Assembly with a view to the establishment and maintenance of peace in Egypt. Those responsible for raising the Hungarian question intended to use it also to help foment disorders in Hungary by bringing about a counter-revolutionary fascist *coup* in that country. At the same time, they wished to take advantage of the discussion of this question to unleash a slanderous campaign against the peoples' democracies and the Soviet Union and to besmirch those countries' peace-loving foreign policy, based as it is on the principle of the peaceful coexistence of nations.

14. There is now a proposal that the so-called Hungarian question should be referred to the eleventh session of the General Assembly. This shows that certain circles in the United States, the United Kingdom and France intend to go on interfering in Hungary's domestic affairs, in violation of the United Nations Charter, and to divert the General Assembly's attention from current international questions which are of the utmost importance for the creation of an atmosphere of international confidence. Interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign State undermines the authority of the United Nations in the eyes of the world, which regards the United Nations as called upon to help States in their efforts to consolidate their sovereignty.

15. For these reasons, the Soviet delegation supports the Hungarian delegation's demand that the so-called Hungarian question should not be referred to the eleventh session of the General Assembly for consideration. We must thwart the attempts that are being made to use the Hungarian question to make the work of the eleventh session more complex and to divert the Assembly's attention from those important questions whose settlement would help to bring about an improvement in the international situation, and to maintain and strengthen world peace.

16. Mr. WALKER (Australia): I merely wish to say, in the first place, that the Australian delegation supports the United States draft resolution and that in our opinion the remarks of the Soviet representative, as well as the previous statement by the representative of Hungary, do not really bear on the Assembly's decision in this matter. If this draft resolution were not

adopted, then the emergency special session of the General Assembly would continue to discharge its responsibilities in relation to Hungary. This is a procedural draft, designed to facilitate our further consideration of the problem, and it seems to us the correct course to place the matter on the provisional agenda of the eleventh regular session of the General Assembly.

17. At the same time, I wish to support the amendment proposed by the representative of Italy. It is clearly just as essential as it was in the case of the previous matter that the eleventh regular session of the General Assembly should formally have referred to it the records of the meetings and the documents of this emergency special session.

18. Mr. JOJA (Romania) (*translated from French*): The Hungarian people are at present trying to heal their wounds and to repair the damage caused by the rebellion of the anti-democratic elements. The friends of the Hungarian people and all those who are objective in their views are convinced that the execution of the programme outlined by the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government would place Hungary on the path towards a sound recovery. It is at such a time that we find ourselves confronted with a proposal that the item, "The situation in Hungary" should be transferred to the eleventh regular session of the General Assembly. We may well ask who will benefit from such a proposal. And the answer, we know, is that it certainly will not be the Hungarian people.

19. The discussions which have taken place during this second emergency special session have confirmed the Romanian delegation and other delegations in their view that what we have here is an attempt to use this problem for political ends. Such attempts are in no way related to the interests of peace and co-operation between States. They are now taking a new form, for we have before us a proposal for placing the matter on the agenda of the eleventh regular session of the General Assembly and so far allowing the discussion of it to continue. No one who hopes that the Hungarian people will quickly and successfully resolve their problem can agree to allow the United Nations forum to be used for the encouragement of disruptive elements, as has been the case during these recent meetings, we are unhappily compelled to admit. Nor can we allow this question, which falls entirely within the jurisdiction of Hungary itself, to be used to distract attention from the real problem, that of maintaining peace and security.

20. The agenda of the General Assembly's regular session includes many items which are of vital importance for peace and security in the world. I need only mention the questions of disarmament, the prohibition of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction, the universality of the United Nations, including, in the first place, the recognition of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China, the Middle Eastern situation and the question of assistance for underdeveloped countries. It is to the solution of these problems that delegations should be bending all their efforts.

21. The proposal that the question of the situation in Hungary should be referred to the General Assembly's regular session, when that question has already been dealt with at the second emergency special session, is thus simply an attempt to prevent us from carrying out the tasks laid upon us by the Charter. The Romanian delegation will therefore vote against this draft resolution.

22. Mr. VOUTOV (Bulgaria): At this meeting, we are debating the question of closing the second emergency special session of the General Assembly and placing the so-called question of the situation in Hungary on the agenda of the eleventh regular session. At previous meetings, the Bulgarian delegation has already expressed its views on this question, and I have no intention of repeating them now. I shall only recall some of the main points.

23. At the very first [564th] meeting of the second emergency special session, the Bulgarian delegation stated that the General Assembly of the United Nations had absolutely no right to interfere in a purely internal matter of the Hungarian People's Republic. This became particularly clear after the telegraphic declaration of the Hungarian Government, in which it stated that it objected categorically to any discussion of the said question, either by the Security Council or by the General Assembly, because that question was within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hungarian People's Republic.

24. What are the grounds for placing this question on the agenda of the regular session of the General Assembly after it has been incorrectly raised at the special session? What purpose would be served by continuing the discussion of this purely Hungarian question? The idea seems to be to wait for results from the resolutions adopted here. But these resolutions were adopted illegally, and the Hungarian Government cannot accept them. Therefore the placing of the so-called Hungarian question on the agenda of the regular session would be incorrect, illegal and contrary to the Charter.

25. The Bulgarian delegation is of the opinion that the placing of this question on the agenda of the regular session would also be harmful to the work of that session itself, which has to solve many important questions. The solution of these problems necessitates a calm atmosphere, correctness and constructive discussions. The placing of the so-called Hungarian question on the agenda will only hamper our work and hinder co-operation, and it may prevent the United Nations from taking decisions anxiously awaited by all nations in the world.

26. The Bulgarian delegation fully supports the statements made yesterday afternoon by some representatives to the effect that to continue the discussions of the Hungarian question, to whip up passions and to repeat slanderous inventions against the USSR, Hungary and other peoples' democracies will serve no useful purpose in the efforts to re-establish complete order and calm in Hungary. Those who insist on the continuation of the discussion of this question simply for propaganda purposes reveal themselves once again as opponents of the establishment of order in Hungary. Moreover, this clearly shows who is interested in trouble and who likes to encourage trouble. Those who have correct information on the situation in Hungary and who look at the matter soberly will realize that the disturbances have ceased and that the situation in the country is quickly becoming normalized.

27. We may ask what is the task of the United Nations in this case. Is it to help heal the wounds and restore peace and calm, or, by continuing the debate on this question, to obstruct the quick return to normal of the situation in Hungary? I do not doubt for a moment that the overwhelming majority of the Mem-

bers of the United Nations stands for peaceful co-operation among nations and a fruitful discussion of all problems on the agenda of the eleventh regular session of the General Assembly. That is why the Bulgarian delegation expects that, in solving the matter before us, reason will prevail and that, in that way, the Hungarian people will be left to solve the matter at home themselves.

28. Bearing all this in mind, the Bulgarian delegation will vote for the closing of the second emergency special session of the General Assembly and for putting an end to the debates on the question entitled "The situation in Hungary". It will vote against placing this item on the agenda of the eleventh regular session of the General Assembly, as proposed in the draft resolution now before us.

29. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): This is a purely procedural draft resolution, and I rather regret that the representative of the Soviet Union has sought to enter into a substantive discussion on the subject. I noticed that, evidently in order to take public attention away from what the Soviet Union is doing in Hungary, he saw fit to make an attack on France and the United Kingdom. Well, let me just say that France and the United Kingdom and Israel are heeding the admonition of the General Assembly; that is an action which reflects credit on them, and would that the Soviet Union were as civilized in heeding the admonition of the General Assembly concerning Hungary.

30. When the Soviet representative talks about interference in internal affairs, I have present the picture, which is all too common in the dispatches which we receive, of Soviet soldiers firing upon defenceless persons — nurses, sick persons in hospitals, women and children — and I ask, "What kind of interference in internal affairs is that?"

31. The decision of the second emergency special session on this situation is perfectly clear. We have already this morning adopted a resolution which is similar to this, and I certainly trust that this procedural draft resolution, which is the natural sequel to what we have done here before, will be adopted.

32. Mr. ULLRICH (Czechoslovakia): The Czechoslovak delegation has stated in its previous interventions the position of the Czechoslovak Government on the so-called Hungarian question imposed upon the second emergency special session. Neither the General Assembly nor any other organ of the United Nations is competent to deal with matters concerning the internal affairs of Member States. The Charter stipulates explicitly in Article 2, Paragraph 7, that the United Nations is in no way authorized "to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State", and that it shall not "require the Members to submit matters to settlement under the present Charter".

33. The Czechoslovak delegation, for these very reasons, objects to the inclusion of this matter in the agenda of the eleventh session of the General Assembly. There are no material or legal grounds for such action. The Government of the People's Republic of Hungary, as is well known, has taken measures to restore order and security in the country. These measures, announced in the declaration of the Government of Hungary, have already brought about positive results. The Hungarian people has begun the reparation of the damage caused by recent events. Life in Budapest and in the whole country is taking a normal course again.

34. The Hungarian People's Republic has been granted immediate help in the form of medicines, food, fuel and so on by neighbouring States and other countries. The Czechoslovak Government has declared that it would endeavour further to strengthen friendly relations with the People's Republic of Hungary, that it would meet the request of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government and, in conformity with the spontaneous wish expressed by the Hungarian people, that it would grant fraternal assistance to the Hungarian People's Republic in order to help heal the wounds it has suffered during recent turbulent days.

35. The discussion of the so-called Hungarian question is without doubt outside the jurisdiction of the eleventh regular session of the General Assembly. We have heard here again from the representative of Hungary that the Government of the People's Republic of Hungary is categorically opposed to the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the eleventh session.

36. The Czechoslovak delegation, therefore, associates itself with the objections raised and will vote against the draft resolution providing for the transfer of this item, as a matter of priority, to the eleventh session of the General Assembly. Such action on the part of the General Assembly could only aggravate a situation which has shown considerable improvement in the course of the last few days.

37. Mr. KRISHNA MENON (India): My delegation will support the draft resolution of the United States [A/3330], and we should like to make a brief statement on our position in this matter.

38. As I said from this rostrum yesterday, we abstained on the inscription of this item. But, after that, the Assembly adopted a resolution [1004 (ES-II)] and, having done so, requested the Secretary-General to make a report. Therefore, this matter is being processed. I repeat today, for the second or third time, that we believe that when a reference of that kind has been made to the Secretary-General on a reasoned basis, then we have an obligation to receive the report and consider the whole of this issue in a calm manner.

39. My Government entertains grave anxiety on this question, irrespective of the circumstances mentioned by one side or the other, or of what may emerge in the future.

40. Whether the debate in the General Assembly will accelerate the process of reconciliation, settlement and stability in Hungary will very largely depend on those who take part in that debate in the future. In my Government's view, the primary consideration is, not the establishment of any political positions, but the interests of the Hungarian people, the freedom of that people, the ability of that people to live under the form of government — whether good or bad — which it is able to fashion, and the status and integrity of the Hungarian State in the comity of nations.

41. Our people and our Government have been deeply moved by and shocked at the fighting and the results thereof — regardless of the quarters from which the harm has come. Very grave allegations have been made in this Assembly. If the allegations are true, the conditions are reprehensible. The General Assembly therefore has the right to pursue this matter. It would not be just to itself as regards the decisions it has taken, or to the Secretary-General — who is, if he will forgive me for saying so, one of the institutions set up in the Charter — if it were to disregard and just forget about this matter.

42. From one point of view, I agree with the United States representative that the draft resolution presented by his delegation is procedural in nature and that there should be no difficulty about it. Equally, however, I do not hesitate to say that everyone concerned, including the Soviet Union and the present Hungarian Government, is aware of the deep concern felt in all parts of the world — even by those who may have reservations about this or that statement. We believe, at the same time, that the very powerful and influential Government of the United States and the very powerful and influential Government of the Soviet Union can, between them — not in disregard of this Assembly, but along with it — make the necessary efforts to achieve a very satisfactory solution of this problem. While participating in the proceedings of the Assembly, my Government believes that that is the path that should be pursued.

43. We believe that we must think above all of the interests of the Hungarian people. Furthermore, we must keep in mind and never forget the following fact. Irrespective of the character of any government that may happen to exist in any country, it would be wrong and against the principles of the Charter to ignore the existence of a sovereign State. I do not care how much ridicule one may invite in making such a statement. At times, it is necessary to stand that ridicule and to say that the basis of this Organization — namely, the sovereign independence and equality of its Members — must be respected; we cannot go beyond that principle.

44. Hence, my delegation will support the United States draft resolution. We take this opportunity of saying that we are looking forward to receiving the Secretary-General's report. I do not for a moment say that that report will confer this or that function upon the Assembly. I do, however, say that we must have the report.

45. I should also like to say the following — and I hope that this will reach an audience larger than this Assembly, that it will be heard in all the quarters concerned. Our people and the peoples in the so-called uncommitted areas of the world — that is, the peoples of Asia — are gravely concerned that conditions of violence, caused by one side or the other, should prevail. Violence does not lead to any form of settlement. We are aware, also, that negotiations are proceeding between the Hungarian Government and the Soviet Union. We wish these negotiations to come to a rapid and satisfactory conclusion, which will enable the Hungarian Government to function free from the context of debates of this kind and to plough its own path in its own way — even though it may have been left a great legacy of difficulty and reconstruction.

46. There should be no doubt as to the position of our people and our Government — namely, that violence is abhorrent and cannot achieve the required results. We have at no time hesitated to express that view. Equally, however, we shall not let the fear that the gallery may not be pleased deter us from taking an objective position. It is this Assembly that takes decisions: it is not those who do not represent States here who take decisions or contribute to decisions of the General Assembly.

47. I repeat that my delegation supports the United States draft resolution. My delegation will vote against any amendment to the draft resolution. If an amendment is adopted, we shall abstain from the vote on the draft resolution.

48. Finally, I express the hope that the Secretary-General will succeed in obtaining the assent of the Hungarian Government in this matter. I hope that he will be able to give us some facts concerning the allegations made yesterday about obstructions of humanitarian efforts. So far as my Government is concerned, these allegations — from whatever quarter they come — must remain allegations until they have been proved. This applies to allegations of any kind — to statements from one side that armaments have been smuggled and to statements from another side that the supply of food has been stopped. It is the purpose of this Assembly to determine the facts. Unpopular as it may be, that is my Government's position, and we propose to adhere to it.

49. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call upon the representative of Denmark, on a point of order.

50. Mr. ESKELUND (Denmark): When I asked to speak on a point of order, there was the name of only one representative on the list of speakers — namely, that of the representative of Guatemala. I now move that, after the representative of Guatemala has spoken, the debate should be closed under rule 77 of the Assembly's rules of procedure.

51. Mr. ARENALES CATALAN (Guatemala) (*translated from Spanish*): I should first like to thank the representative of Denmark for the courtesy he has shown me.

52. It would not be in order for my delegation to refer to the statements which we made this morning, at the last meeting of the first emergency special session of the General Assembly [572nd meeting], in explaining our abstention in the vote on the resolution which was approved by the Assembly. I must point out, however, that during this morning's meeting no objection of substance was raised to the draft resolution proposed at that time.

53. At the present meeting, objections of substance have been raised to the draft resolution before the Assembly. For this reason my delegation has thought it necessary to explain its position before voting on the draft resolution.

54. The position of my delegation remains unchanged. In the first place, we consider this to be essentially a procedural question, and on this point we are in agreement with the delegations of the United States, Australia and other countries. We also consider — and on this point we again agree with the delegation of Australia — that, since this is a procedural question, if the Assembly failed to adopt the United States draft resolution, it would not mean that the present emergency special session could not continue to consider the item.

55. In the light of this consideration, my delegation can outline its position as follows. My delegation will not be able to vote in favour of the United States draft resolution in its present form, because, under rule 15 of our rules of procedure, there is a procedural objection which could — although this would, of course, appear to be impossible in view of the large majority in the Assembly in favour of discussing the item — prevent our discussing this problem, or any situation connected with it, until seven days had elapsed and until a committee had reported on it, urgent though the problem is from every point of view.

56. In the second place, my delegation would simply like to record its reservation with regard to the rele-

vance or irrelevance — we do not pass judgment — of the procedure which the Assembly is adopting in connexion with General Assembly resolution 377 (V), entitled "Uniting for peace".

57. Finally, I must repeat — and this certainly applies also to the situation which we discussed at our previous meeting, this morning — that my delegation is not yet convinced that the procedure under consideration is necessary. I emphasize the word "necessary", because my reservation will go no further than that.

58. My delegation has made it clear, before the vote is taken, that we shall be compelled to abstain from voting on the draft resolution in its present form, for procedural reasons only and not for any reasons touching upon the substance of the matter.

59. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): As there are no other speakers on the list, I take it that the Assembly has approved the motion for closure presented by the representative of Denmark.

It was so decided.

60. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now proceed to vote on the draft resolution submitted by the United States [A/3330]. The sponsor of the draft resolution has accepted the amendment suggested by the representative of Italy, which will accordingly be incorporated in the text. This amendment adds a new paragraph 2, based on the previous resolution, reading as follows:

"Refers to its eleventh regular session for consideration the records of the meetings and the documents of its second emergency special session."

The present paragraph 2 thus becomes paragraph 3.

The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by 53 votes to 9, with 8 abstentions.

61. Mr. CARAYANNIS (Greece): The abstention of my delegation was due to the same procedural reasons which led it to abstain in the voting on the resolution previously adopted by the General Assembly. I wish to make it clear that we certainly wish either this special emergency session of the General Assembly or the regular session of the Assembly to continue dealing with the situation in Hungary.

62. Mr. KRISHNA MENON (India): A moment ago my delegation expressed its desire to vote for the draft resolution as it was submitted by the representative of the United States. We said that we would vote against any amendment, and that if the draft resolution was amended we would abstain. We were given no opportunity of voting against the amendment because that amendment was accepted by the mover of the draft resolution. Therefore, we were constrained to abstain.

63. Our position on this issue remains the same, and our reason for not accepting the amendment is that the resolution as it is now amended does not refer to proceedings which are not proceedings of the General Assembly. The Secretary-General's memorandum is not part of the Assembly's proceedings. What comes from the Secretary-General hereafter will not be part of the Assembly's proceedings. We are anxious to have the situation considered in such a way that there will be a settlement of the Hungarian question and that the Hungarian people will have the opportunity to live a free and unfettered life and be able to discharge their obligations under the Charter in the best way they can. I am not saying that they cannot now.

64. Therefore we deeply regret that the mover of the draft resolution found himself unable to leave it as it was. Our position with regard to the continuation of the debate, as arising from previous resolutions, remains the same as before.

65. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of Egypt has the floor on a point of order.

66. Mr. LOUTFI (Egypt) (*translated from French*): Before this meeting rises I should like to draw the General Assembly's attention to two points.

67. First, a cable from Tel Aviv reads: "The Foreign Minister of Israel, Mrs. Golda Meir, declared today that Israel does not intend to leave Gaza, which is an integral part of Israel." In other words, the Government of Israel has decided not to respect the General Assembly resolution [1002 (ES-I)] requesting it to leave Egyptian territory and to withdraw its forces behind the armistice demarcation lines in accordance with the agreement of February 1949.

68. Secondly, the withdrawal of foreign forces from Egyptian territory has not yet begun. What is more, we read in the papers that some foreign forces will be withdrawn only to be replaced by others.

69. The only conclusion that can be drawn from the facts I have just given is that the resolutions which the General Assembly adopted — the first in the night of 1 to 2 November [resolution 997 (ES-I)], the second in the night of 3 to 4 November [resolution 999 (ES-I)], and the third, reaffirming the other two, on 7 November [resolution 1002 (ES-I)], have not been implemented by the parties concerned, although Egypt has done all in its power to carry them out.

70. There is one more thing I should like to say. Yesterday the representative of France, speaking here [570th meeting] about the Hungarian question, once again took the liberty of criticizing and insulting Egypt's leaders. Unfortunately I was not present and so could not answer him at once. But I am truly astonished to find that the representative of an aggressor country which has been condemned by the United Nations presumes to talk about what is going on in Hungary when his own Government has committed the most dastardly act of armed aggression against Egypt. That is the height of cynicism. I should like to remind the French representative that it is not Egypt's leaders who are the aggressors; it is the present leaders of his own country who are aggressors and war criminals.

71. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Chair must remind the Assembly that this is a meeting of the second emergency special session, and that we are dealing with the question of Hungary and not with the question of Egypt.

72. In accordance with the resolutions adopted this morning, this General Assembly will, if necessary, be convened before the start of the eleventh regular session. The Chair trusts that this will not be necessary and that consequently this will be the last meeting of the present session.

Statement by the President

73. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I shall now request the Assembly's attention while I make a short statement.

74. A crucial moment in history has put the moral fortitude of the United Nations to the test. World public opinion grasped this at once, and the peoples of the entire world turned their gaze anxiously towards the Headquarters of this international Organization. The whole world was waiting to see how the United Nations would face its duty of defending the integrity of the principles of the Charter.

75. Would the United Nations be capable of lending effective aid to the two countries which were the victims of acts committed by two of the great Powers in the first case and yet another of the great Powers in the second? Those who regarded themselves as cautious said at once that the United Nations would hedge. The sceptical prophesied that the United Nations would be unable to do anything. Fortunately, both were wrong.

76. We cannot hide our satisfaction, which is to a large extent the satisfaction of those peoples who cherish the rule of law and the use of peaceful means for the settlement of international disputes.

77. We are deeply gratified that the grave difficulties with which the conflict in the Middle East confronted the United Nations are now on the way to a solution, as is shown by the progress achieved in the important negotiations entrusted to the Secretary-General in implementation of the General Assembly's resolutions.

78. As regards the Hungarian question, lack of time, resulting from the complexity of the grave problems created by the outbreak of hostilities in the Near East, has prevented the Secretary-General from submitting a report to the present session.

79. Under the resolutions which we have just adopted, the General Assembly will continue to devote its attention to these questions during the eleventh regular session, and the progress already made gives grounds for the hope that the work of peace and conciliation entrusted to the Assembly by the peoples of the world will prosper.

80. It remains for me to express my appreciation for the generous co-operation which the Chair has received from all representatives, and especially for the atmosphere of dignity and calm in which the discussions have taken place.

81. I am sure I am interpreting the general feelings of the Assembly if I pay a sincere tribute to the Secretary-General for the extraordinary diligence and skill he has once more displayed in the difficult tasks he has been called upon to carry out at the cost of many sleepless and anxious hours.

82. I should also like to express my thanks for the vigorous and effective co-operation which the Chair has received from Mr. Cordier and his staff, who have spared no effort to uphold the high reputation of the Secretariat.

83. I feel justified in saying that the Organization has emerged the stronger from this test and that the increasing moral weight of the United Nations will help to prevent the negative forces of violence and aggression from threatening the future of mankind.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.



SECOND EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

Agenda item 5: The situation in Hungary

CONTENTS

Document No.	Title	Page
A/3251	Hungary: request for the inclusion of an additional item in the agenda of the General Assembly..	1
A/3280	Convocation of the Second Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly: letter dated 4 November 1956 from the President of the Security Council, addressed to the Secretary-General	2
A/3285	<i>Note verbale</i> dated 4 November 1956 from the Permanent Mission of the Hungarian People's Republic, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	2
A/3286	United States of America: draft resolution.....	2
A/3311	Cablegram dated 4 November 1956 from Mr. Janos Kadar, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary, and from Mr. Imre Horvath, Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed to the Secretary-General.....	3
A/3315	<i>Aide-mémoire</i> dated 8 November 1956 from the Secretary-General, addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary.....	3
A/3316	Cuba, Ireland, Italy, Pakistan and Peru: draft resolution.....	4
A/3318	Letter dated 8 November 1956 from the Chairman of the delegation of China, addressed to the President of the General Assembly.....	4
A/3319	United States of America: draft resolution.....	4
A/3324	Austria: draft resolution.....	5
A/3325	Ceylon, India and Indonesia: amendments to document A/3319.....	5
A/3330	United States of America: draft resolution.....	5
Action taken by the General Assembly.....		5
Other documents pertaining to agenda item 5		8

DOCUMENT A/3251

Hungary: request for the inclusion of an additional item in the agenda of the General Assembly

THE QUESTION OF HUNGARY'S NEUTRALITY AND THE DEFENCE OF THIS
NEUTRALITY BY THE FOUR GREAT POWERS

CABLEGRAM DATED 1 NOVEMBER 1956 FROM MR. IMRE NAGY, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

[Original text: English]
[1 November 1956]

1. The President of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic as Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs has the honour to communicate the following to Your Excellency.

2. Reliable reports have reached the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic that further Soviet units are entering into Hungary. The President of the Council of Ministers in his capacity as Minister of Foreign Affairs summoned M. Andropov, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Soviet Union to Hungary, and expressed his strongest protest against the entry of further Soviet troops into Hungary. He demanded the instant and immediate withdrawal of these Soviet forces. He informed the Soviet Ambassador that the Hungarian Government immediately repudiates the Warsaw Treaty and at the same time declares

Hungary's neutrality, turns to the United Nations and requests the help of the four great Powers in defending the country's neutrality. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic made the declaration of neutrality on 1 November 1956. Therefore I request Your Excellency promptly to put on the agenda of the forthcoming General Assembly of the United Nations the question of Hungary's neutrality and the defence of this neutrality by the four great Powers.

3. I take this opportunity to convey to Your Excellency the expression of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Imre NAGY
President of the Council of Ministers
of the Hungarian People's Republic and
Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs

DOCUMENT A/3280

Convocation of the Second Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly: letter dated 4 November 1956 from the President of the Security Council, addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you the text of the resolution adopted by the Security Council at its 754th meeting on 4 November 1956.

(Signed) Nasrollah ENTEZAM
President of the Security Council

ANNEX

The Security Council,

Considering that a grave situation has been created by the use of Soviet military forces to suppress the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert their rights,

Taking into account that because of a lack of unanimity among its permanent members the Security Council has been unable to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Decides to call an emergency special session of the General Assembly, as provided in General Assembly resolution 377 A (V) of 3 November 1950, in order to make appropriate recommendations concerning the situation in Hungary.

DOCUMENT A/3285

Note verbale dated 4 November 1956 from the Permanent Mission of the Hungarian People's Republic, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[4 November 1956]

1. The Permanent Mission of the Hungarian People's Republic presents its compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and has the honour to inform him that the Hungarian Government has not as yet authorized any of the members of the Mission to take part at the emergency special session convened to discuss the item entitled: "The situation in Hungary". Furthermore, the Mission communicates that it could not obtain official information and instructions

from the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic. As soon as it receives official information and instructions from its Government, it will immediately bring them to the knowledge of the Secretary-General and the Members of the United Nations.

2. The Hungarian Mission would be very grateful if the Secretary-General would shortly circulate this note among the Members of the United Nations.

DOCUMENT A/3286

United States of America: draft resolution

[Original text: English]
[4 November 1956]

The General Assembly,

Considering that the United Nations is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members,

Recalling that the enjoyment of human rights and of fundamental freedom in Hungary was specifically guaranteed by the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers signed at Paris on 10 February 1947 and that the general principle of these rights and this freedom is affirmed for all peoples in the Charter of the United Nations,

Convinced that recent events in Hungary manifest clearly the desire of the Hungarian people to exercise and to enjoy fully their fundamental rights, freedom and independence,

Condemning the use of Soviet military forces to suppress the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert their rights,

Noting moreover the declaration of 30 October 1956 by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of its avowed policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States,

Noting the communication of 1 November 1956 (A/3251) of the Government of Hungary to the Secretary-General regarding demands made by that Government to the Government of the USSR for the instant and immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces,

Noting further the communication of 2 November 1956 (S/3726) from the Government of Hungary to the Secretary-General asking the Security Council to instruct the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of Hungary to start the negotiations immediately on withdrawal of Soviet forces,

Noting that the intervention of Soviet military forces in Hungary has resulted in grave loss of life and widespread bloodshed among the Hungarian people,

Taking note of the radio appeal of Prime Minister Imre Nagy of 4 November 1956,

1. *Calls upon* the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to desist forthwith from all armed attack on the people of Hungary, and from any form of intervention, in particular armed intervention, in the internal affairs of Hungary;

2. *Calls upon* the USSR to cease the introduction of additional armed forces into Hungary and to withdraw all of its forces without delay from Hungarian territory;

3. *Affirms* the right of the Hungarian people to a government responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to investigate the situation, to observe directly through representatives named by him the situation in Hungary, and to report

thereon to the General Assembly at the earliest moment, and as soon as possible suggest methods to bring an end to the existing situation in Hungary in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

5. *Calls upon* the Government of Hungary and the Government of the USSR to permit observers designated by the Secretary-General to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein, and to report their findings to the Secretary-General;

6. *Calls upon* all Members of the United Nations to co-operate with the Secretary-General and his representatives, in the execution of its functions;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General in consultation with the heads of appropriate specialized agencies to inquire, on an urgent basis, into the needs of the Hungarian people for food, medicine, and other similar supplies, and to report to the General Assembly as soon as possible;

8. *Requests* all Members of the United Nations, and invites national and international humanitarian organizations to co-operate in making available such supplies as may be required by the Hungarian people.

DOCUMENT A/3311

Cablegram dated 4 November 1956 from Mr. Janos Kadar, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary, and from Mr. Imre Horvath, Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed to the Secretary-General

[Original text: English]
[7 November 1956]

The Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary declares that Imre Nagy's requests to the United Nations (A/3251 and S/3726) to have the Hungarian question discussed in the United Nations have no legal force and cannot be considered as requests emanating from Hungary as a State. The Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government objects categorically to any discussion of the said question either by the Security Council or by the General Assembly be-

cause that question is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hungarian People's Republic.

(Signed) JANOS KADAR
*Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Workers'
and Peasants' Government of Hungary*

(Signed) IMRE HORVATH
Minister of Foreign Affairs

DOCUMENT A/3315

Aide-mémoire dated 8 November 1956 from the Secretary-General, addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary

[Original text: English]
[8 November 1956]

1. In its resolution 1004 (ES-II) of 4 November 1956 on the situation in Hungary, already transmitted to the Government of Hungary, the General Assembly of the United Nations requested the Secretary-General to observe the situation directly through representatives named by him, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at the earliest moment. In support of this request the General Assembly called upon the Government of Hungary and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to permit observers designated by the Secretary-General to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein, and to report their findings to the Secretary-General.

2. Referring to the operative parts of the resolution just mentioned, I wish to address to the Government of Hungary the question whether, in pursuance of the demand of the General Assembly, it is willing to permit observers designated by me, as soon as possible, to enter the territory of Hungary for the purpose prescribed, to travel freely within Hungary, and to report to me on their findings.

3. I would appreciate an early reply to this question. After receipt of the reply I shall approach the other Government directly concerned.

4. I intend to proceed with a selection of observers on the assumption that the Government of Hungary will meet the request of the General Assembly.

5. In its resolution the General Assembly has also requested the Secretary-General to investigate the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary. I have taken steps for such an investigation on the basis of available and confirmed material.

6. The General Assembly has, finally, requested the Secretary-General as soon as possible to "suggest methods to bring an end to the foreign intervention in Hungary in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations". This matter is under active consideration within the Secretariat. It is obviously not possible to reach a final result before the end of the investigation just referred to, and without the co-operation of the Hungarian Government in the sense indicated above.

7. I finally wish to repeat once again my request, expressing at the same time my firm expectation that the request of the General Assembly will be accepted.

DOCUMENT A/3316

Cuba, Ireland, Italy, Pakistan and Peru: draft resolution

[Original text: English]
[8 November 1956]

The General Assembly,

Noting with deep concern that the provisions of its resolution 1004 (ES-II) of 4 November 1956 have not yet been carried out and that the violent repression by the Soviet forces of the efforts of the Hungarian people to achieve freedom and independence continues,

Convinced that the recent events in Hungary manifest clearly the desire of the Hungarian people to exercise and to enjoy fully their fundamental rights, freedom and independence,

Considering that foreign intervention in Hungary is an intolerable attempt to deny to the Hungarian people the exercise and the enjoyment of such rights, freedom and independence, and in particular to deny to the Hungarian people the right to a government freely elected and representing its national aspirations,

Considering that the repression undertaken by the Soviet forces in Hungary constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, of the Peace Treaty

between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers and of the Convention on Genocide,

Considering that the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Hungarian territory is necessary,

1. *Calls again upon* the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to withdraw its forces from Hungary without any further delay;

2. *Considers* that free elections should be held in Hungary under United Nations auspices, as soon as law and order have been restored, to enable the people of Hungary to determine for themselves the form of government they wish to establish in their country;

3. *Reaffirms* its request to the Secretary-General to continue to investigate, through representatives named by him, the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary and to report at the earliest possible moment to the General Assembly;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report in the shortest possible time to the General Assembly on compliance herewith.

DOCUMENT A/3318

Letter dated 8 November 1956 from the Chairman of the delegation of China, addressed to the President of the General Assembly

[Original text: English]
[8 November 1956]

1. Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a resolution adopted unanimously on 6 November 1956 by the Legislative Yuan regarding the Hungarian situation:

"The Legislative Yuan of the Republic of China firmly believes that the special session of the General Assembly should:

"(a) Condemn the aggression committed by the Soviet Union against Hungary;

"(b) Demand the immediate withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary and organize a United Nations police force to be dispatched to Hungary

to supervise the compliance of the Soviet Union in withdrawing its troops from the territory of Hungary; and

"(c) Provide a United Nations guarantee of the independence and freedom of Hungary."

2. I request that this letter be circulated among the Members of the second emergency special session of the General Assembly.

(Signed) Tingfu F. TSIANG
Chairman of the delegation of China
to the second emergency session of the
General Assembly

DOCUMENT A/3319

United States of America: draft resolution

[Original text: English]
[8 November 1956]

The General Assembly,

I

Considering that the military authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are interfering in the transportation and distribution of food and medical supplies urgently needed by the civilian population in Hungary,

1. *Calls upon* the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cease immediately actions against the Hungarian population which are in violation of the accepted standards and principles of international law, justice and morality;

2. *Calls upon* the Hungarian authorities to facilitate, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics not to interfere with, the receipt and distribution of food and medical supplies to the Hungarian people and to co-operate fully with the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as other international organizations such as the International Red Cross, to provide humanitarian assistance to the people of Hungary;

3. *Urges* the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Hungarian authorities to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General and his duly appointed representatives for the carrying out of the tasks referred to above.

II

Considering that, as a result of the harsh and repressive action of the Soviet armed forces, increasingly large numbers of refugees are being obliged to leave Hungary and seek asylum in neighbouring countries,

1. Requests the Secretary-General to call upon the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to

consult with other appropriate international agencies and interested Governments with a view to making speedy and effective arrangements for emergency assistance to refugees from Hungary;

2. Urges Member States to make special contributions for this purpose.

DOCUMENT A/3324**Austria: draft resolution**

[Original text: English]
[9 November 1956]

The General Assembly,

Considering the extreme suffering to which the Hungarian people are subjected by the fighting which is still continuing,

Urgently wishing effectively to eliminate this suffering,

Convinced that humanitarian duties can be fulfilled most effectively through the international co-operation stipulated in Article 1, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Resolves to undertake on a large scale immediate aid for the affected territories by furnishing medical supplies, foodstuffs and clothes;

2. Calls upon all Member States to participate to the greatest extent possible in this relief action;

3. Requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to undertake immediately the necessary measures;

4. Urgently appeals to all countries concerned to give full assistance to the Secretary-General in the implementation of this task.

DOCUMENT A/3325**Ceylon, India and Indonesia: amendments to Document A/3319**

[Original text: English]
[9 November 1956]

Section I

Preamble: Delete the words "the military authorities of the USSR are interfering in the transportation and"; insert the word "is" between the words "supplies" and "urgently".

Operative paragraph 1: Delete.

Operative paragraph 2: Replace the words "Calls upon" by the word "Requests"; delete the words "and the USSR not to interfere with".

Operative paragraph 3: Delete the words "the USSR and".

Section II

Preamble: (a) Delete the words "As a result of the harsh and repressive action of the Soviet armed forces, increasingly"; (b) replace the words "being obliged to leave" by the word "leaving"; (c) delete the words "and seek asylum in neighbouring countries".

DOCUMENT A/3330**United States of America: draft resolution**

[Original text: English]
[10 November 1956]

The General Assembly

1. Decides to place on the provisional agenda of the eleventh regular session, as a matter of priority, the question on the agenda of its second emergency special session;

2. Decides that, notwithstanding paragraph 1 above, the second emergency special session may continue to consider the question, if necessary, prior to the eleventh regular session of the Assembly.

ACTION TAKEN BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

At its 564th plenary meeting, on 4 November 1956, the General Assembly adopted a draft resolution submitted by the United States of America (A/3286), as amended by France at the meeting. For the final text, see resolution 1004 (ES-II) below.

At its 571st plenary meeting, on 9 November 1956, the General Assembly adopted the following draft resolutions:

(a) A draft resolution submitted by Cuba, Ireland, Italy, Pakistan and Peru (A/3316), as amended;

(b) A draft resolution submitted by the United States of America (A/3319);

(c) A draft resolution submitted by Austria (A/3324), as revised by the sponsor at the meeting.

For the final texts, see resolutions 1005 (ES-II), 1006 (ES-II) and 1007 (ES-II) respectively, below.

At the same meeting, the General Assembly rejected the amendments of Ceylon, India and Indonesia (A/3325) to the draft resolution submitted by the United States of America (A/3319).

At the 573rd plenary meeting, on 10 November 1956, the General Assembly adopted a draft resolution submitted by the United States of America (A/3330), as amended by Italy. For the final text, see resolution 1008 (ES-II) below.

THE SITUATION IN HUNGARY

Resolution 1004 (ES-II)

[Document A/RES/393]

The General Assembly,

Considering that the United Nations is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members,

Recalling that the enjoyment of human rights and of fundamental freedom in Hungary was specifically guaranteed by the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers signed at Paris on 10 February 1947 and that the general principle of these rights and this freedom is affirmed for all peoples in the Charter of the United Nations,

Convinced that recent events in Hungary manifest clearly the desire of the Hungarian people to exercise and to enjoy fully their fundamental rights, freedom and independence,

Condemning the use of Soviet military forces to suppress the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert their rights,

Noting moreover the declaration of 30 October 1956 by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of its avowed policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States,

Noting the communication of 1 November 1956 (A/3251) of the Government of Hungary to the Secretary-General regarding demands made by that Government to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the instant and immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces,

Noting further the communication of 2 November 1956 (S/3726) from the Government of Hungary to the Secretary-General asking the Security Council to instruct the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of Hungary to start the negotiations immediately on withdrawal of Soviet forces,

Noting that the intervention of Soviet military forces in Hungary has resulted in grave loss of life and widespread bloodshed among the Hungarian people,

Taking note of the radio appeal of Prime Minister Imre Nagy of 4 November 1956,

1. *Calls upon* the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to desist forthwith from all attack on the people of Hungary and from any form of intervention, in particular armed intervention, in the internal affairs of Hungary;

2. *Calls upon* the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cease the introduction of additional armed forces into Hungary and to withdraw all of its forces without delay from Hungarian territory;

3. *Affirms* the right of the Hungarian people to a government responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to investigate the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary, to observe the situation directly through representatives named by him, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at the earliest moment, and as soon as possible suggest methods to bring an end to the foreign intervention in Hungary in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

5. *Calls upon* the Government of Hungary and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to permit observers designated by the Secretary-General to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein, and to report their findings to the Secretary-General;

6. *Calls upon* all Members of the United Nations to co-operate with the Secretary-General and his representatives in the execution of his functions;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General in consultation with the heads of appropriate specialized agencies to inquire, on an urgent basis, into the needs of the Hungarian people for food, medicine and other similar supplies, and to report to the General Assembly as soon as possible;

8. *Requests* all Members of the United Nations, and invites national and international humanitarian organizations to co-operate in making available such supplies as may be required by the Hungarian people.

Resolution 1005 (ES-II)

[Document A/RES/397]

The General Assembly,

Noting with deep concern that the provisions of its resolution 1004 (ES-II) of 4 November 1956 have not yet been carried out and that the violent repression by the Soviet forces of the efforts of the Hungarian people to achieve freedom and independence continues,

Convinced that the recent events in Hungary manifest clearly the desire of the Hungarian people to exercise and to enjoy fully their fundamental rights, freedom and independence,

Considering that foreign intervention in Hungary is an intolerable attempt to deny to the Hungarian people the exercise and the enjoyment of such rights, freedom and independence, and in particular to deny to the Hungarian people the right to a government freely elected and representing their national aspirations,

Considering that the repression undertaken by the Soviet forces in Hungary constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers,

Considering that the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Hungarian territory is necessary,

1. *Calls again* upon the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to withdraw its forces from Hungary without any further delay;

2. *Considers* that free elections should be held in Hungary under United Nations auspices, as soon as law and order have been restored, to enable the people of Hungary to determine for themselves the form of government they wish to establish in their country;

3. *Reaffirms* its request to the Secretary-General to continue to investigate, through representatives named by him, the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary and to report at the earliest possible moment to the General Assembly;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report in the shortest possible time to the General Assembly on compliance herewith.

Resolution 1006 (ES-II)

[Document A/RES/398]

The General Assembly,

I

Considering that the military authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are interfering with the transportation and distribution of food and medical supplies urgently needed by the civilian population in Hungary,

1. *Calls upon* the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cease immediately actions against the Hungarian population which are in violation of the accepted standards and principles of international law, justice and morality;

2. *Calls upon* the Hungarian authorities to facilitate, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics not to interfere with, the receipt and distribution of food and medical supplies to the Hungarian people and to co-operate fully with the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as with other international organizations such as the International Red Cross, to provide humanitarian assistance to the people of Hungary;

3. *Urges* the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Hungarian authorities to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General and his duly appointed representatives in the carrying out of the tasks referred to above.

II

Considering that, as a result of the harsh and repressive action of the Soviet armed forces, increasingly

large numbers of refugees are being obliged to leave Hungary and to seek asylum in neighbouring countries,

1. *Requests* the Secretary-General to call upon the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to consult with other appropriate international agencies and interested Governments with a view to making speedy and effective arrangements for emergency assistance to refugees from Hungary;

2. *Urges* Member States to make special contributions for this purpose.

Resolution 1007 (ES-II)

[Document A/RES/399]

The General Assembly,

Considering the extreme suffering to which the Hungarian people are subjected,

Urgently wishing effectively to eliminate this suffering,

Convinced that humanitarian duties can be fulfilled most effectively through the international co-operation stipulated in Article 1, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Resolves* to undertake on a large scale immediate aid for the affected territories by furnishing medical supplies, foodstuffs and clothes;

2. *Calls upon* all Member States to participate to the greatest extent possible in this relief action;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to undertake immediately the necessary measures;

4. *Urgently appeals* to all countries concerned to give full assistance to the Secretary-General in the implementation of this task.

Resolution 1008 (ES-II)

[Document A/RES/401]

The General Assembly,

1. *Decides* to place on the provisional agenda of its eleventh regular session, as a matter of priority, the question on the agenda of its second emergency special session;

2. *Refers* to its eleventh regular session for consideration the records of the meetings and the documents of its second emergency special session;

3. *Decides* that, notwithstanding paragraph 1 above, the second emergency special session may continue to consider the question, if necessary, prior to the eleventh regular session of the Assembly.

OTHER DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO AGENDA ITEM 5

<i>Document No.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Observations and references</i>
A/3281	Provisional agenda of the second emergency special session	Adopted without change. For the text of this document, see <i>Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Emergency Special Session, Prefatory fascicle</i>
A/3300	Communications relating to the representation of China: note by the Secretary-General	<i>Official Records of the General Assembly, First Emergency Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 3</i>
A/3321	Credentials of representatives to the first and second emergency special sessions of the General Assembly: report of the Credentials Committee	<i>Ibid.</i>
A/RES/393	Resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its 564th plenary meeting, on 4 November 1956	See above "Action taken by the General Assembly". The text of the resolution also appears in the <i>Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Emergency Special Session, Supplement No. 1, as resolution 1004 (ES-II)</i>
A/RES/397	Resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its 571st plenary meeting, on 9 November 1956	<i>Idem, resolution 1005 (ES-II)</i>
A/RES/398	Resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its 571st plenary meeting, on 9 November 1956	<i>Idem, resolution 1006 (ES-II)</i>
A/RES/399	Resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its 571st plenary meeting, on 9 November 1956	<i>Idem, resolution 1007 (ES-II)</i>
A/RES/401	Resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its 573rd plenary meeting, on 10 November 1956	<i>Idem, resolution 1008 (ES-II)</i>
A/RES/402	Resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its 571st plenary meeting, on 9 November 1956	<i>Idem, resolution 996 (ES-I and II)</i>
S/3691	Letter dated 28 October 1956 from the representative of the Hungarian People's Republic, addressed to the Secretary-General	<i>Official Records of the Security Council, Eleventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1956</i>
S/3695	Letter dated 27 October 1956 from the representative of Spain, addressed to the Secretary-General	<i>Ibid.</i>
S/3696	Letter dated 28 October 1956 from the representative of Turkey, addressed to the Secretary-General	<i>Ibid.</i>
S/3714	Letter dated 30 October 1956 from the representative of the Dominican Republic, addressed to the President of the Security Council	<i>Ibid.</i>
S/3726	Note dated 2 November 1956 from the Permanent Mission of the Hungarian People's Republic, addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting a letter dated 2 November 1956 from the Prime Minister and Acting Foreign Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic	<i>Ibid.</i>
S/3731	Cablegram dated 3 November 1956 from the Prime Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, addressed to the Secretary-General	<i>Ibid.</i>
S/3733	Letter dated 27 October 1956 from the representatives of France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America, addressed to the President of the Security Council, concerning "The situation in Hungary"	<i>Ibid.</i>
MEETINGS AT WHICH AGENDA ITEM 5 WAS DISCUSSED		
A/PV.564, 568-571 and 573	Verbatim records of the 564th, 568th to 571st and 573rd plenary meetings of the General Assembly	

UNITED



NATIONS

RESOLUTIONS

adopted by the General Assembly

during its

SECOND EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

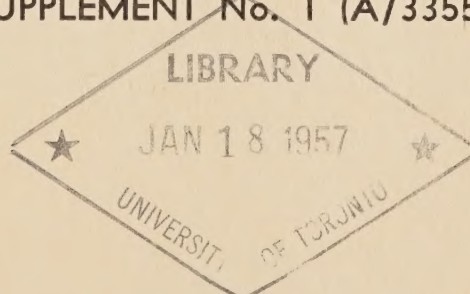
from 4 to 10 November 1956

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS

SECOND EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 1 (A/3355)



NEW YORK

UNITED NATIONS

RESOLUTIONS

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS

SECOND EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 1 (A/3355)

New York

RESOLUTIONS

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

The arabic and roman numerals identifying each resolution indicate, respectively, the number of the resolution and the number of the session at which it was adopted. In the case of an emergency special session, the letters "ES" precede the roman numerals.

from 4 to 10 November 1956



GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OFFICIAL RECORDS
SECOND EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION
SUPPLEMENT No. 1 (A/332)

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Appointment of the Credentials Committee.....	iv
President and Vice-Presidents.....	iv
Agenda	iv
Resolution adopted on the report of the Credentials Committee:	
996 (ES-I and II). Credentials of representatives to the first and second emergency special sessions of the General Assembly (item 3)	
Resolution of 9 November 1956.....	1
Resolutions adopted without reference to a Committee:	
THE SITUATION IN HUNGARY (item 5)	
1004 (ES-II). Resolution of 4 November 1956.....	2
1005 (ES-II). Resolution of 9 November 1956.....	2
1006 (ES-II). Resolution of 9 November 1956.....	3
1007 (ES-II). Resolution of 9 November 1956.....	3
1008 (ES-II). Resolution of 10 November 1956.....	3

APPOINTMENT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

The General Assembly decided that the Credentials Committee appointed for the first emergency special session should also serve for the second emergency special session.¹

The Committee was constituted as follows: AFGHANISTAN, AUSTRALIA, COLOMBIA, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, FRANCE, INDONESIA, IRAQ, UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS and UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

*564th plenary meeting,
4 November 1956.*

PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS

In accordance with rule 65 of the rules of procedure, the President and Vice-Presidents were as follows:

(a) *President of the General Assembly:*

His Excellency Mr. Rudecindo Ortega (Chile).

(b) *Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly:*

The representatives of the following Member States: CHINA, ETHIOPIA, FRANCE, LUXEMBOURG, UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND and UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

*
* * *

AGENDA

1. Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Chile.
2. Minute of silent prayer or meditation.
3. Appointment of a Credentials Committee.
4. Adoption of the agenda.
5. The situation in Hungary.²

¹ For the resolution adopted on the report of the Credentials Committee, see page 1.

² In accordance with rule 65 of the rules of procedure, the General Assembly met in plenary session only and considered the item without reference to a Committee.

**RESOLUTION ADOPTED ON THE REPORT OF
THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE**

**996 (ES-I and II). Credentials of representatives to the first and second
emergency special sessions of the General Assembly**

The General Assembly

Approves the report of the Credentials Committee.³

*571st plenary meeting,
9 November 1956.*

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, First Emergency Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 3, document A/3321.*

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED WITHOUT REFERENCE TO A COMMITTEE

The situation in Hungary

Resolution 1004 (ES-II)

The General Assembly,

Considering that the United Nations is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members,

Recalling that the enjoyment of human rights and of fundamental freedom in Hungary was specifically guaranteed by the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers signed at Paris on 10 February 1947, and that the general principle of these rights and this freedom is affirmed for all peoples in the Charter of the United Nations,

Convinced that recent events in Hungary manifest clearly the desire of the Hungarian people to exercise and to enjoy fully their fundamental rights, freedom and independence,

Condemning the use of Soviet military forces to suppress the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert their rights,

Noting moreover the declaration of 30 October 1956 by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of its avowed policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States,

Noting the communication of 1 November 1956⁴ of the Government of Hungary to the Secretary-General regarding demands made by that Government to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the instant and immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces,

Noting further the communication of 2 November 1956⁵ from the Government of Hungary to the Secretary-General asking the Security Council to instruct the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of Hungary to start negotiations immediately on the withdrawal of Soviet forces,

Noting that the intervention of Soviet military forces in Hungary has resulted in grave loss of life and widespread bloodshed among the Hungarian people,

Taking note of the radio appeal of Prime Minister Imre Nagy of 4 November 1956,

1. *Calls upon* the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to desist forthwith from all armed attack on the people of Hungary and from any form of intervention, in particular armed intervention, in the internal affairs of Hungary;

2. *Calls upon* the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cease the introduction of additional armed forces into Hungary and to withdraw all of its forces without delay from Hungarian territory;

3. *Affirms* the right of the Hungarian people to a government responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to investigate the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary, to observe the situation directly through representatives named by him, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at the earliest moment, and as soon as possible to suggest methods to bring an end to the foreign intervention in Hungary in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

5. *Calls upon* the Government of Hungary and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to permit observers designated by the Secretary-General to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein, and to report their findings to the Secretary-General;

6. *Calls upon* all Members of the United Nations to co-operate with the Secretary-General and his representatives in the execution of his functions;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General in consultation with the heads of appropriate specialized agencies to inquire, on an urgent basis, into the needs of the Hungarian people for food, medicine and other similar supplies, and to report to the General Assembly as soon as possible;

8. *Requests* all Members of the United Nations, and invites national and international humanitarian organizations to co-operate in making available such supplies as may be required by the Hungarian people.

*564th plenary meeting,
4 November 1956.*

Resolution 1005 (ES-II)

The General Assembly,

Noting with deep concern that the provisions of its resolution 1004 (ES-II) of 4 November 1956 have not yet been carried out and that the violent repression by the Soviet forces of the efforts of the Hungarian people to achieve freedom and independence continues,

Convinced that the recent events in Hungary manifest clearly the desire of the Hungarian people to exercise and to enjoy fully their fundamental rights, freedom and independence,

Considering that foreign intervention in Hungary is an intolerable attempt to deny to the Hungarian people the exercise and the enjoyment of such rights, freedom and independence, and in particular to deny to the Hungarian people the right to a government freely elected and representing their national aspirations,

Considering that the repression undertaken by the Soviet forces in Hungary constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers,

⁴ *Ibid.*, Second Emergency Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 5, document A/3251.

⁵ *Official Records of the Security Council, Eleventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1956, document S/3726.*

Considering that the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Hungarian territory is necessary,

1. *Calls again upon* the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to withdraw its forces from Hungary without any further delay;

2. *Considers* that free elections should be held in Hungary under United Nations auspices, as soon as law and order have been restored, to enable the people of Hungary to determine for themselves the form of government they wish to establish in their country;

3. *Reaffirms* its request to the Secretary-General to continue to investigate, through representatives named by him, the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary and to report at the earliest possible moment to the General Assembly;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report in the shortest possible time to the General Assembly on compliance herewith.

*571st plenary meeting,
9 November 1956.*

Resolution 1006 (ES-II)

The General Assembly,

I

Considering that the military authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are interfering with the transportation and distribution of food and medical supplies urgently needed by the civilian population in Hungary,

1. *Calls upon* the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cease immediately actions against the Hungarian population which are in violation of the accepted standards and principles of international law, justice and morality;

2. *Calls upon* the Hungarian authorities to facilitate, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics not to interfere with, the receipt and distribution of food and medical supplies to the Hungarian people and to co-operate fully with the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as with other international organizations such as the International Red Cross, to provide humanitarian assistance to the people of Hungary;

3. *Urges* the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Hungarian authorities to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General and his duly appointed representatives in the carrying out of the tasks referred to above.

II

Considering that, as a result of the harsh and repressive action of the Soviet armed forces, increasingly

large numbers of refugees are being obliged to leave Hungary and to seek asylum in neighbouring countries,

1. *Requests* the Secretary-General to call upon the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to consult with other appropriate international agencies and interested Governments with a view to making speedy and effective arrangements for emergency assistance to refugees from Hungary;

2. *Urges* Member States to make special contributions for this purpose.

*571st plenary meeting,
9 November 1956.*

Resolution 1007 (ES-II)

The General Assembly,

Considering the extreme suffering to which the Hungarian people are subjected,

Urgently wishing effectively to eliminate this suffering,

Convinced that humanitarian duties can be fulfilled most effectively through the international co-operation stipulated in Article 1, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Resolves* to undertake on a large scale immediate aid for the affected territories by furnishing medical supplies, foodstuffs and clothes;

2. *Calls upon* all Member States to participate to the greatest extent possible in this relief action;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to undertake immediately the necessary measures;

4. *Urgently appeals* to all countries concerned to give full assistance to the Secretary-General in the implementation of this task.

*571st plenary meeting,
9 November 1956.*

Resolution 1008 (ES-II)

The General Assembly,

1. *Decides* to place on the provisional agenda of its eleventh regular session, as a matter of priority, the question on the agenda of its second emergency special session;

2. *Refers* to its eleventh regular session for consideration the records of the meetings and the documents of its second emergency special session;

3. *Decides* that, notwithstanding paragraph 1 above, the second emergency special session may continue to consider the question, if necessary, prior to the eleventh regular session of the Assembly.

*573rd plenary meeting,
10 November 1956.*

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